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THE KHAROSTRA COUNTRY AND THE KHAROSTRI WRITING.

BY SYLVAIN LÉVI.

Translated, with the author's permission and under his direction, from the "Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient," Vol. IV., 1904, pp. 543 to 579, by MABEL BODE.

(*N.B. — In the case of Chinese words, the French system of transcription has been followed in this article.*)

I HAVE published in the *Bulletin* of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient a document of Chinese origin, in which the name Kharoṣṭra appears as an ancient designation of the town of Kashgar. On the faith of this text, I proposed to trace the origin of the Kharoṣṭrī writing to Kashgaria.[1] M. Pischel and M. Franke have collaborated in the task of refuting my thesis, in two successive communications to the Academy of Berlin (*Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Pr. Ak. d. Wiss.*, February 5, and July 9, 1903).[2] M. Halévy, who has already broken so many lances on the subject of Indian scripts, has again seized his weapons and hastened to my aid (*Revue Sémitique*, 1903). M. Pelliot, an umpire no less impartial than competent, has followed in the *Bulletin* (1903, p. 339 and 479) the phases of the fight, scored the points, marked the blows, and pointed out weaknesses, excesses and omissions.

The question raised has gained alike in width and in precision. I merely thought to offer a fortunate discovery to the patient curiosity of scholars. But the impetuous heat of attack, and perhaps also of defence, bears witness, notwithstanding my caution, to the importance of the problem posed and the weighty consequences of my solution, if once accepted. Being responsible for the controversy raised, I have felt bound to re-examine the facts in detail, without *amour-propre*, and without *parti-pris*, fully ready to acknowledge my error if I was mistaken. The results of the new inquiry have surpassed, I will not say my wishes, but my expectation. If I abandon the connection I had suggested between Kharoṣṭra and Kashgar, it is to carry the use of Kharoṣṭra as a geographical designation, further back by centuries, to the very epoch of the Kharoṣṭrī writing, — that is, the Indo-Scythian period, — and to make this geographical expression cover a more extensive ground, on the North-West frontiers of India.

I must begin by rectifying or completing certain inexact statements in my article, which my critics have neglected to point out. I mentioned the *Sin-yi Ta-fang-kouang Fo-houa-yen-king Yin-yi* of Houei-yuan as a work only **[544]** preserved in the Korean collection; the text I consulted in the Tôkyô edition of the Tripiṭaka does, in fact, only reproduce the Korean copy. But the Chinese collections of the Soung, the Yuen and the Ming also contain the work of Houei-yuan; the characters

[1] [For a translation of M. Lévi's article on this subject, see Vol. XXXIII., 1904, above, p. 79 ff. — EDITOR.]

[2] [For a translation of these articles by Dr. Franke and Professor Pischel, see Vol. XXXIV., 1905, above, pp. 21 ff., 41 ff.,—EDITOR.]

Sin-yi at the head of the title do not occur in the edition of the Ming. The Korean and the Chinese texts, however, show such divergences that they may be considered as independent recensions; moreover, the Japanese editors, contrary to their usual method, have published two texts, each by itself (Korean, *ib.* XXXIX.: 10, 109—129; Chinese, *ib.* 129—147). The Chinese edition naturally appears in Nanjio's Catalogue, which is based on the Collection of the Ming; here it comes under the number 1606. I had not succeeded in finding Houei-yuan, the author of the *Yin-yi*, in the biographies of the *Kao-seng-tchouan*; M. Nanjio's references (Appendix III., No. 32; Hwui-wân) have put me on the track. The *Soung-kao-seng-tchouan,* compiled in 988, contains a brief notice of our Houei-yuan. This notice does not give a precise date; but it is inserted (Tôk. ed. XXXV. 4, 94[b]) between two biographies, of which the one mentions the year 766, the other the year 782 A. D. One would be inclined to suppose that Houei-yuan's period of activity fell between these two dates. This would be an error. As a matter of fact the *K'ai-yuen-chi-kiao-lou,* compiled in 730, classes the *Yin-yi* of Houei-yuan among the canonical texts and places its author (Tôk. ed. XXXVIII. 4, 83[a]) immediately after I-tsing and Bodhiruci, who died, the one in 713, the other in 727, and immediately before Tche-yen and Vajrabodhi who began their work as translators in 721 and 723 respectively. Houei-yuan then belongs to the first quarter of the VIIIth century.

The new translation of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra, of which the *Yin-yi* of Houei-yuan is a commentary, was written between 695 and 699; the translator, Çikṣānanda of Khotan, died in 710 at the age of fifty-nine. The interval between the interpreter and the commentator is slight even to the vanishing point. Even if Houei-yuan did not personally collaborate in the collective work which bears the name of Çikṣānanda as the name, so to speak, of the firm, he may well have received oral instruction from the monk of Khotan. Hence his *Yin-yi* bears the character of a supplement, or rather, an appendix to the translation of the sūtra. If we regard it as such, the note on *Chou-le* and Kharoṣṭra is illuminated by a sudden and penetrating light. The formula introducing this note is the same in the two recensions (Kor. text, p. 121; Chin. 3, p. 140): "*Chou-le-kouo, tcheng ming, K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le*" ("The kingdom of *Chou-le*; the exact name is *K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le*"). I have gone carefully through the whole of the two recensions of the *Yin-yi*; I have not once met with another example of this formula: *Tcheng-ming.* Houei-yuan regularly employs, without once varying from it, the phrase *Tcheng-yun*; "the exact expression is . . .," every time he restores the correct form of a Sanskrit word mutilated or altered in the translation. Examples of this are innumerable. I will content myself with instancing a few: — (Kor. 110[a] = Ch. 130[a]): ***Pi-cha-men, tcheng-yun, Pei-che-lo-man-nang*** ("Pi-cha-men; the exact expression is Vaiçramaṇa"). (Kor. *ib.* = Ch. *ib.*): **[545]** *P'i-leou-po-tch'a, tcheng-yun, Pi-lou-po ho-ki-tch'a* ("Pi-leou-po-tcha; the exact expression is Virūpa-akṣa"). (Kor. 111[a] = Ch. 131[a]): *Tch'a, tcheng-yun Ki-tch'ai-tan-lo* ("Tch'a; the exact expression is Kṣetra"). It is the same with *san-mei* and *san-mo-ti* (= samādhi) (*ib.*); with *Yen-feou-t'an-kin* and *Jan-pou-nai-t'o* (Jāmbunada) (Kor. 111[b] = Ch. 131[b]); *yeou-po-lo* and *ni-lo-wou-po-lo* (= nīla utpala) (*ib.*); *Fou-po-ti* and *Pou-lou-p'o-p'it'i-ho* (= Pūrvavideha) (Kor. 113[a] = Ch. 133[b]; *Yen-feou-t'i* and *Tchen-pou-t'i* (Jambudvīpa (*ib.*); *Tao-li-t'ien* and *Tan-li-ye tan-li-chö* (= Trayastriṃçāḥ) (Kor. 114[b] = Ch. 134[b]), &c.

On what authority does Houei-yuan base a correct restoration of the Sanskrit forms? Study of the *Yin-yi* enlightens us. To explain the expression *chan-hou* = coral (Kor. 117[b] = Ch. 137[a]) Houei-yuan writes: *fan-pen-tcheng-yun po-lo-mo-houo-lo wei-pao-chou.* "The Sanskrit original (*fan-pen*) has the exact expression: paramavāla, that is to say, precious tree."[3] Thus Houei-yuan uses the Sanskrit original side by side with the Chinese version: In the same passage of the sūtra Çikṣānanda uses the Chinese expression: *tch'ö-k'iu*; Houei-yuan comments on it in these terms: *fan-pen-tcheng-yun-meou-sa-lo-kie-p'o.* "The Sanskrit original has the exact expression: musāragarbha." In another passage (Kor. 124[b] = Ch. 143[a]), where the text has, *kiun-houei-pi-k'ieou,* Houei-yuan adds the gloss: *fan-pen-tcheng-yun Yin-t'o-lo-mo-ti-pi-k'ieou.*" "In the Sanskrit text

[3] See the Special Note A on page 19 below.

the expression is: Indramati bhikṣu." Thus the author of the *Yin-yi* does not attempt arbitrary restoration; in case of doubt he turns to the Sanskrit manuscript. He has also at his disposal, and consults with the same conscientiousness, the original manuscript of the translation designated by him: *king-pen* (Kor. 114a = Ch. 134a, twice).

Either the Sanskrit or the Chinese copy, the *Fan-pen* or the *King-pen*, probably contained marginal notes, similar to the notes of our classic editions, and it is from these that Houei-yuan must have drawn a part of his information. Fifty years before, Hiuen-yuan had compiled, from the same materials, his glossary of the Tripiṭaka: *Yi-tsie-king-yin-yi*, and later, towards the end of the VIIIth century Houei-lin composed a still fuller glossary under the same title. I have already pointed out in my first article, when speaking of the enumeration in which the name *Chou-le* (= Kashgar) occurs, that [546] Houei-yuan does not comment on all the terms employed; he leaves out Pāṭaliputra, Kāçmīra, *Nan-ti-po-tan-na*, which he explains elsewhere in his work, *Tsing-tsing-pei-ngang* (perhaps because it is a compound made up of purely Chinese words instead of being a simple transcription); finally *Mo-lan-to* and *Kan-pou-tche*. Each of these two names is accompanied by the same note: *wei fan* "no translation." He means that Çikṣānanda has omitted to give the translation. Houei-yuan, as a good etymologist of the Hindu school, would have had no difficulty in imagining a satisfactory interpretation of these words, but he refuses to invent one when the translation is missing.

We are now enabled to seek the source whence Houei-yuan drew his information about *Chou-le*. The formula introducing the mention of the term *K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le* is unique, as I have said, throughout the whole of the *Yin-yi*. This apparent exception, in the case of a usage absolutely uniform, cannot in fairness be considered accidental. Houei-yuan did not say: *Chou-le, tcheng-yun, k'ia-lou* . . . . [" *Chou-le*; the correct expression is *K'ia-lou* . . . "]. By using this phrase he would have indicated that *Chou-le* was correctly rendered *K'ia-lou* . . . in Sanskrit. He was too well-informed to make such a statement; and he knew as well as modern philologists the forms brought into the language by Hiuan-Tsang: *Kia-cha, Chi-li-ki-li-to-ti*. But we have another means of clearing up the question definitively.

Before the translation of the Avataṃsaka by Çikṣānanda, the sūtra had been translated, towards the beginning of the Vth century, by Buddhabhadra. This translation has been preserved and I have given an account of it in my first article; it coincides exactly,[4] as to the names of countries, with the translation of Çikṣānanda, except in the case of this very *Chou-le*. In place of this name which corresponds to a precisely defined locality, Buddhabhadra's translation gives: *Pien-yi*, "the border-barbarians." Yet there was nothing to prevent the first translator from writing *Chou-le*, or an analogous name, if the original text contained the name Kashgar. This divergence requires explanation. To guard against any hasty conclusion I will first examine a document closely allied to our list.

The Mahā-saṃnipāta-sūtra (*Ta-tsi-king*) translated into Chinese by Narendrayaças between 589 and 618 contains, in the section of the Sūryagarbha sūtra (Tôk. ed. III. 3, 52), a list of the spots sanctified by the presence of a Bodhisattva. "At Vaiçālī dwells the holy man *Chen-tchou* (happy sojourn: Susthāna?) *meou-ni* (muni) . . . ; in Magadha, *Pi-pou-lo-peng-kia* (Vipulāpāṅga) *meou-ni* (muni) . . . ; at Mathurā, *Ngai-yu-yen* (to love-cloud-fire) . . . ; in Koçala [547] *Che-ye-cheou-to* (Jayaçuddha?) *meou-ni* (muni) . . ; at *Sou-po-la-k'ia-sa-tche-meou-tchi-lin-to* (Supāraka saca? mucilinda) the holy man *Hiang* (perfume) . . ; in Gandhāra *Ta-li-che-na-jou-mo-lo* (Darçanajñāmala?) *meou-ni* (muni) . . . . ; in *Ki-pin* (Kapiça-Kāçmīra) *Kong-*[*kong*]-*mo-ni-k'ia* (Kuṅkuma?) *meou-ni* (muni) . . . ; in *Ngan-feou-li-mo, Yi-t'sang-yeu* (myriad, deposit,

[4] Çikṣānanda's translation omits, however, the note concerning Pāṭaliputra and the Monastery of the Golden Lamp. The note marked 1 (p. 247 of my first article in the *Bulletin*, p. 3, of the *tirage à part*) refers to this notice and has nothing to do with the indication of the 45th chapter, over which the note-sign has been erroneously placed.

flame : Koṭigarbhaprabha ?) *meou-ni* (muni) . . . ; in China (*Tchen-t'an*) *Na-lo-ye-na-fo-lo-po-so* (Nārāyaṇa-prabhāsa ?) *meou-ni* (muni) . . . . . ; at Khotan (*Yu-t'ien*) on the steep banks of the river near mount *Nieou-t'eou* (cow's head : Goçīrṣa) *Kiu-mo-po* [var-*so*]-*lo-hiang* (Gomasālagandha)."

This list is evidently parallel to that of the Avataṃsaka;[5] the only notable divergence bears on the very name we are studying. Where Çikṣānanda writes *Chou-le* (Kashgar) or Buddhabhadra writes *Pien-yi* (the border-barbarians), the translator of the Sūryagarbha writes *Yu-t'ien* (Khotan). The divergence is the more surprising as the details agree all round **[548]**. Whether it be a question of Kashgar or the border-barbarians or Khotan, the consecrated locality is always "the Cow's Head" (Goçīrṣa). The difference between the three interpreters can only be explained by admitting a common original capable of three interpretations.

The value of Houei-yuan's formula is then most clearly evident. In the new translation of the Avataṃsaka he meets with an expression which, compared with the ancient version, looks alarmingly like an arbitrary invention. Why *Chou-le* when Buddhabhadra said *Pien-yi*? The correct name is *K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le*, replies Houei-yuan. Well and good, but why *Chou-lê* rather than *Pien-yi*? In reply to this question **[549]** Houei-yuan then gives the venturesome etymology that sends a shudder through such severe philologists as M. Pischel and M. Franke. Nothing is more simple, adds Houei-yuan, with the calm assurance of etymologists who have not studied Comparative Grammar; *Chou-le* is derived directly from *K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le* (a derivation recalling *cadaver* from *caro data vermibus*). You can see quite well how *Chou-le* is a faithful translation of the word in the Sanskrit original.

We know now whence comes this mysterious *K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le*, which could not have fallen from heaven. Houei-yuan had simply taken it from the Sanskrit text at his disposal, whether it were that he reproduced a *note justificative* of the translator Çikṣānanda or himself invented the etymological explanation put forward. At the same time, the name *K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le* retreats into the past as far as the distant epoch to which the Avataṃsaka-sūtra belongs. We shall succeed in fixing the data, but before undertaking this new research I ought to submit anew to verification the transcription I have proposed for *K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le*: Kharoṣṭra. M. Franke, who has discussed it, has not disputed its phonetic exactness, but, taking his stand on the etymology of Houei-yuan, who could hardly have expected the honour of being taken seriously so late in the day, he has proposed two other restorations of the Sanskrit form : Kaluṣāntara, Kaluṣadhara ; and M. Pischel has suggested yet another: Kaluṣottara.

These restorations of M. Franke, supported by the authority of M. Pischel, mark a regrettable step backwards in science. It is forty-three years since Stanislas Julien founded the *étude positive* of transcriptions and published a *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois* (Paris, 1861). The work is not perfect; the materials brought together demand, at the present day, more rigorous classification; but, such as it is, it would have rendered it unnecessary for M. Franke to have recourse to fanciful combinations. The **[550]** character *K'ia* occurs there [No. 570—No. 575], and in all the examples[6] it represents the aspirated guttural of the Sanskrit. No sound is more surely established, and it is easy to add to the examples given by Julien. I will refer the reader in a general way to the Index of Hiouen-tsang, and content myself with quoting transcriptions borrowed from works less widely known. The Japanese Dictionary of the Dhāraṇīs (*T'o-lo-ni tseu-tien*) gives, among others, the following : — *k'ia*, translated the void = kha; *k'ia-ni-ye-to-kia*, translated fire-fly = khadyotaka; *k'ia-tch'a*, translated bed = khaṭa; *k'ia-ngo-tche-lo-na*, translated flight = khagaraṇa (corr. khacar°); *li-k'ia*, translated letter = lekhā, and *k'ia-lo*, translated ass = khara. The *Fan-yu-tsien-tseu-wen* or Thousand Sanskrit Words of I-tsing makes (p. 47a) *k'ia-lo* represent the Sanskrit word which translates ass (= khara), whereas

5 See the Special Note B on page 19 below.

6 See the Special Note C on page 21 below.

the *Fan-yu-tsa-ming* (p. 38a) renders the same Chinese word (*lou*), *ngo-lo-na*, that is, garda, an incomplete form of gardabha. The *Fou-kiao-tzeu-tien* (p. 36) quotes *k'ia-li*, bushel = kharī, and *k'ia-lou*, the tenth of a bushel = khara. One of the clearest examples occurring in the *Yin-yi* of Hiouen-ying, Chap. I., is the rhinoceros [= khaḍga]. Thus in the case of *K'ia-lou-chou* . . . no transcription can be accepted, having other than an aspirated guttural as the initial letter; the same may be said with even more certainty (if that could be) where a word is reproduced by the author of a *Yin-yi* **[551]** professing to represent the written sounds in a scientific way, uninfluenced by the alterations often inherent in oral transmission.[7]

The character *lou* does not call for discussion; it represents the liquid followed by a labial vowel. On the other hand the character *chou*, according to M. Franke, lends itself to a transcription differing from mine. "Among the divers pronunciations of this sign," he says, "the dictionary of *K'ang-hi* gives, beside the sounds *chou* and *chouo* (Cantonese: chok) two sounds, both of which have a final nasal (*soung* and *sun*). It is evident from this that the said sound *chou* had a nasal element at the end or, at least, could have one; this sign therefore was fitted to represent a Sanskrit °ṣān° rather than another sign *chou*, which, according to *K'ang-hi*, had no nasal sound." As this is purely a question of Chinese philology I will let the Sinologists speak for themselves. M. Pelliot replies (*Bulletin*, III. 479-480): "It is none the less a fact, I fear, that *chou* is not in any case pronounced with a final nasal. Certainly the *K'ang-hi-tzeu-tien* says that *chou* is pronounced in certain cases like the character which M. Franke transcribes *song*; but to this last character belong, in reality, a whole series of pronunciations: *seou*, *sou*, *chou*, *song*, and the *K'ang-hi* states very distinctly that if our *chou* is sometimes pronounced like the other *chou*, it is because the latter character is pronounced *ch(ouang) (y)u*, that is to say *chou* . . . . It is the same with another sign which M. Franke reads *siuan*. Such is, in fact, the ordinary pronunciation of the character, but there is also a subsidiary pronunciation *s(ong) (ts')iu* = *siu*, and *K'ang-hi* here again lays down the rule that *chou* is pronounced like *siuan* when this last character is pronounced *siu*. Consequently *chou* can in no case be pronounced with a final nasal." Confining myself to the field of transcription from the Sanskrit, I can put before M. Franke a fact which will doubtless convince him: in the *Yin-yi* in which Houei-yuan gives the transcription *K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le*, this same character *chou* is employed in the body of a word which can be restored without difficulty (Kor. 129a = Ch. 147b). The text of the Avataṃsaka has *Mo-lo-ti-kouo*, kingdom of *Mo-lo-ti*. Houei-yuan adds the gloss: "It is the *Mo-lo-ye-ti-chou; Mo-lo-ye* is the name of a mountain; *ti-chou* is the interior. It is said that in the interior of this kingdom is the mountain *Mo-lo-ye*; hence its name." The Sanskrit then is Malayadeço in which *chou* represents the palatal sibilant followed by a labial vowel.

[552] The transcription °*chou-tan-le*, employed here by Houei-yuan, is not the normal transcription of the Sanskrit group ṣṭra,[8] I willingly admit: we should rather expect to find, as the Chinese equivalent, *chö tch'a lo*; the first two *chö-tch'a* may be found almost uniformly serving to reproduce the Sanskrit cerebrals ṣ and ṭ. Here again it is sufficient, so numerous are the examples, to refer to Julien's *Méthode* (No. 1554) and the Index to Hiouen-tsang. The group ṣṭra is rare in Sanskrit and not often to be found in the transcriptions. Still I have been able to find some. The *To-lo-ni-tseu-tien* contains *wou-chö-tch'a-lo*, translated camel = uṣṭra, or *tan-chö-tch'a-lo* or *neng-cha-tch'a-lo*, translated tooth = daṃṣṭrā. The *Fan-yi-ming-yin-yi-tsi* (XVIII. 10) gives *ho-lo-cha-tch'a-lo* = rāṣṭra, kingdom. But if the form °*chou-tan-le* is not the usual transcription, it is not abnormal and is quite defensible. I have already quoted, following Julien (No. 1622) who borrows it from the *Fan-yi* (XV. fol. 19), the transcription *pou-chou-po* **[553]** = puṣpa. The *Fan-yi* itself copies the *Fa-yuen-chou-lin* (Ch. 9; Tôk. ed. XXXVI. 5, p. 84a) which reproduces the list and the transcription

[7] I will add, to be quite certain on this point, that though the Korean edition has, mistakenly, the character *yi* (corrected by the gloss), the Chinese edition gives the character *k'ia*, as do the compilers who have reproduced this text.

[8] See the Special Note D on page 22 below.

of the *Fo-pen-hing-tsi-king*, translated by Jñānagupta between 580 and 618 (Nanj. 680; Tôk. ed. XIII. 7, 40[b]); thus the form *Pou-chou-po* goes back to Jñānagupta and the VIth-VIIth century. The *Fan-yi* gives, in another passage, another transcription of this word (VIII. fol. 13, Julien No. 1554): *pou-se-po*. The transcriptions *pou-chou-po* = puṣpa, °*lou-chou-tan* = rost, are in perfect harmony with fundamental principles; the Chinese method cannot directly express a group of consonants (more particularly this group ṣṭra, a combination of letters which not any Chinese can pronounce as M. Schlegel says in "The Secret of the Chinese Method . ." § 23). The Chinese, therefore, resolves the elements one by one, but brings out their organic unity by means of vowel harmony. Thus, to take an example which may be found everywhere, the name Pūrṇa is regularly transcribed *Fou-lou-na* in which *fou-lou* represents pūr° as *pou-chou* does puṣ° and *lou-chou* °roṣ. If Houei-yuan, or Çikṣānanda himself, preferred the optional transcription *lou-chou-tan* to the usual transcription *lou-se-tch'a*, it was because he had need of it to justify the new translation. The introduction of the syllable *chou* in the Sanskrit word afforded, in appearance, some ground for the proposed equivalent to *chou-le*: (*k'ia-lou*) *chou-*(*tan-*)*le*. Afterwards it only needed a little sleight-of-hand, at which no one could wish to cavil, to substitute for the syllable *chou* in the transcription (that is, *chou* marked with the falling tone, *k'iu-cheng*) the syllable *chou* of the name *chou-le* (Kashgar) marked with the uniform higher tone (*chang-p'ing*).

Last comes the group *tan-le* which M. Franke transcribes at pleasure °tara and °dhara, with a preference for dhara. M. Pischel, without any objection from M. Franke, restores the form as °ttara. I have never seen a single example of the character employed to represent a Sanskrit aspirate. The word dhāra occurs in the list in the Avataṃsaka; Çikṣānaṇda employs the character *t'o* to transcribe the aspirated dental in Gandhāra. The restoration °tara, °ttara, is not impossible. Julien quotes (1680, 1681) two examples of this; some others may be added. Mahattara, Himatala, Uttara in Hiouen-tsang; but the regular, almost uniform, function of the character *tan* is to indicate a Sanskrit *t* as the first element of a group. Julien gives (1682) *ta-lo* for t-ra; (1683) *ta-li* for t-re; (1684) *ta-li* for t-ṛ; (1685) *ta-lan* for tram; (1686) *ta-touo* for t-tva. Given the frequent occurrence of the group tra in Sanskrit, we could add to this list from the Index of Hiouen-tsang. But I prefer to ask from Houei-yuan the solution of the problem posed by him. Commenting on the word *che-li-fou* of the new translation, Houei-yuan (Kor. 124[a] = Ch. 143[a]) says: "The correct expression is *che-li-pou-tan-lo*: *che-li* is the paroquet; *pou-tan-lo* is the son" = putra; *tan-lo* = t-ra. To [554] explain the expression *tch'a-li-wang* (p. 119[b] = 139[a]) he writes: — The exact expression is *tch'a-tan-li-ye*, which means: lord of the earth = Kṣatriya; *tan-li* for t-ri. But the most obvious case is that of *tan-li-tien* (114[b] = 134[a]) on which Houei-yuan comments in these terms: The correct expression in Sanskrit is *tan-li-ye*, *tan-li-che*; *tan-li-ye* means three; *tan-li-che* means thirty = trayastriṃçās; *tan-li*, twice represents t-ra(y) and tr-i.

The character *le* also deserves notice; its use reveals, as the character *chou* has already done, the concealed intention of the commentator. Houei-yuan regularly employs the character *lo* to render the Sanskrit final ra. The Sanskrit-Chinese texts usually employ the character *le* to represent the Sanskrit sound la or ra followed by a mute guttural (*cf.*, for example, Julien No. 780—783). It may be found regularly as a final in the traditional abbreviation of the name Maitreya, *Mi-le*, where it represents a Sanskrit sound re. I cannot help believing that Houei-yuan (or Çikṣānanda) has carried exactitude too far this time and rendered the final of the Sanskrit word with unexpected fidelity, just as it appeared in the original, that is in the locative singular. In this way he obtained the second element necessary to his equation; *K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le* = *Chou-le*.

We are led on with almost mathematical certainty to write Kha-ro-ç[o] or ṣ[o]-tre opposite *K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le*. I have shown how this transcription has been made to serve an argument; I do not think I am presumptuous in substituting for its wilful anomalies the correct form: Kharoṣṭra. Kharoṣṭra belongs henceforth to the geographical nomenclature of India. The Avataṃsaka, which makes us acquainted with it, is a work with a history, or at least with a tradition.

Like all the sūtras, it naturally originates with the Buddha in person, but the orthodoxy of the Great Vehicle makes no difficulty of its appearance in the world at the same time as so many texts of the Mahāyāna, the Laṅkāvatāra, the Ghanavyūha, the Ratnakūṭa, the Dharmasaṃgīti and many others, when the son of king Kaniṣka resided at his capital Puṣkalāvatī, and the same with many other texts, among them sūtras coming from the gods, the Nāgas, Gandharvas, Rākṣasas and various countries, especially the land of the Nāgas (Tāranātha, trans. Schiefner, p. 63). Nāgārjuna is the hero of this period; it is said, indeed, that Nāgārjuna discovered the Avataṃsaka in the land of the Nāgas.[9] Nāgārjuna was the contemporary of king Çātavāhana, to whom he addressed a celebrated epistle. On all sides [555] indications agree in placing the edition[10] or compilation of the Avataṃsaka at the beginning of the Christian era. And we are brought back to this same period by the geography of the writings mentioned in the Lalitavistara, in which the Kharoṣṭrī script figures in the second rank. It is again to the Indo-Scythian period that we must refer the name "Kharosta Yuvaraja" inscribed on the Mathurā pillar.

Can we go yet further with our documents and determine the region to which custom gave the name Kharoṣṭra? Buddhabhadra understands by this: the barbarians of the North; Çikṣānanda translates: Kashgar; the Sūryagarbha gives: Khotan. But, notwithstanding these divergences, the consecrated place bears the same name in the three texts; it is the "Cow's Head," which presupposes some such Sanskrit word as Goçīrṣa in the original. The name has not hitherto been found in the religious geography of Buddhism. But I have discovered it in an interesting notice in the *Yin-yi* of Houei-lin[11] (Ch. 11; Tôk. ed. XXXIX. 8, p. 88[a]), "Yu-t'ien . . . . as to this kingdom it has been united with the cities of the four garrisons (*tchenn*) (of the protectorate) of *Ngan-si*; it forms one of these garrisons. In this city is a temple of the genius *Pi-cha-men* (Vaïçravaṇa); it is a seven-storied wooden tower; the genius dwells at the top of the tower; he shows his supernatural power in many ways. Within the borders of this kingdom is the Cow's Head Mountain (Goçīrṣa). A celestial spirit comes from time to time to set foot on this mountain and to abide there; this mountain has a river of jade; the river usually brings down magnificent jade in its course. The king of the realm regularly collects these gems and comes from afar to offer them at the court. Tchang-ngan lies more than 12,000 *li* to the East."

From the description of the Cow's Head Mountain as given by Houei-lin, we are enabled to recognise at once the famous mountain which Hiouen-tsang (Mem. II. 229) describes under the name of Goçṛṅga (Cow's Horn), of which we still possess the "Māhātmya" preserved in the Tibetan Kandjour (Mdo. XXX. 10: *Ri-glaṅ-ru-lung bstan-pa* = Goçṛṅga vyākaraṇa). The Tibetan translation of the Sūryagarbha-sūtra (Kandjour, Mdo. XX. p. 336[a]) turns our confidence into practical certainty. The Chinese version of Narendrayaças, quoted above, concludes an enumeration of pīṭhas consecrated to the residence of Bodhisattvas by saying: "At *Yu-t'ien* on the precipitous rock quite close to the river, on the [556] mountain *Nieou-t'eou* (Cow's Head) are the dwelling and the Caitya of the great saint *Kiu-mo-po*-[*so*]-*lo hiang* (perfume)." The corresponding passage in the Tibetan says: In the country of *Kha-ça* in the place of the bosom of the earth (*Sa'i-nu-ma*, Ku-stana) on the hilly (*ṅos*) shore of the Gomatī (Tib. *Go-ma-ti*) near the Cow's Horn

[9] Journ. Roy. As. Soc., old ser. XVI. 326: "A Chinese editor (of the Avataṃsaka) says in his preface that the Buddhist at Twa-Lung-shu (naga kroshuna) [*sic*! corr. the Bodhisattva Lung-shu Nāgārjuna] found it in the Dragon Palace, containing forty-eight sections (*pin*). The Chinese translation has but thirty-nine sections." (The translation described here is therefore that of Çikṣānanda). — *Cf.* also Wassilieff, Buddhismus, German trans. p. 123.

[10] According to Tāranātha, the original recension consisted of 1,000 sections (according to the Chinese editor, mentioned in the preceding note, 49 sections). But wars, conflagrations and repeated devastations, following one upon another, between the time of Mātṛceta (Açvaghoṣa) and that of Asaṅga, reduced the number to 38 sections (Tār. p. 98). The Chinese translation of Buddhabhadra reckons 34 sections (subdivided into 60 chapters), while that of Çikṣānanda reckons 39 subdivided into 80 chapters. The Mahābhārata, Bṛhatkathā, &c., have similar legends which doubtless indicate the unstable condition of the original material.

[11] As to this *Yin-yi* (*Yi-tsie-king-yin-yi*), *cf.* my first article, *Bulletin*, 1902, p. 248 *sq*. I will remind the reader that the work dates from the VIIIth—IXth century.

Mountain (*Glaṅ-ru* = Goçṛṅga) dwells *Go-ma-sā-la-gan-dha.* If we compare these two versions we have no longer any doubt that the Cow's Head Mountain is identical with Mount Goçṛṅga. The site of the Goçṛṅga has been recognised by M. Grenard (Mission Dutreuil de Rhins, 3e partie, p. 142) and verified by Dr. Stein (Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan, p. 244); it is the hill now known as Kohmari, "the conglomerate cliff rising almost perpendicularly above the right bank" of Kara-Kash (Stein). This is certainly the "precipitous rock" of the Chinese version and the "hilly (*ṅos*) shore" of the Tibetan. The saint Gomaśālagandha is, without doubt, the Arhat of whom Hiouen-tsang speaks: "plunged in the ecstasy which extinguishes thought, he awaits, within a chamber hollowed out of the rock, the coming of Maitreya." Finally it is this grotto[12] which is considered, rightly or wrongly, to be the repository of the celebrated manuscript of the Dhammapada in the Kharoṣṭrī character, found in 1872, and acquired partly by the Dutreuil de Rhins Mission and partly by M. Petrovsky.

The Tibetan version of the Sūryagarbha gives the Sanskrit name of the Kara-Kash in the Hindu period of Khotan; the river was then called the Gomatī. One of the great monasteries of Khotan also bore this name: Gomatī-mahāvihāra (*Kiu-mo-ti ta-tcheu*); it is there that Ngan-yang Heou (Nanj. App. II. 68 and 83) met the Hindu monk Buddhasena at the beginning of the Vth century (*Tchou-san-tsang-ki-tsi*, Chap. 14; Tôk. ed. XXXVIII. 1, p. 86b).

Since the holy place of Kharoṣṭra was in the neighbourhood of Khotan, we need not be surprised if the name Khotan alternates with that of Kharoṣṭra in the geographical nomenclature of the sūtras. But, according to the testimony of the Tibetan version of the Sūryagarbha, Khotan was situated "in the land of Khaça" (*Kha-ça'i yul na sa'i nu-ma'i gnas*). The name Khaça is well known in Sanskrit literature; it is familiar in epic poems, codes and religious works. I have already had occasion to discuss it with reference to Nepal, where the name still survives in current usage; the Gurkhas like to call themselves Khas (Khasas) and their language is best known by the name Khas (or Parbatiya); not to multiply detailed references, which will be found in my book on Nepal, I will content myself with pointing out that the name Khasa or Khaça (the two forms are equally authorized) applies, in current Hindu usage, to all the half-Hinduized tribes inhabiting the Himalayan region. But in Central Asia this name had acquired a more precisely limited meaning. The list **[557]** of writings in the Lalitavistara mentions a writing of the Khaças; Khāçya or Khāsya, in Chinese *K'ia-cha* or *K'o-cha* or *K'o-so*, corresponding to the Sanskrit variants, Khaça, Khaṣa, Khasa, and this writing is classed between that of the Daradas (*To-lo; Ta-lo-to*, with the note "mountain on the borders of *Ou-tchang*," that is, of Udyāna) and the writing of Cīna (the gloss on which is: *Soei*, the name of the dynasty reigning in China at the time of the translation). Thus, the land of Khaça occupied the space between Dardistan on the lower Indus and the frontiers of China proper. Jñānagupta, who translated the Biography of the Buddha between 589 and 618 (*Fo-pen-hing tsi-king*, Nanjio, 680; Tôk. ed. XIII. 7, 40b) simply adds to the name of the *K'o-cha* (Khaṣa) script the gloss: "*Chou-le*," that is, Kashgar. In the T'ang period, Khasa was uniformly accepted as the equivalent of *Chou-le.* Hiouen-tsang (Mémoires, II. 219) describes Kashgar under the name Khaṣa and only mentions *Chou-le* as the ancient name of the kingdom. Others relied on his testimony from that time and it has been constantly repeated. The Annals of the T'ang give the two names *Chou-le* and *K'a-cha* side by side. Çikṣānanda was not therefore, properly speaking, mistaken in translating the Sanskrit name Kharoṣṭra: *Chou-le.* According to one of the sacred texts, the Sūryagarbha-sūtra, the mountain Goçṛṅga is in the Khaça country, and orthodox opinion held Khaça to be no other than the name of Kashgar.

But if Khotan and Kashgar have each a claim to be considered the regular equivalent of Kharoṣṭra, the translation proposed by Buddhabhadra has the merit of reconciling these rival

12 According to M. Grenard the natives interpret the name Kohmari, "the serpent of the mountain." According to the Sūryagarbha this site was inhabited by the Nāga *Ki-li-ho-po-ti* (Tib. Khyim-bdag), that is Gṛhapati. The modern interpretation, whether correct or not, certainly carries on the ancient tradition.

pretensions and bringing the two equivalents together in one, which, by its greater comprehensiveness, is so much the more authentic. Khotan and Kashgar are certainly situated in the zone of the Pien-yi, the border-barbarians settled on the frontiers of India and of China, in those undefined regions which have the common characteristic of being open to the competing influences of China, India and Persia without yielding to them, regions which we can include with tolerable correctness in the "Turkestan" of modern geography. India, Kharoṣṭra, China ; these are the three great divisions of the Buddhist world ; and study of the traditional notions on writing confirms this statement. In vain did the redactor of the Lalitavistara enjoin belief in a supposed list of sixty-four scripts which the Buddha claimed to know without having studied them, to the great confusion of the professors of his century. The schools in which the real characters were studied prudently set this list aside without discussion, and only three categories of writings were recognised by them : the Fan (Brāhmī), written from left to right ; the *K'ia-lou* (an abbreviation of *K'ia-lou-chö-ti*, Kharoṣṭrī), written from right to left ; and lastly the Chinese, written downwards. Each character has its sacred sponsor ; the god *Fan* (Brahma) created the first ; the ṛṣi (*sien-jen*) K'ia-lou (an abridged form of *K'ia-lou-chö-tch'a* : Kharoṣṭha) created the second ; lastly, Ts'ang-hie created the third. The first work in which I found this classification of the scripts, with the names of their inventors, was the valuable catalogue of the Tripiṭaka compiled by Seng-yeou towards the year 520 : *Tchou-san-tsang ki-tsi* [558] (Nanjio, 1476 ; Tôk. ed. XXXVIII. 1, p. 3b). The Siddhaṃ (*Si-tan*) schools, which devote themselves to the mystic study of the Sanskrit characters, repeat and perpetuate this division into three. I found it again, among others, in the *Si-tan-tsang*, Ch. I. p, 16a ; in the *Si-tan san-mi-tchao*, Ch. I. p. 3b ; in the *Si-tan-tseu ki-tche-nan-tch'ao*, Ch. I. p. 4a. Thus the Kharoṣṭrī character takes the same place among writings as Kharoṣṭra in geography : it is the halting-place, the stage between India and China.

The use of the word Kharoṣṭra marks a phase in the Asiatic movement ; the conversion of the Yue-tchi to Indian Buddhism opened the whole of Central Asia to Hindu expansion, from the frontiers of Persia to the western bank of the Hoang-ho. The India of the Sanskrit tongue, brought abruptly into relations with new countries of whose existence she was hardly aware, learned new names for them, either invented by herself or adopted according to her fancy. But the India of the Brahmans scornfully refused to annex these barbarous lands, these countries of Mlecchas ; taking her script as her flag, so to speak, the Brāhmī script, which she professed to have received from the god Brahma himself, she set it up as a symbol of perfection against the vulgar character of Kharoṣṭra, the Kharoṣṭrī. The prejudice implanted by Brahmanic superiority appears clearly in a Buddhist work, the Vibhāṣā-Çāstra, translated in 383 by *Saṅgha-po-teng* (Nanjio, II. 54). The author teaches that there should be a gradual progress through each one of the bhūmis in due order, and adds, by way of comparison : "Even so, it is from study of the Brāhmī (*fan*) writing that one advances with greater speed in the study of the Kharoṣṭrī (*K'ia-lou*) ; it is not by studying Kharoṣṭrī writing that one advances more speedily in the study of the Brāhmī." (*Pi-po-cha-loun*, Ch. XI., Nanj. 1279 ; Tôk. ed. XXII. 9, p. 67b). The same train of thought, accompanied by the same comparison, is to be found in the corresponding passage of the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā-çāstra, translated by Buddhavarman between 425 and 440 (*Ngo-pi-tan pi-po-cha-loun*, Ch. XI., Nanj. 1264 ; Tôk. ed. XXI. 10, p. 12b), and of the Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā-çāstra, translated by Hiouen-tsang[13] (*Ngo-pi-ta-mo-ta-pi-po-cha-loun*, Ch. LXXXII., Nanj. 1263 ; Jap. ed. XXII. 4, p. 26a). The Vibhāṣā-çāstra again brings us back, with a mention of the Kharoṣṭrī writing, to the same period as the Avataṃsaka-sūtra and the Lalitavistara ; indeed, it passes for the work of the 500 Arhats summoned together in council by Kaniṣka (Hiouen-tsang, Vie, p. 95 ; Mémoires, I. 177).

An interesting gloss on the passage in the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā-çāstra is given by Hiouen-ying in his *Yi-tsie-king-yin-yi*, Ch. XVIII. : "*K'ia-lou.* The correct expression is *K'ia-lou-chö-tch'a* =

13 Hiouen-tsang, a more scrupulous translator than his predecessors, writes, instead of the shortened form *k'ia-lou*, the word *k'ia-lou-chö-tcha*, Kharoṣṭha.

Kharoṣṭha. This name is given to [559] the writing of the frontier peoples of the Northern region." This gloss has found its way, word for word, into the *Yin-yi* of Houei-lin, Ch. LXVII., and afterwards into the *Fan-yi-ming-yi-tsi*, Ch. XIV., where M. Franke has already pointed it out. It is not without interest to ascertain that this information occurs for the first time not in a compilation of the XIIth century (1151), but in a glossary composed at the time of Hiouen-tsang himself, in 649, when Sanskrit learning was flourishing in China. Hiouen-ying's gloss on the Kharoṣṭrī comes very near Buddhabhadra's translation of the word Kharoṣṭra. Just as Kharoṣṭra is the country of the border-barbarians, Kharoṣṭrī is the writing of the border-barbarians. The country nearest to the Kharoṣṭrī on the north is, and can only be, India, for the information of the author of the Sanskrit-Chinese commentary is evidently derived from Hindu sources, whether collected by him personally or borrowed from explanatory notes given by his predecessors. The second alternative is the more probable, for the names Kharoṣṭrī and Kharoṣṭra seemed to have disappeared from actual usage in the VIIth century, doubtless even earlier. They have been supplanted by another term marking a new change in the destinies of Central Asia. After the impetuous advance of the Yue-tchi, which had momentarily connected Central Asia with India, China resumed her policy of expansion towards the West, reconquered lost territory and imposed her hegemony on distant vassals. When brought into regular contact in her turn with the chaos of tribes and hordes wandering round about the Pamir between the Yellow River, the Aral Sea, Siberia and India, China included them in the vague and convenient designation *Hou*. Whatever the original value of this vocable may have been, it was made to apply, without distinction of race, to all the inhabitants of that vast territory. India herself was confounded from afar with her barbarian neighbours and incorporated with the undefined mass of the *Hou*. The sanctity of the associations belonging to the country of the Buddha has safeguarded the name *Fan* (Brahma), reserved, in principle, for things Indian, but in the practice even of the Buddhists themselves there is a confusion between the terms. It would be as easy as it would be useless to multiply examples. I will only quote the scholar Seng-yeou, who wrote between 500 and 520, at a period when correct and clear notions on India were already widely diffused among the Chinese clergy. In his catalogue of the Tripiṭaka, of which I have already made use, Seng-yeou (XXXVIII. 1, 1^a) frequently has occasion to compare the originals of texts with the Chinese versions, either with respect to the meaning, the spirit or the sound; but in mentioning the originals he uses sometimes the word *hou*, sometimes the word *fan*, with such complete impartiality that the editors of the Yuan and the Ming versions have thought themselves justified in uniformly restoring the form *fan* instead of *hou*; and the Japanese editor points out that the same observation holds good for the entire work. In the Korean text, which has not undergone these alterations, the terms *hou-wenn* (p. 77^b) and *fan-wenn* (93^a), *hou-chou* (9^b) and *fan-chou* (78^b) occur without any apparent or plausible distinction. If Buddhabhadra founded his translation of [560] the Avataṃsaka on a *hou-pen* brought from Khotan, we are tempted to admit that the term *hou* here denotes either a Prākrit original, or a writing of the Kharoṣṭrī type, as against the Sanskrit (*fan*) or the Brāhmī (*fan*). But Fa-hien stayed three years at Pāṭaliputra (*Pa-lien-fou*) to study the *hou* writing (*hou-chou*) and the *hou* words (*hou-yu*); and in this case the Prākrit and Kharoṣṭrī must evidently be excluded. Seng-yeou's variations can, without doubt, be accounted for by the diversity of his sources; he is but a compiler, and copies his extracts faithfully, without thinking of bringing them into harmony with one another.

But, a century later, the accession of the T'ang begins a new era. The empire has grown and organisation follows; facts and order find their place in science. Hiouen-tsang's journey introduces systematic knowledge of the Hindu world. The word *hou* regains a precise and definite value. Hiouen-tsang, it is true, is not very precise himself as to the sense of this term; he seems to avoid it purposely, as giving rise to regrettable confusion. If by chance he uses it, it is simply as an ethnological term used by the imperial government; in this way he distinguishes the Hou from the Khotanese, the Hindus and the Huns, in a curious note in the *Si-yu-ki*, which Stanislas Julien has overlooked or omitted. At the end of his notice of Tcho-kiu-kia (Book XII.) he writes "after a journey of eight hundred li you reach *Kiu-sa-tan-na*"; he adds, "In Chinese this means the bosom

of the earth. Such is the popular interpretation. In the current language they say *Houan-na*. The Hioung-nou say: *Yu-touen*. The Hou say: *Houo-tan*. The In-tou (Hindus) say: *Kiu-tan*. Formerly people used to say: *Yu-tien*." Unlike Hiouen-tsang, Yi-tsing rather enjoys the word *Hou*; but he has a precise notion of its meaning. "The *Hou* frontier," he says, "is the whole of Sou-li, in the Northern region (*Nan-hai* . . . . Ch. XXV.; Tôk. ed. 82a; Takakusu's translation, p. 119). In the same work he again mentions (Ch. IX.; Tôk. ed. 73a; Takakusu, 49): "The *Hou* of the Northern region, *Tou-ho-lo* and *Sou-li*" and (Ch. X.; Tôk. ed. 75b; Takakusu 68) "beyond Kashmir the *Hou* of *Sou-li*, the *T'ou-fan*, the *T'ou-kiue*." The Dictionary of the Thousand Sanskrit Words by Yi-tsing (*Fan-yu-tsien-tseu-wen*) renders the Chinese *Hou* by the word *Sou-li* in Sanskrit characters, with the transcription *Souen-lin* (p. 56b). The same word *Sou-li* reappears in the Biographies des Religieux éminents (trad. Chavannes, p. 12) associated with the name *Tou-ho-lo* and coming before it on the route from China to India. Finally the word *Sou-li* transcribed serves to translate the name *Hou* in the Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary *Fan-yu tsa-ming*, where it appears between the *Tou-kiue* and the *Ki-pin*.

But this term *Sou-li* is perfectly defined by Hiuan-tsang (Mem. I. 13): "From the city on the river *Sou-ye* (to the north of the lake Issi-kul) to the kingdom of *Kie-choang-na* (to the S.-W. of Samarkand) the country is called *Sou-li* and the inhabitants bear the same name; this name is also given to the writing and the language. The root forms of the graphic signs are few in number, being but a little more than twenty letters (Julien [561] errs in saying thirty-two), which, in combination, produce a large number of words. They read the texts downwards." Thus the progress of Chinese geography, due to pilgrims, explorers, and ambassadors, brings to our knowledge an intermediate group existing between China and India and affirming its unity and independence by the use of a special character, as did the Kharoṣṭra of ancient times by the Kharoṣṭrī writing.

The distinction between India and the land of the Hou, once recognized and admitted, provoked a kind of reaction against the ancient interpreters who had confounded the two terms and, in so doing, the two regions. Yi-tsing (*Nan-hai* . . . Ch. IX.; Tôk. ed. 72a; Takakusu, p. 42), explaining how the Hindus prostrate themselves, adds: "Formerly people used to say: to kneel down in the Hou fashion. This is badly expressed, for in the five Indias they do likewise. Then why should they speak of doing as the Hou?" A late compilation, the *Song-kao-seng-tch'oan* made in 988 (Tôk. ed. XXXV. 4, p. 80 *sq.*), brings us an echo of the controversies raised from the end of the VIIth century onwards by the distinction between the *Hou* and the *Fan*, controversies which are said to have continued to the time of the Song dynasty: —

"Yen-ts'ong[14] sets forth the eight precautions to be taken, ... Hiuan-tsang has determined the five categories which are not to be translated[15] . . . Now a new theory has been established which involves six rules . . . The second rule concerns the *Hou* language and the *Fan* words. In the five Indias it is the *Fan* language in all its purity; to the north of the snow-clad mountains it is the *Hou*. To the south of the mountains the name is *Po-lo-men* (Brahma, Brāhmaṇa). This kingdom is separate from the *Hou*; the writing and the language are different. Beyond the kingdom of *Kie-choang-na*[16] the written characters number originally twenty and a few over; these are multiplied by combination, and they continue to increase. This writing is read vertically like the Chinese characters. When you come among the *Tou-kie-lo* (Tukhāras) the words and sounds vary gradually;

[14] The personage named Yen-ts'ong mentioned here belongs to 557—610. M. Chavannes has given a résumé of his biography (*Bulletin Ec. Fr. E. Or.* III. 438 *sq.*) we must be careful to distinguish this Yen-ts'ong from another Yen-ts'ong known for a completed edition of the Biography of Hiouen-tsang by Houei-li, published in 688 (the date of the preface placed by Yen-tsong at the head of his work). As to the eight precautions, the Numerical Dictionary, *San-tsang fa-chou*, gives the list (chap. 46, p. 20b), ascribing them, indeed, to (Yen)-ts'ong but not indicating the source.

[15] In his preface to the Vie de Hiouen Tsang (p. xvii.) Julien translates the list (as given in the preface to *Fan-yi-ming-yi-tsi*) of the five categories of words which, according to Hiouen-tsang, should not be translated.

[16] Kesh, on the confines of the *Sou-li* country and *Tou-ho-lo*, *cf.* Hiouen-tsang, Julien's translation, Mem. I. 12; also *ib.* 22 and Vic. 61; Chavannes, Les Tou-kiue occidentaux, p. 217, note, also 120 and 146.

the characters number originally twenty-five. This [562] writing is read horizontally. Beyond the mountains *Ts'ong-ling*, in a southerly direction, is the kingdom of *Kia-pi-che* (Kapiça). The spoken tongue and the letters are the same as among the Tukhāras. The different characters just enumerated are the *Hou*.

"In India the words and characters are those invented by the god *Fan*. Originally forty-seven they are continually multiplied; this is called the Blue Treasure (*Ts'ing ts'ang*) which is made up of twelve sections. It is taught to children; when they are older they go on to the treatises on the Five Sciences.[17] On the whole, these and the *Hou* do not agree. As the territory of the five Indias is very vast, how should there not be certain slight differences ?

"And now, as to these regions, the translators, from the Eastern Han (25—220) to the Souei (589—618), include the whole of Western India under the name of the *Hou* kingdom. And they always speak of the books of sūtras of the *Hou* country, thus confusing with others the true descendants of the god *Fan*.

"That master of the law, Yen-ts'ong, alone understood whither this leads us . . . . . At the beginning all were called *Hou*, without distinction. In the same way, from the time of the Souei dynasty the name *Fan* was bestowed on all in common. As the saying goes : To overstep the mark is not to reach it. If we begin with the primæval trunk it is certainly the *Fan* which predominates ; if we begin with the ramifications, we can keep the designation *Hou*. How so? From the five Indias to the north of the (*Ts'ong-*)*ling*, translations have been made from (the language of) near neighbours. We may then believe that (Yen)-ts'oung has provisionally accepted this for the period preceding ours, and we will not venture to criticise him for so doing. The *Hou* and *Fan* may be found together. For example, the sūtras and the vinaya are transmitted even to *K'ieou-tseu* (Koutcha). At *K'ieou-tseu*, as the language of India was not understood, India was called: the kingdom of *Yin-te-kia*; thus the word was translated. On the other hand, the *Fan* words were retained for such terms as were easy to understand. Thus the *Hou* and the *Fan* were both currently used at the same time.

"In another case both *Hou* and *Fan* are wanting. This happens when the pure Chinese is employed.

"We must distinguish between double translations and direct translations. The translation is direct when the manuscript from India comes straight to China and is translated there ; the translation is double when the sūtras, for example, are handed on to the regions north of the mountains, *Leou-lan*, *Yen-ki*, &c. . . . where the language of India is not understood; then they are translated into *Hou*. Thus in *Fan* they say: *ou-po-to-ye* (upādhyāya); at *Chou-le* (Kashgar), they say: *ou-che*; at [563] *Yu-tien* (Khotan), they say : *houo-chang*. And the king of heaven (devarāja) in *Fan* calls himself *kiu-kiun-lo* (*sic* = Kuvera) ; in *Hou* they say : *Pi-cha-men* (Vaiçramaṇa). The translation is at once double and direct when the monks, bringing texts with them, pass through the *Hou* kingdoms on their way, and thus introduce *Hou* expressions. Thus Kiao-ming (Buddhayaças ; *cf.* Nanjio, II. 61), who recited orally the vinaya of the Dharmaguptas, brought in expressions such as *houo chang*. The translation is neither one nor the other (neither double nor direct) when the monks who bring the sūtras and have used the *Hou* language to travel hither do not make any translation."

If the *Hou* country is the ancient Kharoṣṭra, the writing of the *Hou* country must represent the Kharoṣṭrī. The Siddham schools, which have preserved so many curious notions on the history of Indian writing, do, in fact, know this identity and it comes in their teaching. "The *Hou* writing is the *K'ia-lou* writing. *K'ia-lou* is the name of a ṛṣi (*sien-jen*) who transcribed the *Fan* characters to adapt them to the needs of the time." The work from which I borrow this very precise information,[18] the *Si-tan-ts'ang* (Ch. I. p. 16a), was composed by a Japanese priest in 880, at the period when the

[17] *Cf.* Hiouen-tsang, Mem. I. 72.

[18] See the Special Note E on page 22 below.

Shin-gon sect cultivated with passionate enthusiasm the study of the Siddham, introduced [564] into Japan by the illustrious Kō-bō Dai-chi, who had been to China for initiation (804—806), and who, on his return to his own country, was careful to give directions that the most important texts should be copied and sent to him, among others the *Si-tan-tseu-ki* of Tche-kouan, the Siddham of Campanagara and the Siddham of Kumārajīva. A sub-commentary on the *Si-tou-tseu-ki* of Tche-kouan, composed at the end of the XVIIth century, the *Si-tan-tseu-ki-tche-nan-tchao hiouen-t'an*, reproduces the passage of the *Si-tan-ts'ang* which I have just translated and adds (p. 3b) some further information, the origin of which I cannot determine: "This ṛṣi was born in the Hou kingdom; he composed the writing like this."

It may seem surprising, at the first glance, that Chinese commentators and lexicographers, once in possession of the Sanskrit word Kharoṣṭra (through the transcription *K'ia-lou-chou-tan-le*), were not led, almost immediately, to connect it with the name of the Kharoṣṭrī writing. As a matter of fact, the question could not present itself; the *idolum libri*, which has done so much harm everywhere, had intervened to falsify science. When the name Kharoṣṭra disappeared from actual use, wiped out, doubtless, by the extension of Chinese influence, the name of the Kharoṣṭrī, stripped of all connection with facts, changed, by a normal process of alteration, into Kharoṣṭhī, a word which suggested to the imagination an entirely satisfactory interpretation, "ass-lip," and corresponded quite as well as Kharoṣṭrī to the intermediate form, Kharoṭṭhī, of the vulgar tongue. The two words Kharoṣṭrī and Kharoṣṭhī do, in fact, yield the same Prākrit form Kharoṭṭhī; at this stage of confusion the idea of the lip, oṣṭha, was destined to efface all recollection of the original uṣṭra the camel, so much the more easily as this word uṣṭra, standing alone, goes through an abnormal process in the Prākrits (*cf.* Pischel, Gramm. der Prākrit-Sprachen, § 304) by which it loses the regular aspiration; the Prākrits turn the Sanskrit uṣṭra, auṣṭrika, into uṭṭa, uṭṭiya, while raṭṭhika, for instance (*ib.* § 83), represents the Sanskrit rāṣṭrika. Placed, as it was, in the regular classification between the Chinese writing and the Brāhmī, the Kharoṭṭhī writing needed some such sponsor as Ts'ang-hie, the traditional inventor of the Chinese characters, and Brahma whose name was naturally suggested to the imagination by the name Brāhmī (writing of the Brahmans or of the Brahman's country). The holy man Kharoṣṭha, "ass-lips," presented himself to fill the vacant place.

Was he specially invented to explain the name of the Kharoṣṭhī by a process of grammatical induction? And did there exist, before, among the vast collection of Central-Asian saints, a saint marked out by the unenviable privilege of having ass-lips? However this may be, one of the Mahāyāna sūtras most closely connected with the region of Khotan and Kashgar represents the ṛṣi Kharoṣṭha as the hero of a rather highly elaborated legend; it is the same Sūryagarbha-sūtra, which has already helped me to resolve the question of Kharoṣṭra, and which was translated into Chinese, as will be remembered, between 589 and 618. The two sections of Chapter 8 of this work (= Chap. 41 of the Mahā-saṃnipāta; Tôk. ed. III. 3, 36—42) are consecrated to the ṛṣi Kharoṣṭha: —

[565] "The Bodhisattva *Chou-tche* [*ho*]-*lo-so* (translated, light-savour = Çuci-rasa) addressed the Nāgas and said to them: Great kings! in past time, at the beginning of the Bhadrakalpa, there was a great city called Campā . . . . in this city was a devaputra named *T'a-san-mo-t'o* (mahāsammata)." One of his wives, a woman of more than commonly violent passions, gave birth, after union with an ass, to "a son who had the head, ears, mouth and eyes of an ass, but the body of a man . . . . One day a Rākṣasī named *Lou-chen* (ass-spirit, Kharī ?) saw the child, whom his mother had abandoned; she took him, reared him even as one of her own children and taught him to feed on the drugs of the immortals. He passed his time with the children of the gods. A certain great god, afterwards, became interested in him and protected him. The gods gave him the name *K'ia-lou-che-tcha* (Kharoṣṭha) [which means in Chinese: Ass-lips] *t'a sien* (mahā + ṛṣi), the holy man. In the Himālaya and other places, whithersoever he went, fine flowers and fruits, good medicines, sweet smells and so forth were produced . . . . These drugs and fruits wrought upon

his ugliness, his body grew more beautiful, and of the ass-head only the lips remained. For this reason he is called the ṛṣi Ass-lip. This ṛṣi Ass-lip studied the Sacred Law and passed sixty-thousand years standing on one foot. The gods, beholding him, came, headed by Çakra, to adore him, as also did all creatures."

Then begins a lecture, in the form of a dialogue, on the practice of the rules of the sun, the moon and the constellations. This astronomical discourse is carried on to the end of the first section of the chapter. The story is continued in the second section : —

"Then the ṛṣi (*sic*) Çucirasa, addressing the gods, said: This ṛṣi *K'ia-lou-che-tch'a* himself had committed some ill-deed in the past, and therefore, though it was given to him to be born a human being, he was formed partly like an ass. By the might of his benevolence his sin was destroyed and he came to have a body as beautiful and regularly formed as Çakra."

Then, at the request of the gods, Kharoṣṭha continues his lecture. Finally "when the ṛṣi Kharoṣṭha had finished expounding the law, gods Nāgas, Yakṣas, Asuras, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, men and non-human beings, all creatures extolled him and rejoiced beyond measure. Then the gods, the Nāgas, etc. . . . . worshipped Kharoṣṭha day and night. Later after innumerable generations, a ṛṣi named *Kia-li-kia* (Garga) appeared in this world and again he expounded and established the law of the constellations and the whole of astronomy in an abridged form."

Thus, when the ṛṣi Kharoṣṭha takes his place in the Buddhist pantheon of Central Asia, it is as the representative of the knowledge of the celestial bodies and their movements. There is not a single link connecting him with the alphabet. Besides, before it was accepted universally in China, the explanation derived from the ṛṣi Kharoṣṭha had had to contend with another etymology still less serious but showing the absence of any settled and authentic tradition. A Chinese dictionary [566] of Sanskrit expressions, the *Fan-fan-yu* (which my friends of the Nishi Hongwanji discovered and caused to be copied for me) gives in Section 5 of Book I. the words *K'ia-lou-chou* referring to the Vibhāṣā (*P'i-po-cha*), Chap. 4, and adds : "the explanation given is: like this." On the following page it gives the expression : *Fan-kia-lou*; referring to the translation of the Lalitavistara made by Tchou-Fa-hou in 308 under the title *P'ou-yao-king*, Chap. II. (a list of writings, as appears from the following expressions: *Pou-kia-lo-chou ; Ngan-k'ia-chou*, etc. . . . .), he adds : "The rendering is: Pure like this." The word pure is the regular translation of the word Brahman, Brāhmaṇa transcribed as *Fan*. *Jou-cheu* "like this" is therefore the translation of the second part of the expression *fan-k'ia-lou*, which the Chinese lexicographer mistakes for a single word. I have already mentioned the phrase "like this" as the designation of a character, and applied to the Kharoṣṭrī in a Japanese commentary on the *Si-tan-tseu-ki* (*v. supra*, p. 13, top). It is evident that this translation supposes the Sanskrit khalu, "certainly" (Böhtlingk-Roth; ja, freilich). An *exégète* of more ingenuity than learning had boldly restored the Sanskrit particle khalu from the abridged form *K'ia-lou* (for *K'ia-lou-chö-tch'a*) and thought he had re-discovered the original meaning of the name of the Kharoṣṭrī writing. The Dictionary *Fan-fan-yu* is certainly anterior to the T'ang; it quotes only ancient translations, some of which are lost: it cannot be later than the Liang (502—557). Thus, before the middle of the VIth century the Chinese admitted an interpretation of the name Kharoṣṭrī having no connection with the ṛṣi Kharoṣṭha.

As for the name Kharoṣṭra, henceforth a possession of science, is it so unexpected that we are tempted to accept it with an underlying scepticism? This name, whatever may be the real substratum, presents a regular combination of the two words : khara (ass) + uṣṭra (camel), united, according to the euphonic laws of Sanskrit in the form Kharoṣṭra. I shall not pause to discuss the explanations of the Chinese commentator ; their vagueness is such that they lend themselves to any and every interpretation. Even Houei-yuan contents himself with recording two divergent opinions without declaring for either. According to some, Kharoṣṭra was originally the name of a mountain and was afterwards made to apply to the whole country ; according to others, the name applies to

the evil disposition of the people of the country. People may indeed have amused themselves by tracing the characteristic features of an ass and a camel in the curious outline of a mountain (many analogies might be found in the naming of Alpine peaks). On the other hand there is a natural fitness in the name for ill-disposed people. In the streets of Paris the French equivalents of khara and uṣṭra may be frequently heard. "The reason for this name," adds Houei-yuan, "is that the inhabitants are by nature full of rudeness and wickedness." I observe that, in the list of kingdoms which I shall publish in my forthcoming memoir, the Khara country (*K'ia-lo*) appears (E. 39) by the side of Uraça, where it corresponds to the Kharavara (*K'ia-lo-po-lo*) of the lists A. 40; C. XII. 11; C. XIX. 13; D. 40; on the other hand a kingdom of Uṣṭrava (*Yeou-se-tch'a-lo-po*) occurs in list G. VI.

[567] It is not by accident that the ass and the camel appear together in the name Kharoṣṭra; they may be found closely and constantly connected in the most widely differing texts. The Chinese Sanskrit dictionary *Fan-yu-tsa-ming* (p. 38a) classes the camel (translation: *ou-se-tch'a-lo* = uṣṭra) immediately before the ass (translation: *ngo-lo-na* = garda [bha]). In *Yi-tsing's* Chinese-Sanskrit dictionary, the *Fan-yu-tsien-tseu-wen* (p. 47a), the ass (translated *k'ia-lo* = khara) is immediately followed by the camel (translated *wou-chö-tch'a-lo* as above = uṣṭra and *kia-lo-po* = karabha). Among the words of the gavāçvaprabhṛtīni type, that is, words combining to form a dvandva neuter, the Gaṇapāṭha on Pāṇini, II. 4, 11, mentions the compound uṣṭra-kharam, "camel and ass." The same compound uṣṭra-kharam is given in the Kāçikā-vṛtti to illustrate the rule ajādyadantam of Pāṇini, II. 2, 33, which assigns the first place in a dvandva to the word having an initial vowel and a final ă. The rule is clear; the grammarian states that these two words are coupled by common usage together in a compound, and he establishes the order in which they should be pronounced, the camel first, the ass afterwards. There is no observation (vārttika), to my knowledge, modifying this rule, and Vāmana, in a treatise on style, many centuries later than Pāṇini confirms it again (Kāvyālaṃkāra, V. 2, 26, ed. of the Kāvyamālā). "It is not right to say kharoṣṭrau, but uṣṭrakharam, according to the Gaṇapāṭha. To say: riding the ass and the camel (kharoṣṭrau) is to commit an error of language, for the Gaṇapāṭha, in the gavāçvam series, gives uṣṭrakharam."

Dr. Pischel, who has collected and quoted, in his two articles, a large number of examples in which the two words uṣṭra and khara are combined, does not give a single example of the uṣṭrakharam type with two terms forming an independent and autonomous compound in the order laid down by the Gaṇapāṭha. For my part I have only found one example, that is in the Dharma-çāstra of Gautama, 12, 23; ṣaḍ uṣṭrakhare, "the (fine consists of) six (māṣas) in the case of a camel or an ass." The two words reappear in the same order in the body of a longer compound, çvāpadoṣṭrakharāṇām, in the same text, 234. I have found no law corresponding to the first case, in the parallel passages, Manu, VIII. 238 *sqq.*, and Āpastamba, II. 28, 5. The Viṣṇusmṛti which reproduces this law (but with a fine of eight māṣas) keeps the same order: açvas tūṣṭro gardabho vā, V. 142, but the two terms are not joined. Finally Yājñavalkya, II. 160, turns the compound the other way: kharoṣṭraṃ mahiṣīsamam. Except in the passage from Gautama, the literature, ordinarily in such strict subjection to the authority of Pāṇini, continually and invariably breaks the rule of the Gaṇapāṭha. Even when these two words are incorporated in a longer compound, the order disavowed by the grammarian seems still to be the only one authorized by custom. The examples [568] are numerous, for the ass and the camel nearly always go together; witness Manu, IV. 115: çvakharoṣṭre; Manu, IV. 120: na nāvaṃ na kharaṃ noṣṭram; IX. 69: kharāçvoṣṭramṛgebhānām; XI. 155: viḍvarāha-kharoṣṭrāṇām; XII. 55: çvasūkarakharoṣṭrāṇām (*cf.* also, for a parallel mention of the khara and uṣṭra, XI. 137, 138; 157; 200). It is superfluous to reproduce here the long list of references drawn up by Dr. Pischel, belonging to widely different categories of Sanskrit literature. Among these examples the only one with uṣṭrakhara°, in the order of the Gaṇapāṭha, is taken from the Lalitavistara (306, 6; °gardabhagohastyaçvoṣṭrakharamahiṣaçaça-camara° vikṛtavaktrāh, in the

description of the demons of the Temptation) ; Dr. Pischel himself observes that the corresponding passage of the Buddhacarita (XIII. 19) restores the usual order : açvakharoṣṭra°. It is not a question of metrical necessities only, for the Lalitavistara in another passage (203, 15) also adopts this gradation (sarvahayagajakharoṣṭragomahiṣastrīpuruṣa° çabda).[19]

The idea of welding, so to speak, the ass and the camel into a compound name in which they form a sort of organic unit, could hardly have arisen elsewhere than in a region where they existed together and played an equal part in practical life. This region by no means coincides with the whole of India. Hunter, in the *Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VI. p. 523, gives a table of the approximate distribution of domestic animals in six of the Indian provinces in 1882-83 (Bengal was not included in this census) ; the following are the figures relating to our research :—

	Punjab.	Bombay, Sind.	Madras.	Central Provinces.	Berar.
Asses ...	251,068	78,179	124,731	24,660	27,707
Camels ...	125,584	......	50	59	996

Andrew Murray's classic work (The Geographical Distribution of Mammals; London, 1866) gives as the south-eastern limit of the camel (Map XL.), a line starting from the mouths of the Indus and running towards the Upper Sutlej ; for the ass (Map XLII.) the line of demarcation crosses India almost from North to South, leaving out the whole of Eastern India. The true country of the ass (*equus hemippus*, *equus onager*, *equus hemionus*) extends from Syria to the desert of Gobi through Persia, Beluchistan and Western India. As for the camel it suffices to recall its scientific name, *camelus bactrianus*, to define its habitat. The ass and the camel are the characteristic animals of the Iranian countries. Spiegel, discussing the fauna of Iran (Eranische Alterthumskunde, I. 260), writes : "Hardly less important (than the horse) is the camel, particularly the two-humped or Bactrian camel, which carries heavy [569] loads and costs little to feed. Of yet greater importance is the ass, of which two species may be distinguished. We do not find in the Iranian ass the stupidity and laziness of the European ass." We know what importance the Avesta gives to the camel. The Vendidad, VII. 42, enumerates, as an ascending scale of values, "the ox, the quadriga, the milch ass, the milch cow, the milch mare, the milch camel," and as a descending scale, IX. 37, "the camel, the stallion, the bull, the cow, the lamb." The Yasht, 19, 68, enumerates "the strength of a horse, the strength of a camel, the strength of a man." The perfection of piety is that of "the pious believer who has given to the righteous a thousand she-camels great with young" (Afringan, III. 10). The name of Zarathustra and of Frashaoshtra, his father-in-law, also testify to the value attaching to the camel in the economic life of Iran.

I cannot understand why the School of Roth has insisted on the disappearance of the camel from the Veda. Did the prejudice of Aryan nobility demand this sacrifice ? Boileau, with greater liberality, excuses Homer for having compared Ajax to an ass. The word uṣṭra appears several times in the Ṛg-Veda ; Grassmann always renders it "buffalo," Ludwig translates it sometimes "camel," sometimes "camel or beast of burden." It is chiefly in the dānastutis, or panegyrics of donors, that the word uṣṭra appears. Vatsakāṇva records, in honour of Tirindara Pārçavya, VIII. 6, 48, how Kakuha covered himself with glory by a gift of uṣṭras. Vaça Açvya, extolling the generosity of Pṛthuçravas Kanīta, VIII. 46, 22, cries : "I have obtained twenty hundred uṣṭras !" Brahmātithi Kāṇva calls on the Açvins, VIII. 5, 37, to find him new patrons such as Kaçu Caidya "who gave a hundred uṣṭras, ten thousand cows." There is nothing surprising in the mention of the camel among the domestic animals of the Vedic Aryas since the Pañjāb is the land of the Ṛg-Veda. The ass (gardabha, rāsabha) figures also in the Vedic hymns, but not in association with the camel.

[19] *Cf.* also Lal. Vist. 306, 19 : Hastyaçvoṣṭragardabhamahiṣārūḍhāḥ. The first three occur in the same order on a grant of Vigraha Pāla of Bengal towards the year 1000 (Amgachi Plate, *Ind. Ant.* XIV. 167 : hastyaçvoṣṭranauvala°.)

The ass and camel naturally reappear together at most diverse periods, when the North-West of India is in question. At the time of Kaniṣka, Açvaghoṣa relates (Sūtrālamkāra, conclusion) the tale of a merchant of *Po* (= *So*)-*lo-tou-lo* (Çalātura, Pāṇini's native country) in the kingdom of *Tö-tch'a-chi-lo* (Takṣaçilā) who was returning from the *Tá-ts'in* country, that is, the land of the Yavanas, with a caravan consisting of camels and asses. Seng-yeou, who writes at about 520, records in his Catalogue, already mentioned several times (*Tchou-san-tsang-king*, Tôk. ed. XXXVIII. 1, 93a), the journey of *T'an-ou-kie* (Nanj. App. II. 82) who travelled from China to India towards the year 420. To go from *Cha-le* (Kashgar) to *Ki-pin* (Kapiça) "he crossed the *Ts'ong-ling* and the snow-clad mountains. The paths there are bad and the foot-ways precipitous. Neither ass nor camel can go over them." Lastly, Dr. Stein, when about to plunge into the Takla-makan desert, where such splendid discoveries awaited him, began by sending his horses, which would not have found enough food and water there, back to Khotan, and replaced them by a dozen donkeys which, with a small number of camels, **[570]** conveyed the provisions and baggage (Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan, p. 273).

Sanskrit literature, though so unfortunately disdainful of vulgar realities, has, however, preserved a positive and precise commentary on the expression kharoṣṭra. It is buried in that enormous encyclopædia the Mahābhārata, which is still so insufficiently explored and which ought to occupy the rank in Indian studies long usurped by the Veda. In canto VIII. the hot-headed Karṇa, when about to rush into combat with Arjuna, is recalled to prudence by Çalya, king of the Madrakas, who points out the dangers to which he is laying himself open. Karṇa foams with rage at the excessive good sense of this advice and overwhelms the wise Çalya with invective and insult. Once more in history "*Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.*" Karṇa turns on all the Madrakas and reviles them with an exhaustible flow of words — VIII. 40, 20 = 1835 *sqq.*: "Hear, O Çalya, these stanzas that men are wont to chant as repeating a lesson . . . . The Madraka must needs be a traitor to his friends. If there be one who hates us, 'tis a Madraka. The Madraka knows no ties, his language is a base tongue, he is the vilest of men . . . . . Their women, drunk with spirituous liquors, throw off their garments and betake themselves to dancing; they know no restraint in intercourse; they are swayed only by their fancy. Shall a Madraka dare to speak of the law, being a son of these women who stand upright to make water like camels and asses[20] (yathaivoṣṭradaçerakāḥ, 1852)." Two hundred verses further, Karṇa continues to vent his wrath in insults; to drive them home the better, he is careful to give his authority — VIII. 44, 3 = 2026: "Listen and give heed, king of the Madras, to that which I have heard at the court of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. In Dhṛtarāṣṭra's palace certain brahmans told of strange countries and the kings of old time. Then an old brahman of the highest rank fell to reviling the Vāhīkas and the Madras . . . . While on secret business I dwelt with the Vāhīkas, and I know their practices, having lived among them . . . . Their women dance and sing stark-naked on the terraces of the houses and cities, stripping off their garlands and dyes, with vile drinking-songs like the braying of the ass and the camel (kharoṣṭra-ninadopamaiḥ, 2036); naked as they are, they give themselves up to their lusts and are swayed only by their fancy . . . . . . One of these wretched Vāhīkas who dwelt at Kurujāṅgala, being sad at heart, sang thus: 'Does she think of me, as she lies on her bed, the fair, tall girl robed in fine woollen stuffs? Does she remember the poor Vāhīka at Kurujāṅgala? When shall I cross the Çatradru and the pleasant Irāvatī going homeward to see once more the beautiful women with large temples? . . . . When shall we, amid the sound of conch-shells and **[571]** the beating of drums, with asses, camels and mules[21] (kharoṣṭrāçvataraiḥ), tread the forests of çamī, pīlu and karīra, where the

[20] The commentator Nīlakaṇṭha here explicitly translates daçeraka by "ass," and the P. W.[2] records this interpretation, although daçeraka means: the young of a camel. Protap Chandra Roy, following Nīlakaṇṭha, translates: "like camels and asses."

[21] Protap translates: "sweet as the cries of asses and camels and mules," but Nīlakaṇṭha's gloss on yānaiḥ is "animals for riding."

paths are so delightful!' . . . . And when he had related this story the virtuous brahman went on: Listen to what he said about the rude Vāhīkas: Hear a diabolical song, which is always sung on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight in the lusty city of Çākala, amid the beating of drums by night: 'When shall I once more sing Vāhīka songs in Çākala, full of meat of oxen and drunk with the strong drink of Gauḍa, in gorgeous raiment, with fair-skinned women tall of stature, eating the flesh of sheep with mouthfuls of onions, and the flesh of the boar, of fowls, of oxen and of the ass and the camel (gārdabham auṣṭrikam, 2051) . . . . .' Hold, Çalya, I will tell thee what another brahman related before the assembled Kurus: . . . : "The Vāhīkas eat and drink of the milk of the goat, of the she-camel and the ass (auṣṭrikaṃ kṣīraṃ gārdabham eva ca, 2059).

Thus, whether it be in the reminiscences of a traveller or in homesick visions, the ass and the camel return like a refrain, whenever the land of the Vāhīkas is described. This country is clearly defined in the Mahābhārata, VIII. 44, 6-7, = 2029-30, "Far from the Himavat and the Gaṅgā, far from the Yamunā, from the Sarasvatī and the Kurukṣetra, settled in the midst of the five rivers, these being six with the Indus, dwell the Vāhīkas, strangers (vāhya) to the law" (*cf. ib.* 2041, 2055, 2064). The Vāhīka country is the Pañjāb, Çākala being the capital. In another canto of the Mahābhārata the same animals reappear, when the same regions are mentioned: "When the peoples of the earth come to do homage and offer gifts to Yudhiṣṭhira, the king of Kamboja (on the North-West border of India) offers, among other presents, three hundred camels and as many she-asses (uṣṭravāmīs triçataṃ ca) fed on pīlu, çamī and iṅguda,[22] II. 50, 4, = 1824. The people of the Trans-Indus (pāresindhu), Vairāmas, Pāradas, Abhīras, Kitavas bring precious stones, sheep, goats, oxen, gold, asses and camels (kharoṣṭra, 1833). Bhagadatta, the king of Prāgjyotiṣa, accompanied by the Yavanas (Greeks), brings six thousand black-necked asses, from the bank of the Vaṅkṣu (Oxus): 1839-40; the Cīnas, the Çakas, the Barbarians offer likewise ten thousand asses bred on the banks of the Oxus: 1846.

The real meaning of kharoṣṭra crops out again, so to speak, over the vast expanse of the Mahābhārata; the last echoes of this name must have reached the diaskevastes of the brahmanic period; whether isolated or combined, the two [572] terms of which it is composed could not fail to remind them of the impure heretical and barbarous region beginning at the banks of the Sutlej and stretching westward toward unknown horizons. It points, like so many other indications, to the period of the Indo-Scythians, rather towards the decline of their power, as the time when the Mahābhārata was compiled. Brahmanic India, threatened by the barbaric world, gathered up the scattered treasure of her traditions and institutions and composed their epitome, in epic and in juridical code, in the Mahābhārata and the Mānava-dharma-çāstra; these works are inseparable from one another, animated by the same spirit, constructed partly from the same materials, both looking out on the same alien horizon: Çakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, &c. The same movement was destined to be repeated before the Musulman conquest.

I do not pretend to decide whether Kharoṣṭra really is, originally, the land of the ass and the camel: Kharoṣṭra-deça, or whether it owes this appellation to the play of popular etymology upon a local name. I have already compared this name with that of the "dogheaded," *Kalystrioi*, described by Ctesias. M. Halévy has compared it with the Khafçtras of the Avesta, who themselves are too obscure and shadowy to afford a solution of the problem.[23] If the word were a purely Hindu creation,

[22] *Cf.* the forests of çamī and pīlu in the Vāhika country, *sup.* I adopt Protap's translation, but uṣṭravāmī may mean simply "she-camel," *cf.* Harṣa-carita (ed. Nirnaya Sagar, p. 159, comm.), uṣṭravāmy uṣṭrabhāryā | kecid vāmī dvayam anye vesarīm anye gurvīm āhuḥ.

[23] Bartholomew's Hand-Atlas of India (Constable, 1893) gives in map 24 a locality named Kharoti, two degrees south of Cabul on the upper course of the Gumal, an affluent of the Luni which falls into the Indus. I quote this name merely to show that there may have been in the same regions a similar name which could serve as a base for the Sanskritised form Kharoṣṭra. The name Siyāh posh, "black garments," given by Sādik Isfahani to the frontiers of Cabul may translate some such word as Kālavastra, Kālostra, in which would appear a learned and late interpretation of the same original word (*History of India*, Elliot Dowson, II. 407).

if it had been coined with the express purpose of mentioning by name the two animal species characteristic of the region, one would expect to meet with the form uṣṭrakhara, which, according to the grammarians, is enjoined by custom when the ass and the camel come together in a dvandva compound. As a matter of fact, the reverse process takes place. The compound kharoṣṭra, incorrect as it is, has overborne the authority of the grammarians in literary usage. I cannot help believing that this anomaly or inversion is not a freak of chance. The geographical name Kharoṣṭra, copied from and adapted in form to a foreign original, spread through the Hindu world, as relations with the countries to the North-West were multiplied, and was at last sufficiently popularized to hold its ground against the compound uṣṭrakhara, which the language had brought forth from its own treasure, and to force upon it a sort of conversion. The ear had grown accustomed to the sound of Kharoṣṭra and no longer felt it incorrect or shocking. This is only a hypothesis, but one fact remains; about the beginning of the Christian era the name Kharoṣṭra applies vaguely, in Hindu usage, to the regions bordering on India towards the North-West; it is the country of the [573] "border-barbarians," beginning on the edge of the brahmanic kingdoms and stretching away towards the undefined West. The digraphic inscriptions of the Kangra Valley (*Epigr. Ind.* VII. 116), traced in the Brāhmī and in the Kharoṣṭrī character, mark, near the Upper Sutlej, the meeting-place of two worlds: on the East, the land of purity reserved to the brahmans; on the West, the vague zone given up to barbarism.

SPECIAL NOTES.

A. — See page 2 above, and note 3; original page 545, note 1.

This Sanskrit form: paramavāla, is surprising, and Houei-yuan does well to remark on it. The Sanskrit name for coral is pravāla, which also means: young shoot of a tree. I do not quite see how Houei-yuan arrives at the meaning "precious tree." The Korean text differs sensibly from the Chinese text, which I have reproduced, but keeps the formula with which our researches are concerned: *Fan-pen-tchang-yun*, *Po-lo-so-ho-lo*, *Pao-chou tchen-ming*. There is a frequent confusion between *so*' and *p'o*, so that it is possible to read and explain the passage thus: "Prabhākara. This is the name of (*tche*) the precious tree." But I have hardly any doubt that we have here, as in the variant *po-lo-mo-houo-lo*, a faulty or altered transcription of prabāla; *po-lo-houo-lo* or *po-lo-po-lo*.

B. — See page 4 above and note 5; original page 547, note 1.

In the place of Pāṭaliputra, mentioned by Buddhabhadra, but omitted by Çikṣānanda, our list gives Magadha, which is, certainly, the equivalent, since Pāṭaliputra is the capital of Magadha. Kuṇḍina (the capital of Vidarbha) is replaced by Kosala, that is the Dakṣiṇa-Kosala which is confounded with Vidarbha. *Mo-lan-to* and *Kan-pou-tche* are omitted in the Sūryagarbha-sūtra. The transcription *Sou-po-lo-kia* clearly furnishes the Sanskrit equivalent of *Tsing-tsing-pei-ngan* (Pure — that side), a translation which is based on the etymology: Su-pāra (+ affix °aka), good — other side.

I have found another and entirely independent list of these Bodhisattva-pīṭhas in the Hevajra-tantra, of which we possess the Sanskrit text and a Chinese translation made in the first half of the XIth century by Fa-hou (Jap. ed. XXVII. 3). I quote the Sanskrit text, following the MSS. in the Bibiothèque Nationale (Burnouf, 117, 118 and 118bis); it is to be found in the 7th paṭala of the work entitled Chomāpaṭala and Chomāyithap°. As for this singular chomā or chomāyitha the Chinese translates: *mi-in* (section of), "mysterious signs."

B 117, p. 16a:

(1) pīṭhaṃ Jālandharaṃ kyātam Oḍḍiyānaṃ tathaiva ca
pīṭhaṃ Paurunagiriṃ caiva kāmarūpaṃ tathaiva ca.
(2) Upapīthaṃ Mālavaṃ proktaṃ Sindhunagaram eva ca
kṣetraṃ mummunī khyātaṃ kṣetraṃ kāruṇyapāṭakam.
(3) Devīkoṣṭhaṃ tathā kṣetraṃ kṣetraṃ karmālapāṭakam
upakṣetraṃ kulatā proktam Arbudaṃ ca tathaiva ca.
(4) Godāvarī Himādriç ca upakṣetraṃ hi saṃkṣipyat
Chandohaṃ Harikelaṃ ca lavanasāgaramadhyajam.
(5) Lampāke Kāncikaṃ caivaṃ Saurāṣṭraṃ ca tathaiva ca
Kaliṅgam Upacchandohaṃ dvīpaṃ cāmīkarānvitam.
(6) Kokkaṇaṃ copacchandohaṃ samāsenābhidhīyate
Pīlavaṃ grāmāntaṣṭhaṃ Pīlavaṃ nagarasya ca.
(7) Caritraṃ Koçalaṃ caiva Vindhyākaumārapaurikā
Upapīlavaṃ tat
sanniveçaṃ Vajragarbha mahākṛpa.
(8) Çmaçānam pretasamhātaṃ çmaçānaṃ codadhyas taṭam
Udyānāṃ vāpikātiraṃ upaçmaçānam nigadyate.

Var. B. 118, p. 14a: (1) Odiyānaṃ — Pūrṇṇagiryauva. (2) Māravaṃ Sindhu°. Maumunī-prakhyātaṃ. (3) Devīkoṭaṃ. (4) Saṃkṣipet. (5) Lampākaṃ. (8) codadhes °tirām.

B. 118bis, p. 13b: (1) Jālañcara khyātaṃ ‖ turyyāyena tathaiva ca ‖ pīṭha yolagiri caiva. (2) mārava — mumuni. (3) Devīkoṭa — Karmārapāṭakam. (4) Sādāvarī, saṃkṣepataḥ, Halikelaṃ. (5) Lampakaṃ kācītare ca. (6) Pīlavaṃ grāmatasva Pīravalagarasya ca. (7) Vivyākormalapūrakā.

Translation of Fa-hou (*loc. laud.* p. 69b): — The twelve places are: 1° the kingdom of *Jo-lan-touo-lan* (Jālandhara); the kingdom of *Ko-mo-lou* (Kāmarūpa) or the exceedingly pure forest of Mount *Kou-lo* (*Kou-lo-chan tsing-tsing yuen-lin*; 2° the kingdom of *Mo-lo-wan* (Mālava) or the city of the river *Sin-tou* (Sindhunagara); 3° the kingdom of *Mong-meou-ni* (Mummuni); the kingdom of *Kiu-mo-lo-po-tch'a* (Kumārapāṭa[ka]), and the city of the Queen of the Gods (*T'ien-heou* = Devī); 4° the city of *Kou-lo*, the city of *Ngo-li-mou* (Arbuda); the river of *Yu-na-li* (Godāvarī) and the river *Hi-mo* (Himādri!); 5° the kingdom of *Ho-li* (Hari[kela]), the kingdom of *Lan-p'o* (Lampāka), the kingdom of *Chao* (thriving), or Sau [rāṣṭra]; the city Colour-of-Gold (*Kiu-che* = Kāñcī) and also in the sea of salt; 6° the kingdom of *Kia-lin-ngo* (Kaliṅga); the kingdom of *Tcheou-tseu* (son of the island); the kingdom of *Mi-k'ia-lo*; the kingdom of *King-kie-na* (Koṅkana) — The 7th and the 8th are missing in the Sanskrit original (note of the Chinese translator)]; 9° the city of *Pi-lo-fo* (Pīlava) and the large villages (*Koang-ta-tsin-lo*); 10° the city of Good Conduct (*Chen-hing*, Caritra), the city of *Kiao-sa-lo* (Kausala); the city of *Min-to* (Vindhyā); the city of *Kiu-mo-lo-pou-li* (Kaumārapaurikā); 11° the place where created beings rejoice (*tsoung-chou-lo-tchou*) (probably prīti-saṃghātam) or the shore of the great sea (udadhes taṭam); 12° the garden of flowers and fruits (*hoa-ko yuen-lin*, *udyāna*) and the basin of a pure lake (*tsing-tsing tch'eu-tchao*, vāpikātīra)."

Similar lists scattered here and there in a great number of works belonging to the Tripiṭaka throw light alike on the geography and the chronology of the books. The horizon of the Hevajratantra is much narrower than that of the Avataṃsaka and the Mahāsaṃnipāta, but interesting names are to be found in it: Oḍḍiyāna seems to be translated by *tsing-tsing yuen-lin*, "the pure Forest." It is a surprise to find opposite the mountain *Kou-lo* of the Chinese text, the Sanskrit form Paurṇagiri or Pūrṇagiri, which cannot correspond to it. Further on, the city of *Kou-lo* answers quite well to the Kulatā of the original. The name Mummuni throws light on the obscure allusions

of the Rājataraṅginī (III. 332 ; IV. 167 and 516), the subject of a learned discussion by Stein ; I find this same word as the name of a country in my list of the cities of Central Asia, to be published after the present work. Devīkoṣṭha or Devīkoṭa, is, as far as I know, only quoted in the lexicons (Trik. 2. 1, 17 ; Hemac. 977). The name Kāruṇyapāṭaka, omitted in Chinese, and Karmārapāṭaka (or Kumāra°) are examples of the use of the work pāṭaka, a term of administration which is missing in the Amarakoça but which Hemacandra (v. 962) records, and explains by grāmārdha. The first official use of this word which I have met is in the inscription on the Salotgi pillar, dated 867 Çaka = 945 A. D., under the rule of Rāṣṭrakūṭa-kṛṣṇarāja III. Akālavarṣa (*Ep. Ind.* IV. 60). The word appears regularly afterwards in the formulary of the Rāṭhors of Kanauj (*cf. Ep. Ind.* IV., index *s. v.* pāṭaka and also *Ind. Ant.* XVIII. 135). The mention of Harikela is, I believe, the first occurring in a Sanskrit text; Hemacandra, in his lexicon, gives Harikelya as the equivalent of Vaṅga, Bengal, and this indication agrees with the statement of the pilgrim Yi-tsing (*Les Religieux Eminents*, p. 106 and 145 : " This country forms the eastern frontier of Eastern India ; it is a part of Jambudvīpa ; Tāmralipti was the sea-port "). The name Harikela also occurs in the legend of one of the Nepalese miniatures of which M. Foucher has made a study (*Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 105 and 200). Chandoha and Upacchandoha are enigmatic; the kingdom of *Tcheou-tseu* (son of the island) seems to correspond to them in Chinese ; but how and why ? The kingdom of *Mi-kia-lo* seems to originate in a wrong reading at v. 5: dvīpaṃ ca mīkarānvitam. Kokkaṇa is, as the Chinese indicates, Koṅkaṇa, Konkan. The city of Caritra is doubtless the one mentioned by Hiouen-Tsang (Mém. II. 90 and 124) on the confines of Orissa (*Ou-tch'a*) and Malakūṭa (*Mo-lo-kiu-tcha*). The list of Hevajra may be placed (judging by its whole contents) between Hiouen-Tsang and the MSS. with miniatures studied by M. Foucher.

C. — See page 4 above, and note 6; original page 550, note 1.

With apparently only one exception, No. 573, Julien there gives : " *k'ia* for *ga* in Samparāgata *Fan-i*, liv. xix. fol. 2." The *Fan-yi*, in this passage, explains the abridged expression *Seng-po*, used in monastic life in China, and refers to Koei-hi, the disciple of Hiouen-Tsang, who says : *S'eng-po* is in Sanskrit *sam-po-lo-k'ia-to* ; it is the ceremony known as the song of the equal offering. Yi-tsing in his Memoir sent from the southern seas (Takakusu's translation, p. 39), employs the same transcription and fully explains the word : When food is served to priests "he who serves the salt says, turning back his hands, holding them out and kneeling before the superior, '*Sam-po-lo-k-ia-to* (*ut sup.*).' Translated, this is 'welcome,' *chan-tcheu*. The old transcription *Seng-po* is wrong. Then the superior says, 'Let the food go in equal portions!' The meaning (*yi-tao*) is, 'the offering of food is well prepared and that the time is come to eat.' This, it must be said, is the literal sense. But, once when the Buddha with his disciples had had poisoned dishes given to them, the Buddha taught them to recite the *Sam-po-lo-k'ia-to* before eating. All the poison in the food changed to delicious nourishment. From this point of view the word is also a magic spell."

The story repeated by Yi-tsing is also recorded by the *Fan-yi-ming-yi-tsi*, in which there is a reference to the *Tchoang-yen-loun* (Sūtrālaṃkāra). In that work there does occur, in fact (book xiii), the story of Çrīgupta who had had a poisoned meal prepared for the bhikṣus ; but the Buddha bade them recite the *Seng-po* to neutralise the poison. The story gives an adequate explanation of this word ; the transcription is evidently saṃpra-khyāta (and not samparāgata as given by Julien) in which *k'ia* represents the Sanskrit khya as in *seng-k'ia* = Sāṃkhya in Hiouen-Tsang.

Yi-tsing's confused rendering is only one proof the more of his imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit. The monk, before partaking of the poisoned dishes, says: Saṃprakhyātam — " It is very clearly seen " ; in other words: you will not entrap me, — and the poison thus recognized loses its power.

D. — See page 5 above and note 8; original page 552, note 1.

It would have been interesting to compare the transcription of the name Zarathustra. But in the passages pointed out hitherto (Chavannes, *Journ. As.* 1897, I. 61; Devéria, *ib.* II. 462) the name Zoroaster is represented, with complete disregard of the original form, by *Sou-lou-tchi* (M. Chavannes inadvertently transcribes *Sou-li-tchi*). This transcription deserves notice; in common with the Greek form and unlike the Oriental forms (Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 23), it has a labial vowel in the first part of the name; it presupposes, in fact, the pronunciation: so-ro-ci or so-ro-ṭi, sor-ṭi, sor-ci, sro-ci, sro-ṭi, which comes neither from the Zend Zarathustra nor the Pehlevi Zaratuṣt. Among all the forms collected by Mr. Jackson in his excellent work (Appendix V.), the one approaching most nearly to the Chinese rendering is that employed by Marius Victorinus Afer (§ 23 in Jackson) who writes, about 350 A. D. (ad Justinum Manichœum, col. 1003, ed. Migne): "Jam vidistine ergo quot Manis, Zoradis aut Buddhas haec docendo deceperint?" The form Zoradis, employed by Victorinus, is evidently of Manichæan origin. We know moreover that Manichæism had made powerful strides in China; the first Chinese text that names Zoroaster (*Sou-lou-tchi*), in alluding to an imperial edict given forth in 631 A. D. (*cf.* Chavannes, *loc. laud.*), associates his name with that of the *Mo-ni*, that is the Manichæan cult. Either it was Manichæism that introduced into China the form *Sou-lou-tchi*, or there existed in the regions where Manichæism took its rise and in the Persian countries in touch with China a form of the name Zoroaster more nearly allied to the Greek than to the original Zend or to the Pehlevi derived from this latter. It is for Iranian scholars to clear up the problem; the solution may bring with it some interesting corollaries. *A propos* of Zoroaster, and only in passing (to avoid bringing in too many combinations) I will point to a hypothesis which I perhaps might be reproached for omitting. The ṛṣi Kharoṣṭha, whom I shall have the occasion to deal with later, as the imaginary sponsor of the Kharoṣṭhī writing, is introduced into the pantheon of Central Asia as a revealer of astronomy, though no known antecedents qualify him for the rôle. But Zoroaster, on the other hand, as "Chief of the Magi," is intimately connected with astrology (*cf.* Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 95 and 125). The Greek transcription of his name translates this idea, or at least, has helped to propagate it. Might not Kharoṣṭha perhaps be only a disguise for Zoroaster popularized in Central Asia by the syncretism of the Indo-Scythians, who have given so great a place on their coins to the Avestic pantheon? In this way there would be a distant connection between Zoroaster and the Kharoṣṭhī character.

E. — See page 12 above and note 18; original page 563, note 1.

This information goes back to Sie Ling-yun: — "Sie Ling-yun of the Soung kingdom says: The *Hou* writing is that which is employed, concurrently with the *Fan* writing, both for religious and secular purposes. And the origin thereof likewise goes back to the Buddha. The sūtra says: the words, letters, çāstras and heterodox mantras — all have been set forth by the Buddha and not by the heretics. The heretics use them for communicating by letters. The *Hou* writing is, etc." Sie Ling-yun was a Chinese man of letters (Nanjio, III. 3) who collaborated with Houei-yen and Houei-kouan, between 424 and 453, in a corrected translation of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (Nanj. 114, Tôk. ed. XI. 7 and 8). The Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra contains (chap. 8, sect. 13, of the revised translation = chap. 8, sect. 4, div. 5 of Dharmarakṣa's translation) a chapter on the characters of the writing and their mystic value, which occupies a large place in the speculations of the Siddham. We might hesitate to ascribe the whole quotation to Sie Ling-yun, if the phrase immediately following the passage I have translated (: "Thus it is that in this country (China) *Ts'ang* (*hie*) . . . ") did not occur again, on the authority of this same Sie Ling-yun in a commentary on the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, the *Ta-pan-niee-pan-king hiouen-yi* (Nanjio, 1544; Tôk. ed. XXXI. 6, p. 9b).

The author of this commentary, Kouan-ting (Nanj. III. 15), lived from 562 to 632. "Sie Ling-yun says: *Fan* and *K'ia-lou* are the names of men. Both of them have brought the too numerous characters down to an abridged form. Thus it is that in this country, Ts'ang . . . . "

This passage is repeated and explained in the sub-commentary (*nie-p'an-hiouen-yi fa-yuen ki yao* (Nanj. 1546; Tôk. ed. XXXI. 6, p. 25b).

The sūtra-quotation given by Sie Ling-yun on the origin of the letters and words is identical with the beginning of the chapter on characters in the Mahāparinirvāṇa: "The Buddha said, addressing Kāçyapa: the words, the letters of the çāstras, and of the heterodox mantras — all have been enunciated by the Buddha and not by the heretics."

Kāçyapa the Bodhisattva then said to the Buddha: "Bhagavat, what does the Tathāgata declare the origin of the characters to be?" The Buddha said: "It is well. The characters, divided into two classes, which were enunciated at the very beginning, are those which I consider to be their origin. By means of these, men master the tales, çāstras, mantras, the literature, the skandhas, the true law. The common folk obtain instruction in these, the original characters, and then are they able to know the true law from the false law." Sie Ling-yun probably added to his translation some notes which have not been preserved.

APPENDIX.

List of writings in the Lalitavistara compared with parallel texts in Chinese.

[573] I have thought it opportune to add to this article on the Kharoṣṭrī the lists of writings, parallel to that of the Lalitavistara, which have been preserved in the Tripiṭaka canon of Chinese Buddhism. These lists, four in number, are to be found in the following works :—

1. *P'ou-yao-king*, a biography of the Buddha translated into Chinese by Tchou-Fa-hou in 308 A. D. (Nanj. 160; Tôk. ed. VI. 4, 79a).

2. *Fo-pen-hing-tsi king*, a biography of the Buddha translated into Chinese by Jñanagupta in 987 A.D. (Nanj. 680; Tôk. ed. XIII. 7, 40b). Beal has partly analysed, partly translated, this work: The Romantic Legend of Sākya Buddha; London, 1875. The chapter on the writings begins at p. 68. Like all Beal's works, this translation, which has, however, rendered indisputable service, is very unreliable in detail. This can be easily verified by comparing his list with mine.

3. *Fa-youen-chou-lin*, a vast encyclopædia of Buddhism compiled by Tao-chi in 668 A. D. (Nanj. 1482; Tôk. ed. XXXVI. 5, 84a). Tao-che has simply reproduced the list of the last-named work. The use, in the annotations, of the term Souei for the Chinese language denotes that the original had been written under the Souei dynasty (581 — 618)); comparison of the texts shows that the translation of Jñānagupta was copied by Tao-che. It was therefore useless to reproduce his list; I have contented myself with pointing out the variants, which are rare.

4. *Fang-kouang-ta-tchouang-yen-king*, a biography of the Buddha translated into Chinese by Divākara in 683 (Nanj. 159; Tôk. ed. VI. 4, 17b).

In the table of comparison I have placed the most ancient work in the middle, the two others being on either side. For the Sanskrit I have followed Lefmann's Edition of the Lalitavistara (Halle, 1902), p. 125.

The Chinese lists.

FOU-PEN-HING-TSI-KING (587 A. D.).	P'OU-YAO-KING (308 A. D.).	FANG-KOANG TA-TCHOANG-YEN-KING (683 A. D.).
1. [574] *Fan* writing.[24] NOTE. — This is the present brahmanic character (*po-lo-men-chou*). It contains, correctly, fourteen vowels.	1. *Fan.*	1. *Fan-mei.*
2. *K'ia-lou-che-tch'a.* NOTE. — In Chinese, ass-lip.	2. *K'ia-lou.*	2. *K'ia-lou-che-ti.*
3. Writing set forth by the ṛṣi *Fou-cha-kia-lo* = lotus flower.	3. *Fou-kia-lo.*	3. *Pou-cha-kia-lo.*
4. *Ngo-kia-lo* = articulation.	4. *Ngan-k'ia.*	4 *Yang-kia-lo.*
5. *Meng-kia-lo* = good luck.	5. *Man-kia.*	5. *Mo-ho-ti.*
6. *Ya-mei-ni* NOTE. — Mei has partly the pronunciation of (*w*)*ang*, partly of (*p'*)*i* (that is: *wi*) = kingdom of Ta-ts'in.	6. *Ngan-kiou.*	6. *Yang-k'iu.*
7. *Yang-k'iu-li* = finger.	7. *Ta-ts'in.*	7. *Ye-pan-ni.*
8. *Ya-na-ni-kia* = riding on horseback.	8. *Hou-tchong* (protecting the multitude).	8. *P'o-li-kia.*
9. *So-kia-p'o* = cow. (The *Fa-yuen-tchou-lin* writes: *So-kia-lo.*)	9. *Ts'iu* (collecting).	9. *Ngo-po-lou-cha.*

[24] At the head of the list in the *Fou-pen-hing-tsi-king*, following the question asked by the Bodhisattva, "Well, master, what writing will you teach me?" the Korean edition, and the Tôkyô edition which reproduces it, insert this note: — "At the beginning no writing is given." The Tôkyô editor adds, in his critical note at the head of the page, that the text of the Song and that of the Yuan introduce, between the last word of the question asked in the text (*chou* writing) and the note, the two words: *Fan-pen* = Hindu original; that is to say, that according to these two texts, the writing at the head of the list is missing in the Hindu original of the sūtra. This note is an obvious error, proved by the original text of the Lalitavistara and also of the Mahāvastu. It was, no doubt, brought about by the expression which precedes *Fan-t'ien* in the Chinese text.

10. *Po-lo-p'o-ni* = shoot of a tree.	10. *Pan* (half).	10. *Ta-p'i-lo.*
11. *Po-lieou-cha* = evil speech.	11. *Kiou-yu* (long-given).	11. *Ki-lo-to.*
12. [575] *Pi-to-tcha*[25] = setting a corpse erect.	12. *Tsi-kieu* (sickness-solid).	12. *To-ts'o-na.*
13. *T'o-p'i-tcha* = Southern India.	13. *T'o-pi-lo.*	13. *Yeou-kia-lo.*
14. *Tche-lo-ti* = naked men.	14. *Yi-ti-sai* (border-barbarians of the North).	14. *Seng-k'i.*
15. *Tou-k'i-tch'ai-na-p'o-to* = turned to the right.	15. *Che-yu* (gift-given).	15. *Ngo-po-meou.*
16. *Yeou-kia* = burning splendour. (The Fa-yuen reading is: *Yeou-po-kia.*)	16. *K'ang-k'iu.*	16. *Ngo-nou-lou.*
17. *Seng-k'ia* = counting, calculation.	17. *Tsoei-chang* (very high).	17. *Ta-lo-t'o.*
18. *Ngo-p'o-wou-t'o* = turned back.	18. *T'o-lo.*	18. *K'o-so.*
19. *Ngo-neou-lou-mo* = docile.	19. *K'ia-cha.*	19. *Tche-na.*
20. *P'i-ya-mei-che-lo* = mixed.	20. *Ts'in.*	20. *Hou-na.*
21. *T'o-lo-to* = border mountain of Udyāna. (The Fa-yuen has the erroneous reading *Ngo-t'o-lo-to*).	21. *Hioung-nou.*	21. *Mo-t'i-ngo-tch'a-lo.*
22. *Si* (West) *K'iu-ya-ni.* NOTE. — No Chinese word. (Fa-yuen: "The translation is wanting.")	22. *Tchong-kien-tzeu* (words in the middle).	22. *Mi-ta-lo.*

25 Following 11 and before 12, the *Fa-yuan-tchou-lin* inserts: "the *Fou-yu* (father-given) writing" and notes "the translation is wanting." *Fou-yu* cannot be a transcription from Sanskrit and it is inadmissible that the list, entirely in transcription, should make this one exception. This is an error of the *Fa-yuan-tchou-lin.*

23. *K'o-cha* = *Chou-le* (Kashgar).	23. *Wei-ki-to.*	23. *Fo-cha.*
24. *Tche-na* (kingdom of) = the great Souei. (Fa-yuen : "The translation is wanting.")	24. *Pou-cha-pou.*	24. *T'i-p'o.*
25. *Mo-na* (a bushel).	25. *T'ien* (deva).	25. *Na-kia.*
26. *Mo-tch'a-tch'a-lo* = middle-word.	26. Writing of the *Long* and writing of the *Koei* (nāgas and demons).	26. *Ye-tch'a.*
27. [576] *P'i-to-si-ti* = arm's length.	27. *Kien-ta-houo.*	27. *Kan-ta-p'o.*
28. *Fou-chou-po* = flower.	28. *Tchen-t'o-lo.*	28. *Mo-heou-lo.*
29. *T'i-po* = deva.	29. *Mo-hiou-le.*	29. *Ngo-sieou-lo.*
30. *Na-kia* = dragon.	30. *Ngo-sieou-loun.*	0. *Kia-lou-lo.*
31. *Ye-tch'a* NOTE. — No Chinese word. (Fa-yuen : "The translation is wanting.")	31. *Kia-lou-lo.*	31. *Kin-na-lo.*
32. *Kan-t'a-p'o* = heavenly musicians.	32. *Lou-loun* (stag-circle).	32. *Mi-li-kia.*
33. *Ngo-sieou-lo* = who drinks no wine.	33. *Yen-chen* (word-good).	33. *Mo-yu.*
34. *Kia-lou-lo* = bird with golden wings.	34. *T'ien-fou* (deva-belly).	34. *P'ao-mo-t'i-p'o.*
35. *Kin-na-lo* = who is not a man.	35. *Foung* (air).	35. *Ngan-to-li-tch'a-t'i-p'o.*
36. *Mo-heou-lo-kia* = great serpent.	36. *Kiang-fou* (submitting).	36. *Keou-ya-ni.*
37. *Mi-kia tche-kia* = noise of animals.	37. *Pe-fang-t'ien-hia* (northern countries).	37. *Yu-tan-yue.*
38. *Kia-kia-lou-to* = noise of birds.	38. *Keou-na-ni t'ien-hia* (country of Godānī).	38. *Fou-p'o-t'i.*

39. *Feou-mo-t'i-p'o*
= god of the earth.

40. *Ngan-to-li-tch'a-t'i-p'o*
= god of space.

41. *Yu-to-lo-keou-lou*
= North of Sumeru.

42. *Pou-lou-p'o-p'i-t'i-ho*
= East of Sumeru.

43. *Ou-tch'ai-po*
= raising.

44. *Ni-tch'ao-po*
= laying down.

45. *So-kia-lo*
= sea.

46. *Po-che-lo*
= diamond.

47. *Li-kia-po-lo-ti-li-k'ia*
= going and returning.

48. *Pi-k'i-to*
= remains of food.

49. [577] *Ngo-neou-feou-to*
= which exists no longer.

50. *Che-so-to-lo-po-to*
= rolling as one who has prostrated himself.

51. *Kia-na-na-po-to*
= rolling over while counting.

52. *Yeou-tch'ai-po-po-to*
= rolling while raising, rolling up.

53. *Ni-tch'ai-po-po-to*
= rolling and laying down.

54. *Po-t'o-li-k'ia*
= footprint.

39. *Toung-fang-t'ien-hia*
(eastern countries).

40. *Kiu*
(raising).

41. *Hia*
(lowering).

42. *Yao*
(summary).

43. *Kien-kou*
(solid).

44. *T'o-ngo.*

45. *Te-hoa*
(obtaining the outline).

46. *Yen-kiu*
(satiated-raising).

47. *Wou-yu*
(not-given).

48. *Tchoan-chou*
(rolling-number).

49. *Tchoan-yen*
(rolling-eye).

50. *Pi-kiu*
(closing-phrase, sentence).

51. *Chang*
(raising up).

52. *Ts'eu-kin*
(order-neighbour).

53. *Nai-tche*
(happening thus).

54. *Tou-tsin*
(measure-near).

39. *Ouo-k'i-p'o.*

40. *Ni-ki-p'o.*

41. *Pan-lo-ki-p'o.*

42. *P'o-kie-lo.*

43. *Po-che-lo.*

44. *Li-k'ia-po-lo-ti-li.*

45. *P'i-ki-po.*

46. *Ngan-nou-po-tou-to.*

47. *Che-sa-to-p'o.*

48. *Kie-ni-na.*

49. *Ou-tch'ai-po.*

50. *Ni-tch'ai-po.*

51. *Po-t'o-li-kia.*

52. *Ti-ou-ta-san-ti.*

53. *Ye-p'o-ta.*

54. *Po-t'o-san-ti.*

55. *P'i-keou-to-lo-po-t'o-na-ti* = increasing, two by two, adding (words) two by two.	55. *Tchong-yu* (middle-leading).	55. *Mo-t'i-ho-li-ni.*
56. *Ye-p'o-t'o-chou-to-lo* = increased to ten.	56. *Si-mie-yin* (all-extinguished-sound).	56. *Sa-p'o-to-seng-kia-ho.*
57. *Mo-tch'a-p'o-hi-ni* = middle-flowing, passing away.	57. *Tien-che-kiai* (lightning-world-limit).	57. *P'o-chi.*
58. *Li-cha-ye-so-to-po-to-pi-to* = practising the tortures of the ṛsis. (Fa-yuen : "*Li-cha-ye-p'o*, etc.) = practising the torments of the mountains" (error in reading).	58. *To - you* (var. *fou*) (animal for riding-also) (var. father).	58. *Pi-t'o-ngo-nou-lou-mo.*
59. *To-lo-ni-pi-tch'a-li* = seeing the earth.	59. *Chen-ts'i-ti* (good-calm-earth).	59. *Ni-che-ta-to.*
60. *Kia-kia-na-pi-li-tch'a-ni* = seeing space.	60. *Koan-k'ong* (contemplating the void).	60. *Hou-lou-tche-mo-na.*
61. *Sa'p'ou-cha-ti-ni-chan-t'o* = cause of all plants (Fa-yuen : "List of all plants.")	61. *Yi-tsie-yo* (all grasses).	61. *T'o-lo-ni-pi-tso.*
62. *Cha-lo-seng-kia-ho-ni* = collected all together.	62. *Chen-cheou* (good-receive).	62. *Kia-kia-na-pi-li-ki-na.*
63. [578] *S'a-cha-lou-to* = noise of all kinds.	63. *Che-ts'iu* (containing).	63. *So-p'o-ouo-cha-ti-ni-tch'an-t'o.*
	64. *Kiai-hiang* (every noise).	64. *So-kie-lo-seng-kia-ho.*
		65. *Sa-p'o-pou-to-heou-lou-to.*

Comparison with the Lalitavistara.

Lalitavistara (A)	1 Brāhmī.	2 Kharoṣṭī.	3 Puṣkarasārī.
Fou-pen-hing-tsi-king (B)	1	2	3
P'ou-yao-king (C)	1	2	3
Fang-koang-ta-tchoang-yen-king (D) ...	1	2	3

A	4 Aṅga.	5 Vaṅga.	6 Magadha.	7 Maṅgalya.	8 Aṅgulīya.	9 Sakāri.
B	4	...	...	5	7	9 ?
C	4	5	...	...	6	...
D	4	...	5 ?	...	6	8 ?

A	10 Brahmavali.	11 Pāruṣya.	12 Drāviḍa.	13 Kirāta.	14 Dākṣiṇya.	15 Ugra.
B	...	11	13	14	15 (dakṣiṇāvarta or dakṣiṇā patha).	16
C	...	...	13	14	15 (dakṣiṇā, gift).	13
D	...	9	10	11	12	...

A	16 Saṃkhyā.	17 Anuloma.	18 Avamūrdha.	19 Darada.	20 Khāṣya.	21 Cīna.
B	17	19	18	21	23	24
C	16 ? Kaṅkhya.	...	17	18	19	20
D	14	16	15	17	18	19

A	22 Lūna.	23 Hūna.	24 Madhyākṣaravistara.	25 Puṣpa.	26 Deva.	27 Nāga.
B	...	25 ? (Māna).	26	28	29	30
C	...	21	22	24	25	26 (long).
D	...	20	21	23	24	25

A	28 Yakṣa.	29 Gandharva.	30 Kinnara.	31 Mahoraga.	32 [579] Asura.	33 Garuḍa.
B	31	32	35	36	33	34
C	26 (Koei).	27	28 ?	29	30	31
D	26	27	31	28	29	30

34 Mṛgacakra.	35 Vāyasaruta.	36 Bhaumadeva.	37 Antarīkṣadeva.	38 Uttarakurudvīpa.
37	38 (Kākaruta).	39	40	41
32	33 ?	34	35	37
32	33 (Mayu).	34	35	37

39 Aparagoḍānī.	40 Pūrvavideha.	41 Utkṣepa.	42 Nikṣepa.	43 Vikṣepa.
22	42	43	44	48 (Vikṣipta).
38	39	40	41	46
36	38	39	40	45

44 Prakṣepa.	45 Sāgara.	46 Vajra.	47 Lekhapratilekha.	48 Anudruta.
...	45	46	47	49 (Anubhūta).
42	...	43	45	47 (Anupadatta?).
41	42	43	44	46 Anupadruta.

49 Çāstrāvartā.	50 Gaṇanāvarta.	51 Utkṣepāvarta.	52 Nikṣepāvarta.
50	51	52	53
49?	48	51	...
47	48	49	50

53 Pādalikhitā.	54 Dviruttarapadasaṃdhi.	55 Yāvaddaçottarapadasaṃdhi.
54	55	56
50?	52?	53? + 54?
51	52	53 + 54

56 Madhyāhāriṇī.	57 Sarvarutasaṃgrahaṇī.	58 Vidyānulomavimiçritā.	59 Ṛṣitapastaptā.
57	...	20 (Vyāmiçra).	58
55	56	58?	...
55	56	58	59

60 Rocamānā.	61 Dharaṇīprekṣiṇī.	62 Gaganaprekṣiṇi.	63 Sarvauṣadhiniṣyandā.
...	59	60	61
59 (very calm).	59 (earth).	60	61
60	61	62	63

64 Sarvasārasaṃgrahaṇī.	65 Sarvabhūtarutagrahaṇī.
62	63
62 + 63.	64
64 (Sakalasaṃgraha).	65

This comparison shows that not one of the Chinese texts is in complete agreement with the Lalitavistara either as to the names or the order adopted. In Sanskrit as in Chinese the attempt has been made, with indifferent success, to divide up the traditional terms of the nomenclature under sixty-four heads, the consecrated number; there has been cutting, carving, patching and sewing in the dark, and, in spite of all, some are below and some above the regular total. Certain divergences may be explained by the graphic variants of the Sanskrit originals, others are particularly important; unlike the Sanskrit, the three lists mention the writing of the Yavanas (Greeks): *Ta-tsin*, *Ya-mei-ni*, *Ye-pan-ni*, and these last two forms come out as Yavanī instead of Yavanānī, the form prescribed by the Sanskrit grammar. The writing Yananikā given in the *Fo-pen* (No. 8) seems to be a graphic modification of Yavanike which is also a name for the writing of the Yavanas; the hypothesis has so much the more likelihood as this writing is followed immediately by the Çakārī, writing of the Çakas, a people who were usually associated with the Yavanas and who were said to be born from the excrement (çakṛt) of Vasiṣṭha's cow, whence the Chinese translation of their name, "Cow." The writing next on the list, *Po-lo-p'o-ni*, is evidently Pahlavānī, the writing of the Pahlavas; the form thus restored agrees with the etymology indicated, "shoot of a tree," Pahlava being traced back to Pallava. Çaka-Yavana-Pahlava make up the traditional triad in the Sanskrit classics, a grouping which bears distinctly the mark of an epoch.

The names I have not been able to trace in the Sanskrit forms of the Lalitavistara are *P'ou-yao* — Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 36, 44, 50, 57; *Fou-pen* — Nos. 6, 8, 10, 12, 27, (Vitasti); *Ta-tchoang* — Nos. 7, 22, 57.

TELUGU FOLKLORE.

THE HUNTER AND THE DOVES.

Translated by T. Sivasankaram.

THERE was once a sinful hunter, who lived by killing a number of birds, of which he ate some and sold the rest. For this purpose he invented many snares and used to roam over forests with them. Once upon a night, while he was so roaming, a severe storm broke, with the result that many living things were destroyed and the whole forest was flooded with water. The hunter became terrified, cautiously approached a big tree and stretched himself for rest, shivering with cold, with a stone for a pillow.

Contemplating the tree with awe, he invoked the evil spirits inhabiting it, that they might show mercy to him and save him from harm. While he was thus resting, he heard the wailing of a male dove from a hollow in the trunk of the tree over the absence of his dear partner, who had not returned from her quest of food:— "Where can she be now? Is it possible that my darling love should leave me alone for so long? What can have happened to her? Perhaps she has perished in the storm! Ah! Without her my existence is meaningless. The qualities of a loving wife are means for a husband's attaining happiness here on earth and bliss hereafter. What can I do now? My house has become empty."

The female dove, who happened to be caught in the net of the hunter, listened to this soliloquy with unlimited joy and exclaimed thus:— "A fortunate wife indeed is she, to whom it is given to stand so high in the estimation of her lord. Now that I have heard my lover's protestations, I have not lived in vain and fear death no longer."

Thus she consoled herself and announced her presence in the net to her lover in the tree and said that there was no use in sorrowing over what had happened:— "The wise say that to show hospitality with a full heart to those who seek refuge with us is supreme charity. This hunter, by coming to the tree in which we live, has sought for refuge with us. He is shivering with cold. See that no harm befalls him and give him the best shelter you can."

At this the male dove, at once ceasing to grieve, introduced himself to the hunter and spoke to him thus:— "Brother, you must be very tired. You are a guest in my house and it is for me to show you hospitality. What is your pleasure?"

To this the hunter replied, well pleased:— "Prince of birds, my limbs are shivering with cold, pray do something to relieve me."

The dove set out at once, collected a number of small dried twigs with its beak, brought another stick lighted at one end from a village close by, put it in the fuel, fanned it into fire by its wings, and invited the weary hunter to warm himself, all with an overflowing heart. To the delight of the bird, the hunter warmed himself at the fire, and then he began to feel the sensations of the returning hunger, of which he told the dove, his host. The bird felt intensely grieved at his inability to provide his guest with food, and exclaimed thus: "We birds do not keep any store of food. We eat whatever we find and live by it, but you are tired and I *must* show you hospitality. Therefore accept my body!"

So saying, the bird turned to the fire and suddenly fell into it, to the utter amazement of the hunter, who stood struck with awe. Collecting himself after a moment he soliloquised thus:— "Could there be such moral courage on earth? Is it possible that a bird could sacrifice its body with such loving kindness? What a tragedy has my sinful life caused! I must give

up my merciless and brutal ways. The bird is my teacher and it has taught me this holy teaching."

As these thoughts occurred to his mind, it became filled with the spirit of renunciation, and he resolved within himself thus:— "The bird fell into the fire, giving up his wife and relations. I shall give up all my desires, redeem my sins, and thereby acquire merit enough to attain Heaven."

He really gave up his desires and his mind became calm. He immediately let go all the birds that were caught in the net, threw down his gun, bow and arrows, and everything he was using to kill the birds with, and walked away a thoroughly reformed being.

When her lover sacrificed himself thus, the female dove overpowered with grief wept with tears rolling down her cheeks and exclaimed :— "You could never bear to see me hungry, nor would you taste anything before I had eaten, and would caress me whenever I felt wearied. Is it right for you to leave me alone and go? You used to take me to bushes covered with flowers and tender leaves, ride with me on the froth formed by the waterfalls in streams of crystal water, escort me to island gardens studded with young mango plants covered with tender leaves, make me alight on lotus blossoms, and return home. Is it possible for me to forget all the sports of love, which, while in your company, brought me bliss? I would dedicate my life to you and would at once go to where you have gone. **I learn that a wife who gives up her mortal body on her husband's death accompanies him to the abode of everlasting bliss."**

So saying, the female dove kindled the same fire, and with loving thoughts on her beloved, fell into it. Then there appeared in the heavens a divine car surrounded with angels with the wedded doves in it in a state of perfect joy.

BOOK-NOTICE.

NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES. By WILLIAM ALLAN REED: Department of the Interior, Ethnological Survey Publications, Vol. II., Part I. Manila, Bureau of Public Printing, 1904.

THIS is a welcome publication and shows the energy with which the Americans are setting out to learn about the inhabitants of their recently-acquired territory. So far as regards the present writer's line of research is concerned it is disappointing to find that so little seems to be left of the aboriginal Negrito in the populations of the Philippines as to make it practically impossible now to prove their connection with the Andamanese, who are possibly the only pure Negritoes left. There is little to prove connection physically. Linguistically there is nothing at all, as the Philippine Negritoes do not seemingly now talk their original tongue. In arts and crafts the Philippine aborigines have borrowed so much for so long from different races, with whom they have come in contact, that no doubt it is now difficult to distinguish what has been borrowed from that which is the result of internal development. And when the manners and customs come to us more fully recorded it will be found, perhaps, that many of these, too, have been borrowed from, or at least greatly influenced by, outsiders. Such as have been recorded certainly appear to bear the stamp of imitation of "betters" and to have lost the aboriginal form. The chief indications of untutored "culture" I have been able to detect so far lie in the body ornaments and the *temporary* shelters or huts, which bear a considerable likeness to those of the Andamanese.

The photographs and illustrations of the publication are excellent and most useful, and it is to be hoped that the work thus begun so well will be vigorously followed up, until as much at least has been discovered about the Negritoes under American administration as has been found out in the course of many years about those under the British Government.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE SOK AND KANISKA.

Passages from an article by Dr. O. Franke, Halensee, entitled "Beiträge aus Chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens," published in the Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Prussia, 1904; selected and translated

BY MISS C. NICOLSON, M.A.

(*The pages are those of the reprint.*)

[SOME forty years ago, the opinion was held that Kanishka founded the so-called Vikrama era commencing B. C. 58 ; that is, that the year B. C. 58-57 was the first year of his reign, and his regnal reckoning developed into the era. And, if that opinion had been maintained, the early history of India during the first centuries B. C. and A. D. would by this time have been worked out on consistent and intelligible lines.

Subsequently, however, various writers advanced other and varying theories, none of which have been supported by any definite proof. And the result has been an amount of confusion from which it is extremely difficult to disentangle any real facts.

It may be said, no doubt, that there is not as yet any conclusive proof in support of the original view. But there are not wanting clear indications that we are every year getting nearer and nearer to the required proof. And we cordially welcome, as a decided step in that direction, the article by Dr. Franke, of Halensee, Berlin, the title of which is given above, and express our thanks to Miss Nicolson for so obligingly giving an abstract translation of certain parts of it for the information of those students to whom the German original is not available.

On the subject of Kanishka, Dr. Franke arrives at the following conclusions, from the Chinese sources with which he is so well acquainted: that Kanishka preceded Kuzulo-Kadphisēs ; that a period of decline in the Kushan power intervened between the last of Kanishka's immediate successors and the reign of Kuzulo-Kadphisēs ; and that the initial date of Kanishka must be placed appreciably before B. C. 2, and may, in fact, be most appropriately taken as coincident with the commencement of the so-called Vikrama era.

Closely connected with that question there is another ; that of the migrations of a people known to the Chinese by the name of Sök. In this matter, we may perhaps not agree with Dr. Franke in respect of the view that the Sök, — the Szu, Su, Saï, Sse, Se, of some writers, — are to be identified with the people known to the Greeks and Romans as Sacae and to the Hindus as Śakas. And, with reference to a remark on page 37 below, we would observe that there is at any rate no epigraphic evidence (see JRAS, 1904. 703; 1905. 154, 635) for placing a line of Śaka rulers at either Taxila or Mathurā. We are, however, none the less greatly indebted to Dr. Franke for the clear and full exposition, that he has given us, of the movements of the Sök, — a people who certainly played a part of importance in the early history of the territory lying on the north-west of India. — EDITOR.]

P. 20 ; Conquest of the country of the Sök or Śakas.

THE Han-Annals say that "the Wusun lived in the home of the Sök," but, since the Yuë-chi had subsequently expelled the Sök, and then the Wusun had driven the Yuë-chi further west and taken possession of their land, therefore "the race of the Wusun contained elements of the Sök as well as the Yuë-chi."

P. 41 ; Southerly migration.

After the massacres of the Hiung-nu princes Moduk and Kiyuk, they (the Yuë-chi) divided: one part remained behind, the rest travelled north-west, taking along with them, as before hypothetically laid down (*cf.* p. 31), the Tocharer tribe in the Tarim basin, and reached the land of the Śakas, who partly wandered south and partly settled along with the invaders (as Strabo's and Trogus Pompeius' accounts shew).

In 174 B. C. the Yuë-chi, driven west by the Hiung-nu, occupied the country of a people called by the Chinese annalists *Sai*, and compelled them to emigrate. Few references are found regarding this event.

P. 46 f.

"The Yuë-chi had been conquered by the Hiung-nu and had attacked the Sai-wang (princes of the Sai) in the west. The Sai-wang went south and wandered far off, while the Yüe-chi lived in their land."

Ts'ien Han shu, cap. 61, fol. 4 v°.

"Long ago, since the Hiung-nu had conquered the Ta Yuë-chi, the Ta Yuë-chi went west and made themselves masters of Ta Hia (Bactria); but the Sai-wang went south, and conquered Ki-pin."

Han-Annals, cap. 96A, fol. 10 v°.

By the older sinologists, who transcribe the name variously as Szu (Klaproth), Su (De Guignes), Saï (Rémusat), Sse (Julien), and Se (Schott), this tribe of the Sai was considered to be identical with the Σάκαι and Sacae of the Græco-Roman and the Śakas of Indian chroniclers. Two non-sinologists, however, Lassen and St. Martin, take exception to the identification, chiefly on account of the diversity of forms of the name. But, from considerations of texts and analogous cases, the identification of the Sök with the Sacae and Śakas cannot be doubted in the least degree.

Identified with the Śaka.

It appears that even V. de St. Martin attaches to the name "Hun" a narrower meaning than was befitting, when he takes pains to prove, in his acute and scholarly enquiry on the White Huns, that the Epthalites, the Yeu-ta or I-tan of the Chinese, who are mentioned by the Greek authors as a Hunnish people, were not Huns but Yuë-chi, and hence, according to his statement, a Tibetan race. So far as his results rest on the identity of the names Yeu-ta or Ye-tha and Yuë-chi — the Yuë-ti of Klaproth — they are weak, for the old name of the one race was sounded Yep-ta(r) or Ip-ta(r), while that of the other was Güt or Get, two designations which, in spite of their later similarity in sound, had nothing to do with each other. But it must be questioned whether the Greek authors had in their designation an ethnological classification in view. At all events, the customs of the Epthalites were *Hunnish*, as recorded in the *History of Monasteries* by Lo Yana in the *Pien yi tien* on the authority of Sung Yun's statements. Further, the kingdom of the Epthalites extended (according to Wei shu, ch. 102) "from the Altai Mountains southwards as far as the country to the west of Khotan." So that this originally Turkish people probably incorporated many elements of the Yuë-chi in the south, and were rightly considered by the Chinese as partly Scythian, partly Turkish races.

P. 45; note 2.

Even the wider objections of Lassen and St. Martin to the identification of the Sök and Sacae might have been easily set aside on closer inspection of the Chinese texts. The former sought the people, strangely enough, on the upper Huang ho, and so stumbled upon a very abstruse explanation, the latter found it "more than rash to attempt to see in the name of a small, hitherto unknown tribe that came from the heart of Mongolia, the origin of an old designation for the inhabitants of Central Asia, which appears to have been used in quite a general sense among the Arian peoples on both sides of the Indus."

P. 47; Objections of Lassen and St. Martin.

The continuation of the above-quoted passage from the 96th chapter of the Han-Annals gives us an entirely different point of view for the discrimination of the Sök.

"The race of the Sök," it says, "has spread far and wide and founded a succession of states. From Shu-lê (Kashgar) on to the north-west, all that belongs to the Hiu-sün and Kün-tu states are ancient tribes of the Sök." A description of Hui-sün follows, ending with the words, "The people belong originally to the race of the old Śaka." A description of Kün-tu also ends with the statement that the inhabitants belonged originally to the old Śaka race.

Refutation of Lassen's objections.

Errors of commentators about Hiu-sün.

The names of these states, though mentioned by the chroniclers only in a cursory way, have given rise to a whole succession of misunderstandings both among ancient Chinese and modern European authors; *e. g.*, Ritter and Lassen identify Hiu-sün with Wusun, apparently on the authority of DeGuignes. Ritter (*Asien*, Vol. VII. p. 430) writes Hiu-sün as Siusiun but afterwards has a "Hieousun" (after the French transliteration) which he identifies with "Usun" or "Ousiun." Lassen rightly takes "Hieu-siun" to mean tribe of the Sse (Sök), but adds that later they were called Usun and that Sse ma t'sien calls them Usiun. Now, Ma tuan lin describes a country P'o-han or Po'hanna (in the old pronunciation probably Fat-han-na = Ferghana) and thinks it is the old country of K'ü-sou, taking the statement verbatim from the *Sui shu* and *T'ang shu*, where, among other things, it is stated that in 658, by order of the Chinese emperor, the capital K'o-sai was changed from Ferghana into the prefecture-town of Hiu-sün. Ritter takes this to be different from Siusiun and declares it to be the old designation of the Wusun. In a translation of the above-quoted passage of Ma tuan lin, von Richthofen apparently interchanges Khiu-seou and Hieu-suin = Hiu-sün. Consequently, he applied all that was said of K'u-sou or Fat-ha-na to Hiu-sün and concluded logically that it was not Ta-wan that was Ferghana, but Hiu-siun.

P. 49.

Misinterpretation of Kün-tu.

Still greater are the misunderstandings about Kün-tu. The *Pien yi tien* identifies Kün-tu with names of similar sound, Shên or Sên-tu and Yin-tu, which mean "Indian," and then takes Kün-tu to mean "Indian"! So too Yen shi ku remarks, "Kün-tu is the same as Shên-tu or T'ien-chu (*i. e.*, Indian). Originally these names were all the same"! Pauthier, in his translation of the *Pien yi tien*, accepts the statements of his original and refers all that is said in the Han-Annals about Kün-tu to India. Similarly, Rémusat renders the name as "Sind."

Th. Watters has cleared himself of this interchange in so far as he thought "the country described in Chinese Literature under the name Yun-tu was evidently one to the E. or N.-E. of all that has been called India."

P. 50; Evidences from the texts.

Confining our attention to the short but perfectly intelligible statements in the Han-Annals, we shall find the simple fact that the Hiu-sün and Kün-tu were two tribes of the Śaka, who pastured their flocks in the N.-W. of Kashgar and on the S.-W. slopes of the T'ien-shan system and about the S. tributaries of the Narin, the Hiu-sün rather towards the boundaries from Ferghana, and the Kün-tu east of this, stretching north to the country of the Wusun that extended to the Issi-kul. These two tribes disappear later from history as independent states: and naturally so, since, owing to the coalescing of the tribes with their kindred race, the Ta Yuë-chi, they would have become merged with them in their south-westerly movement. These two names are probably preserved by a mere accident: they certainly were not the only Śaka tribes that inhabited that district. The above-cited statement in the T'ang-Annals about the prefecture-town of Hiu-sün might indicate that the family of the Hiu-sün was the ruling one in the 7th century in Ferghana, or at least in part of it. On the other hand, the Sketch of the History of Weï enumerates both Kün-tu and Hiu-sün among the states which then (*i. e.*, in the 3rd century) belonged to Kashgar. So, too, the Encyclopedia of Tu-yen asserts that, at the time of its composition, the So-ch'ê, Kün-tu, and Hiu-sün formed part of the state of Kashgar.

P. 51.

At that early time, the race of the Śaka does not seem to have spread south and east beyond Kashgar.

P. 52.

The enumeration of a number of small states, among which is the So-ch'ê, together with the account of the introduction of a Wusun prince among the So-ch'ê in 65 B. C., the subsequent rising of the small neighbouring states against the Chinese, and the splitting up of their confederacy by the ambassador Fêng-fêng-shi, — all go to

shew that the So-ch'ê and their neighbouring states formed the transition from the Tibetan peoples to the Turkish races and the Saka north from them. We have then, in the tribes of the Hiu-sün, Kün-tu, and that driven south from Issi-kul by the Yuë-chi, not, as St. Martin believed, "a small, hitherto unknown people," but they are the tribes of the Sacae, which in the 2nd century B. C. were pushed furthest south and east, whose large province Ptolemy could yet describe as extending from the N. bank of the lower Jaxartes on to Serica.

Habitat of the Sacae.

According to Tomaschek, the Sacae, whose conquest by Alexander is told in Arrian (VII. 10, 5), inhabited the district on the upper Oxus as neighbours of the Indians: their capital was Rokhsanaka on the Oxus. Perhaps they were directly connected with the Hiu-sün, north-east from them. As regards the question whether the Saka or "Scolotes," who, according to Herodotus, are the true Scythians and who, as A. v. Humboldt thinks, "are a people, and emphatically not a common designation for nomadic tribes," belong to the Arian race, no positive verdict can be drawn from Chinese sources. Klaproth, in his Introduction to the Voyage of Count Potoki, says that one can affirm it with tolerable certainty but he regrets the lack of statements to settle the point more definitely. In the Han-Annals it is stated that "from Wan (Ferghana) to An-si (Parthia) the languages are, it is true, somewhat different, but yet the same in general, so that speakers can understand one another. These people have all deep-set eyes and luxuriant beards. They love barter and quarrel about the fraction of a trifle. They set great store by their women, and whatever a woman says, her husband unquestioningly agrees with."

P. 53 ; Arian origin.

Clearly the three races, the Saka, the Wusun, and the Yuë-chi were in great measure co-mingled.

Early home of the Saka, Scythae, and Getae.

What might point to an affinity of race among the Saka, the Scythians, and the Getae, is their primitive home: for not only have the two last-named, but also the Saka race, moved out from the great cradle of peoples by the Aral sea to east and south.

P. 54 ; Sai-wang.

It is noteworthy that the Han-Annals speak, not of the *Sai* but of the *Sai-wang*, *i. e.*, "Prince," or "Princes" of the Saka. Such an adjunct is unusual, especially in a speech so poor in vocabulary as that of the Han-Annals. It must be very closely associated with the word Saka. The different variants of the word found among western authors, *e. g.*, *Σακαυρακων* and *Σακαβϱάκων*, &c., in Lucian, Sarangae in Pliny, *Σαγαϱάγκαι* by Ptolemy and others, suggest that *wang* is an element of the name, and that it serves to indicate a distinct branch of the Saka. Another possibility would be that the Saka-prince was a specially-marked character, called by Chang-k'ien the oppressor of the whole people, and handed down as such by him.

P. 55.

Those who refuse to identify the Chinese Sai with the Indian Saka are deprived of the possibility of making this migration a starting-point. Lassen simply says that the Sse travelled southwards to Sogdiana, and, driven further S. by the Yuë-chi, crossed the Hindu Kush and conquered the land of Ki-pin or the N.-E. part of Arachosia: by the Saka of the Indians he means the Indo-Scythian race later forced into India from Bactria. This interpretation, of course, is not reconcilable with the Chinese accounts.

Date of the southward migration.

In the biography of Chang k'ien we find that the Yuë-chi, conquered by the Hiung-nu, had attacked the Saka princes in the west. The latter, driven south, settled in a new country. K'un-mo begged Shan-yü for permission to avenge the wrong done to his father; and he attacked and conquered the Yuë-chi who went west again." Prince Moduk died in 174 B. C. This second ejection of the Yuë-chi took place in 160 B. C. Hence the Sakas' southward migration took place between 174 and 160, *i. e.*, a very long time before the conquest of India by the Indo-Scythians.

It is, moreover, nowhere stated, that the Sse went to Sogdiana, which lies west, not south — nay, it is said "They went S. and made themselves masters of Ki-pin," which, at the Han period, was not the N.-E. part of Arachosia, but corresponds to Kapila or Kapira, the Kasperia of Ptolemy, *i. e.*, to the name Kaśmīra, which sounds like Kaspira.

P. 56 ; Ki-pin.

One short indication of the route followed by the Śakas is given in the third passage of the Han-Annals, Ch. 96, where we are told that "the Sai-wang went south and passed Hien-tu." To locate Hien-tu the travels of Fa hien furnish materials which prove it to have been on the Indus. The *Shui king Chu* cites Fa hien's description, and adds that the substance of all the chroniclers about this place is : — On the border of Ki-pin there is a bridle-path leading up from the flat rocks, only a little over a foot broad. The travellers go step by step here and hold each other fast; rope-bridges are joined to one another for a distance of 20 li till the Hien-tu (*lit.*, "hanging passage") is reached. Kuo yi kung says : "West from Wu-ch'a is the land of Hien-tu . . . . This Hien-tu is the one of which the Buddhist Fa hien says that he crossed the Indus at that point, before coming to Udyāna."[1]

The route of the Śakas.

We allot, then, to Hien-tu a S. S. W. direction from Kashgar to the Indus, slightly west of Skardo, near the boundary of the modern Dardistan.

P. 58.

About the location of Ki-pin, Chinese evidence is of little service. According to the Han-Annals it is said to have had on the S.-W. Wu-i-shan-li or Arachosia, on the S.-E. the Bactrian kingdom of the Ta Yuë-chi. On the N.-E. it is said to have been 9 days' journey to Nan-tou, on the E. 2250 li to Wu-ch'a. Now Wu-ch'a is E. from Hien-tu, the latter being on the borders of Ki-pin. The distance of 2250 li, if taken to mean from the capital Sün-sien, would bring the capital near Peshawar. The Chinese must, in describing the "great land of Ki-pin," have had in view part of the Pañjāb, especially as it is described as low-lying and warm.

P. 59 ; Location of Ki-pin.

The route followed by the Śakas from the Tarim basin to Hien-tu, and thence south, is not indicated by Chinese sources, which vouchsafe almost no information on the further history of these Śakas as well as of the other Parthian Śakas on Indian ground.

P. 60.

Śaka dynasties are found not merely in Gandhāra with Taksaśilā, but also in Mathurā in India, and the name Śakastene, the modern Sejistan, has preserved the memory of the Śaka even to the present day. But we must guard against seeking the same race under the same name. The Indians employ the names Śaka, Turuṣka, Hûṇa, and others, apparently indiscriminately, for those strangers who seemed to them more or less barbarians.

The lack of direct information regarding the later fortunes of the Śaka races renders much more difficult a chronology of the important period between the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. and the year 318 A. D. This period groups itself round a succession of princes, of whom the most famous is Kaniṣka. Here we enter the realm of most widely diverging and contradictory statements and hypotheses. The commencement of his reign is variously dated from 57 B. C. to 278 A. D., the sources being the evidence of coins and inscriptions and passages (very variously interpreted) from Chinese works.

P. 61 f. ; Kaniṣka. Dates very diversely interpreted.

The later events in Ki-pin are found in the Han-Annals (fol. 11 r° ff.). Relations between China and Ki-pin began in the time of Wu ti (140—85 B. C.). It being remote, Chinese troops could not reach it. The king Wu-t'ou-lao put to death

P. 63 ; Embassy to China.

[1] Ritter thought that Hien-tu meant, (1) merely the country of Ki-pin ; (2) the Oxus-passage of the Pamir ; (3) a pass over the Hindu Kush.

Watters sees in it originally only a variant for Indus, which spread afterwards to the highlands from Ladak to the Indus.

several ambassadors. His son, succeeding, sent ambassadors to collect tribute. These were accompanied by Wên chung, an official of the border-province, whom the prince meant later to treat with violence. Wên chung, however, got word of this and plotted with the son of the prince of Jung-k'ü, called Yin-mo-fu. They made a concerted attack on Ki-pin, and killed the prince. Yin-mo-fu mounted his throne. Later, dissensions sprang up between Yin-mo-fu and the ambassador Chao tê. The latter was put in prison and his followers, 70 men, put to death. From 48 to 33 B. C. communications were broken off. In the time of the emperor Ch'êng ti (32—7 B. C.) ambassadors were sent to bring tribute and ask pardon. It was intended to send them back with an escort of ambassadors to Ki-pin. But the generalissimo Tu k'in opposed the measure, saying that, whenever China had shewed clemency to these barbarian races, their borders had become the scene of rapine and that the ambassadors were "not men of standing, but tradesmen, people of lowly position, who wish to dispose of their wares and carry on traffic at the market, and to whom the bringing of the tribute is a mere pretext."

Character of the ambassadors.

The Śakas, then, came among a peaceful, commercial people, from whom they wrested the power. Commercial intercourse with China was interrupted; and this the native merchants sought to restore by their expeditions with tribute.

P. 65.

An analogous case presents itself in the invasion of the Yuë-chi races into Bactria (*Shi-ki*, ch. 123, fol. 6 v° f.): — "The Ta-hia or Bactrian soldiers are weak and are afraid of battle, but are fond of trading." When the Ta Yuë-chi moved west, they attacked and defeated the natives, and made Bactria subject. Chang k'ien, who lived there in 125 B. C., heard from them that "the people of our land carry on trade with Shên-tu (= Sindhu, the Indus region)."

The five Hi-Hou princes.

The conquest of Bactria by the Yuë-chi, their gradual advance south over the Oxus, and their final conquest of India are testified to by Chinese sources, but the dates of specific events are almost entirely wanting. The proximity of two passages gives some indication about the Yuë-chi (*Ts'ien Han shu*, ch. 96 A, fol. 15 r°): — "There are in Bactria five princes, namely, the princes of Hiu-mi." (Then follow the well-known names of the five Hi-Hou, the prince of Kuei-shuang being third, and of Kao-fu fifth.) "All these five princes are subject to the Yuë-chi."

P. 66; Supremacy of the Hi-Hou prince of Kushān.

In the *Hou Han shu*, ch. 118, fol. 11 v°, we are told that "at first the Yuë-chi were overthrown by the Hiung nu. They removed their settlements to Bactria and divided the kingdom into five, putting a Hi-Hou at the head of each division. A century later the Hi-Hou of Kuei-shuang attacked and overthrew the four other Hi-Hou. He assumed the rank of Prince (Wang) and bore the dynastic title of King of Kuei-shuang. He pressed into An-si (Parthia) and took the province from Kao-fu. He annihilated P'u-ta and Ki-pin; all this formed his realm. When K'iu-tsiu-k'io was 80 years old, he died; his son Yen-kao-chên became prince. He thereupon conquered India, and placed a (*sic*!) deputy there, who governed the country. The Yuë-chi thereupon became extremely rich and flourishing; in all countries they were designated as Kings of Kuei-shuang; the Chinese, however, retained the old name of Yuë-chi."

P. 66 f.; Foundation of the Kushān kingdom.

Hirth and Marquart have shewn the error in this distorted passage: the five principates formed, not the whole of the old kingdom, but a small portion of it: possibly, however, during the last century, before the conquest of India, it formed the actual Yuë-chi kingdom. And a possible explanation is that the K'ang-nu, an allied race, drove the Yuë-chi southwards and took possession of their vacant settlements.

The Han-Annals cover the period 206 B. C. to 24 A. D. They make no mention of this reconstruction of the Yuë-chi kingdom; the author Pan ku (who died 92 A. D.), brother of the famous Pan ch'ao, must have known of the conquering invasion of the Yuë-chi: and a consideration of the political relations of China with Central Asia at the death of the usurping prince Wang mang in 23 B. C. confirms the conclusion that such an event had not then taken place. Lévi, however, founding his arguments on mistaken premises, assigns the foundation of the Kushān kingdom to the middle of the 1st century B. C.

P. 69 f.

The Annals of the later Han cover the period 25—220 A. D. Their author Fan ye lived till 445, so that the establishment of the native Yüe-chi realm was for him ancient history. With the rise of the Gupta dynasty, in 318 A. D., the Kushān kingdom must have broken up into small states about the 5th century, and in Bactria the Yuë-chi were driven westwards by their northern neighbours the Juan-juan. Hence, scarcely a century after the later Han dynasty, the power of the Kushān kingdom must have been on the wane. Yet the later chronicler points to a period of flourishing development after the conquest of K'iu-tsiu-k'io and Yen-kao-chên, but makes no mention of a corresponding decline.

P. 70.

With the end of Pan yung's biography in 124 D. D., sources of information about the peoples of Turkestan were exhausted. It is clear, however, that the period when the Chinese sway over "the kingdoms westwards from Ts'ung ling" began to be insecure, was that of the flourishing epoch of the great Kushān kingdom.

P. 71.

In 24 A. D., then, the union of the Yuë-chi principalities under the Kushāns had not taken place, while by 124 not only the conquests of K'iu-tsiu-k'io and Yen-k'ao-chên had taken place, but also a period of flourishing development had come to a close. A century is not a long period for such events, and we cannot, in view of this, place the overthrow of the four Hi-hou princes far from the beginning of the later Han dynasty. We hear of a considerable army being sent into the field in A. D. 90 by the Yuë-chi king against Pan ch'ao. This king could be neither K'iu-tsiu-k'io nor Yen-kao-chên, for Pan chao would have named them here in his biography, as he does in a later passage. We should then be dealing with a successor of Yen-kao-chên. We may then, with confidence, place the establishment of a native Kushān kingdom in the period between 25 and 81 A. D., with greater probability nearer the earlier date than the later.

P. 72; Date of the Kushān kingdom.

Of the peoples in the north-west, the Chinese texts mention two great kingdoms, Wu-i-shan-li and An-si, giving a description of the physical and economical conditions of these countries, which ends with the words "Eastward from An-si are the Ta Yuë-chi." From the *Hou Han shu* we learn that An-si in 87 A. D. sent an embassy to China, and in 97 Kan ying, Pan ch'ao's ambassador, came to the W. boundary of An-si. In 101, the king of An-si, Man-kü, again sent tribute to China. Hirth considers An-si to be a form of Arsak, a designation of the Parthians. In P'an-tou (the capital) he sees the name Parthuva, the Persian original of the Greek Πάρθοι or Παρθαύνικα, &c.

P. 73 f.; An-si and Wu-i-shan-li.

Chinese sources give no information about the internal wars of the Parthian kingdom: but we know from Justin that the Scythians were appealed to for help. The latter, however, about 127 B. C. laid waste the Parthian borderland and killed the king Phradates II. At the same period they took possession of a part of Drangiana, and though driven from Drangiana into Arachosia, this Śaka race became a powerful people again in the 1st century B. C. and probably founded a Śaka dynasty. At all events, Śaka and Parthian kings seem to have reigned promiscuously over that kingdom of Indo-Parthians, which is particularly to be understood as the An-si and the Wu-i-shan-li of the Chinese. The oldest of these sovereigns is said to be Maues, who reigned about 100 B. C., if the numismatic investigations of A. v. Sallet are correct. Of his successors, Azes (40—30 B. C.) is the most powerful, and Yndophares or Gondophares (probably 21 A. D. according to Rapson, *Ind. Coins*, p. 15, § 62) is the best known.

P. 75; The Parthian branch of the Śakas.

P. 76; Distribution of power, 50 B. C.

We obtain from the above statements the following picture of the distribution of power on the north frontier of India about the middle of the 1st century B. C. In the N.-E. and N., *i. e.*, first in Kashmir and latterly in the upper Indus region at Kabul and Suāt, the Śaka race, from the Tarim basin, with an accession of the Turkish element, held sway. North of this, on both sides of the Hindu Kush and on the upper Oxus, the five Hi-Hou (Jabgu) of the Yuë-chi dwelt. And in the west, finally, in S. Afghanistan as well as in the middle and lower Indus region, there flourished the Indo-Parthian kingdom of the other Śaka race who came as fugitives from the old Parthian country. The Chinese designate the first-named Śaka kingdom as Ki-pin, the other as An-si. The peace-loving commercial natives, refined by Greek culture, were soon overpowered and deprived of political unity by the warlike invaders, who however soon began to strive about the booty and supremacy. This may be inferred from *Hou Han shu*, ch. 118, fol. 11 v° and 12r : "The subjection of the country to the ruling power was never of long duration: of the three countries, India (T'ien-chu), Ki-pin and An-si, the one which was powerful gained the upper hand, the one which was weak lost it. Among the five Hi-Hou provinces which the earlier Annals mention, this did not actually take place. It belonged later to the An-si, and when the Yuë-chi conquered the An-si, they, for the first time, got possession of Kao-fu." Kao-fu corresponds with the Κάβουρα of Ptolemy and with the modern Kābul, but geographically it must have been the boundary province between An-si and Ki-pin. Marquart with considerable probability identifies it with Gandhāra. Cunningham's identification of it with the whole of Afghanistan is put out of court by the above citation.

P. 77.

What country T'ie-chu (" India") may mean, it is not easy to tell. Immediately after the above translated passage of the Han-Annals, we find that "T'ien-chu is another name for Shen-tu (Sindhu) ; the country lies more than 1000 li S.-E. from the Yuë chi ; its customs resemble those of the Yüe-chi . . . . . the inhabitants are weak against the Yuë-chi. The province of Sindhu comprises all the country from the Yuë-chi and Kao-fu to the S.-W. and indeed westward as far as the sea, and eastward as far as the country of P'an-k'i. Sindhu has several hundred distinct towns with their governors and several 'half-scores' of states with their princes, all distinct but having the common name of Sindhu. At that time (?) all was tributary to the Yuë-chi. The Yuë-chi killed its prince (or princes) and placed deputies there, who ruled the subjects." These statements shew how vague was the information about this country. The coins found in Kabulistan, bearing the image of the Indo-Greek king Hermaios on the one side and the Kushān prince Kozulokadphises on the other, perhaps indicate that Hermaios was the last Greek king in India and ruled then in the Kabul countries. If this be correct, one might understand by the T'ien-chü of the Han-Annals the Greek kingdom which was divided in the 2nd and 1st century B. C. among the successors of Menandros, the last of whom was Hermaios.

P. 78.

Lassen, von Sallet, and Rapson.

Kaniṣka identified with K'iu-tsiu-k'io. Not satisfactory.

The principality of Kushān, as we saw, came out as final victor in the struggles for supremacy in N. India. The two conquerors, father and son, are called by the Chinese K'iu-tsiu-k'io and Yen-kao-chên. Both these rulers must have made a great name for themselves. It is, accordingly, no far-fetched theory to see in one of them, preferably the first, the most eminent of the Kushan princes, Kaniṣka. Many scholars have concluded that this identification is correct. Marquart, who at first was of this opinion, has returned to Cunningham's older identification which transliterates K'iu-tsiu-kio by Kozulokadphises mentioned above. This is rendered the more likely theory by the transliteration of the name of the son Yen-khao-chên, which becomes Oēmokadphises. Where then must we seek the mighty Kaniṣka ?

P. 79.

Kushān princes.

The succession of princes (with one exception, as we shall see later) of Kushān kings is: Kozulokadphises, Oēmokadphises, Kaniṣka, Huviska, Vāsudeva. V. Smith dates Kaniṣka at 125 A. D. The dates assigned by others vary according to their dates for the founding of the Yuë-chi.

The remarkable thing is, that Kaniṣka, the Buddhist hero and the alleged founder of a powerful Indo-Asiatic kingdom, is to the Chinese historians an entirely unknown person and nowhere explicitly mentioned by them. This is astonishing in view of the facts that Kaniṣka had actually a son of the emperor of China at his court as a hostage, and that he must have been known to them as a formidable neighbour and rival in the establishment of their power. But, as mentioned above, the year 124 A. D. was the last in which occasion occurred for exact knowledge of events in the west.

P. 80 ; Buddhist stories of Kaniṣka.

The Buddhist records, however, are less reticent. First Hüan tsang tells us, in writing of the monasteries of Kia-pi-shi (modern Kafiristan), that, according to old chroniclers, "a great king Kaniṣka lived in the kingdom of Gandhāra. His power spread to neighbouring states and his ennobling influence pressed into distant countries. He treated his hostages with especial distinction. They had separate residences for Winter, for Summer, and for Spring and Autumn, and at each place they built monasteries, and, even after returning home, never neglected to send their gifts." Statements to the same effect are found in the description of the land of Cinapati. The pilgrim further relates that "the king Kaniṣka took the throne in the 400th year after the Nirvāṇa of Tathāgata (fulfilling a prophecy of Buddha) and ruled the territory of Jambudvīpa. He believed neither in punishment nor in benediction, he despised the law of Buddha and trampled it down." In a wonderful way he was converted by a boy who tended the cows, so that "he professed the law of Buddha and revered his law from his inmost soul."

P. 81.

This legend is told 200 years before Hüan tsang by Fa hien, who, however, dates the accession to the throne at 300 years after the Nirvāṇa. Other legends are interpreted in the light of Buddhist extravagance and tell us nothing of any significance. We must here note that Hüan tsang begins his chapter on Kaniṣka with the words, "The following is told there by the earlier annalists." This puts even the Chinese evidence on a lower footing than the early annals as regards reliability. *i. e.*, the cautious Chinese will not vouch for the correctness of his history : he is willing only "relata referre."

The monastery given to the hostages as a summer residence is called Jen-kia-lan by Hüan tsang, but otherwise Sha-lo-kia, which Beal and Marquart take to be Sanskrit "Śaraka = Serica = China," *i. e.*, a Chinese monastery.[2] Moreover, it happens that the pictures of the hostages on the monastery walls represented the inhabitants of "East Hia." Now, both Hüan tsang's translators understand East Hia to mean China. Let us now test these statements by the Chinese texts. The *Si yu chi*, a work issued in 666 by imperial command, states that there was in the capital of Ki-pin (= Kapiśa) a monastery called Han ssĕ, *i. e.*, monastery of the Han or Chinese, and that in earlier times a pagoda was erected by an ambassador from Han (China). I tsing, the Buddhist biographer, makes a similar statement about one of the fallen "Monasteries of China," which seems to have been situated on the Ganges.

P. 83.

This monastery, according to a local tradition, was built more than 500 years before his time (about 680 A. D.), that is, about 150 A. D., for the Chinese pilgrims. This tradition seems to be entirely without foundation. Hüan tsang says nothing explicitly about *Chinese* hostages. "The races in the province westward from the stream," he says, "sent hostages." He found representations of them on the walls in the monastery of

P. 84 f.

[2] Marquart puts another interpretation on the name, seeing a word Śāraka (not authenticated), *i. e.*, a Sanskrit form of the name Śarak for Kashgar, in Chinese Shu-lek or Sha-lek. This interpretation he then connects with an episode from the history of Shu-lê(k) translated by Specht, and concludes that Kaniṣka must have occupied the throne at that time, *i. e.*, during the reign of the Emperor Nganti (107—125). The proof, however, does not require that to support it: in the Chinese text, the subject is not the prince who was sent as hostage to the Yuë-chi, nor is there any reference therein to the king Kaniṣka.

Jen-kia-lan, and in these portraits they had the outward appearance of the inhabitants of Tung Hia. Every one who knows the primitive political designation of China will at once see from the title "fan" (part of word translated "race") that no reference can possibly be made to China: for a Chinaman would under no circumstances employ such an expression for his country.

P. 85 f.

But we do not require this argument. The province west of "the stream" (Ho si) is, in the older geography of China, a well-defined political and administrative tract corresponding to the Kukunor province west of the Huang ho. These provinces were lost one after another to the Tanguts (tu-fan). Hüan tsang's "tribes from the province west of the stream," were, in other words, Tanguts (tu-fan) from the Kukunor district. It follows from this that by "East Hia" in Hüan tsang's account, China cannot possibly be meant, as Beal and Julian maintain, apart from the fact that it would be quite an unusual expression for China. But other proofs are forthcoming. Ho si was only a small part, indeed only the east part, of the great kingdom of the Tanguts or Tibetans. This Tangut kingdom was the old K'iang of the Han period; but the name was naturally not familiar to Hüan tsang. In his time another name, *viz.*, "Hia," came into vogue; this seems in fact to be originally the name of a single tribe, on the borders of the Ordos-Mongols in Kansu, and then probably of the tribe driven furthest east. At all events, it is stated in the T'ang-Annals that the tribe dwelling in the district of Hia chou (modern Ning hia) bore the title P'ing Hia or "Peaceful Hias." The name subsequently was extended to mean the whole eastern portion of the Tangut kingdom. Hence Hüan tsang, by the "East Hia" or rather the "Hia in the East," meant, and could have meant, nothing but the Tanguts in Kansu.

P. 87.

That the people (of Ki-pin) retained traditions of their early home appears from a remark made upon the Chinese travellers, "that is a man from the country of our earlier kings." Directly in the province of Ho si lay, as we know, the former homes of the Yuë-chi, to whom even Kaniṣka as well as the other "earlier kings" traced their descent. These traditions were kept by the Chinese also, as we see from a remark made in the description of the province of Ho si. During the T'sin dynasty (255—209 B. C.) the Yuë-chi called Jung lived there.

Hostages at Kaniṣka's Court not Chinese, but Tanguts.

Let it be granted, then, that Kaniṣka built an important monastery in Kapiśa, for the hostages, and that at that time a "monastery of China" existed, and even admitting that these two were identical, which is nowhere explicitly stated, we are left with the bare fact that at Kaniṣka's court there was erected a monastery for Tangut hostages, and that it served later as a place of sojourn for Chinese pilgrims. These facts give us nothing towards the determination of Kaniṣka's reign; for, as the statements do not deal with Chinese hostages, we shall seek in vain in Chinese history for a corresponding reference to Kaniṣka.

P. 87 f.

A son of the emperor of China as hostage at the court of Kaniṣka is absolutely inconceivable. Apart from the fact that such an unusual event must have been mentioned in some form in Chinese chronicles, and that the reliable and well-informed Hüan tsang makes no mention of this tradition, the statement is damaged by its inherent impossibility. Whatever be the period accepted for Kaniṣka's reign, it must be either the early prime or the decadence of the Han dynasty. If the emperors were powerful, they would never have submitted to such a humiliation; if they were weak, they would have had no political relations with so remote states. In any case, it is not clear what the object was in sending the hostages: Kaniṣka could not wage war with China, any more than the latter could with him. We may, then, confidently ascribe the tradition of Chinese hostages to a Buddhist fiction which has no claim to historical value.

With regard to the date of Kaniṣka's accession, the Chinese travellers give us merely repetitions of Indian traditions. Hüan tsang puts the fulfilment of the prophecy of Buddha at 400 years after the Nirvāṇa, Sung yün at 300 years, but unfortunately neither states the date accepted for the Nirvāṇa.

Hüan tsang on Kaniṣka's dates.

Hüan tsang tells of a stone pillar near a pagoda in Kuśinagara on which an important inscription regarding the death of Buddha was found: but neither month nor day was there mentioned. He asserts that, according to earlier records, two different dates were accepted for this event, *viz.*, either a day corresponding to the 15th day of the 3rd month or to the 8th day of the 9th month of the Chinese calendar. Reference to a year he had apparently neither found nor expected from the inscription. Instead of this, he says "as regards the period since Buddha's Nirvāṇa, the schools are of very diverse views. Some say it dates back over 1200 years, others over 1300 years, a third section over 1500 years, others again over 900, yet none say 1000." Going back from the year 648 A. D. as the date of the *Si yü ki*, we would get the dates 552, 652, 852, and a year between 352 and 252 B. C. The Tang-Annals and the Sui-Annals each get different dates from these, so that it is impossible to fix the year of Kaniṣka's accession by these data.

P. 89—90.

Hüan tsang (*Si-yü-ki*, ch. III. fol. 15 r°) further places the king Aśoka 100 years after the Nirvāṇa, as do also the Wei-Annals (fol. 4 r°). This would give a much higher date for the famous ruler than has been confirmed: Aśoka's reign began about 260 B. C. In speaking of the settlement of Indian chronological classifications, Hüan tsang notes that, resulting from errors on the part of foreign translators as regards the settlement of dates for the conception, birth, becoming a monk, attainment of Buddhahood, and the Nirvāṇa of Tathāgata, differences exist everywhere in the months and days. Unfortunately, he has not mentioned what date, at all events what year, he took for his standard. Marquart (*Eransahr*, p. 212, n. 4), who, I know not on what grounds, implies that Hüan tsang accepted the year 552 B. C. for the Nirvāṇa, has been at the trouble to try to find a systematic abbreviation of the dates in Hüan tsang's statements with a view to drawing conclusions therefrom for the chronology of certain events and also for the reign of Kaniṣka. I do not believe it is profitable to take seriously this chaos of large, round numbers, in which Buddhist tradition, here as ever, loses itself. The only thing that we can probably deduce from this source is that at the time of Hüan tsang the Indian account of Kaniṣka's reign was in as great fluidity as that of the Nirvāṇa. We may confidently set aside the dates.

The remaining statement of the Chinese Buddhists is only that Kaniṣka turned to Buddhism and became a zealous patron and propagator of the creed, that he was a powerful ruler who overthrew East India and led his army as far as the T'sung ling, conquered the king of Pāṭaliputra, and successfully resisted an attack of the king of the An-si. The details of these statements will naturally have to be regarded in the light of Buddhist exaggeration, but this circumstance corroborates the fact that Kaniṣka was a powerful protector of the Buddhist cult. And in this one sure fact, it seems to me, is found a thread, which leads from Kaniṣka to the notes of the Chinese historians.

P. 90.

Several of the Chinese Annals contain, in their sketches of the development of Chinese Buddhism, a very important statement to which Rémusat (*Foë Kouë Ki*, p. 39) has referred, and which has since become the subject of a lively controversy between two French savants. The passage is found first of all in the commentary to the historical work *San kuo chi* (ch. 30, fol. 29 v°), the author of which died in the year 297, while the commentary was completed in the year 429. Indeed it is cited by the commentator from the work *Weï lio* (not accessible to us), the composition of which might date at about the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th century. It is further met in the Annals of the Weï Dynasty (*Weï shu*,

Specht and Lévi.

ch. 114, fol. 1 r° et v°) and also in those of the Sui Dynasty (*Sui shu*, ch. 35, fol. 33 r° et v°), in both cases it appears not to be a quotation. Besides, Specht and Lévi have specified a number of works where that passage likewise occurs. Unfortunately, the text, as the numerous variants shew, is not rendered with certainty, but, apart from readings, one fact remains with which alone we are concerned and which we shall immediately proceed to investigate. We choose for our translation the text of the Weï Annals (which is unnoticed by Specht and Lévi) because it gives the shortest, clearest, and most logical setting. The passage is to be found here in the chapter on the history of Buddhism in China, and runs as follows: — "In the period Yuan shou of the emperor Wu ti of the Han dynasty (*i. e.*, 122—115 B. C.), Ho k'ü ping was despatched to punish the Hiung nu. He reached Kao-lan and traversed Kü-yen, where he perpetrated a great massacre by decapitations. He took captive the king K'un-sie, and killed the king Hiü-t'u of the people. 50,000 souls came and submitted. The gold statue of their god, which represented their great deity, was taken and set up in the palace of Kan ts'üan. The gold statue was over 10 feet long. No sacrifice was offered; only incense was burned and reverence was paid before it, otherwise nothing. In this way the stream of the Buddhist system began to permeate. Further, when the alliance with the western provinces was opened up, Chang k'ien was sent as ambassador to Ta-hia (Bactria). On his return he reported that the kingdom of Shên-tu (Sindhu), also called T'ien-chu, lay in the neighbourhood of this country. At that time people first heard of the cult of Buddha. In the first year of the period Yuan shou of the emperor Ai ti of the Han dynasty (*i. e.*, in the year 2 B. C.) the Assistant in the sacrificial office of the royal ancestral temple, Ts'in (?) king, received from the ambassador of the king of Ta Yuë-chi, named I-ts'un, the Buddhist sūtras in a vernacular translation. In China, too, the cult of Buddha was heard of but not believed in."

P. 91.

Three events, then, are here notified, which brought to the Chinese the first news of Buddhism and prepared for its real introduction under the emperor Ming ti in 61 A. D.: the plundering of a gold statue in Western Kansu about 120 B. C.; the report of Chang ki'en upon India; and the vernacular rendering of Buddhist sūtras by the Yuë-chi for the Chinese in the year 2 B. C. The last fact is the only one which comes under our observation at this place. It shews us that in 2 B. C. the king of the Yuë-chi was devoted to Buddhism and was active in its propagation. That the Yuë-chi also exercised an energetic Buddhist propaganda in Central Asia and China is manifest from the history of Buddhism in the Sui-Annals (ch. 35, fol. 33 v° ff.). How, then, can it be asserted that Kaniṣka, the king of the Yuë-chi, who is said to have lived *after* Kozulokadphises and Oēmokadphises in the 2nd century A. D., was turned to Buddhism, and that this conversion was extolled by Buddhist tradition in most extravagant fashion, because by it a new era began for the spread of the cult in the North-Indian border-countries? How can this be reconciled to the fact that already in the 1st century B. C. there lived a king of the Yuë-chi who took concern for the extension of the cult? Shall we agree with Boyer, that already one or more predecessors of Kaniṣka had shewn favour to Buddhism? Then the glorification of Kaniṣka's conversion would be entirely incomprehensible. I am convinced that the riddle must be solved by other means, and that this very contradiction contains for us a very important indication of the way. It points clearly in another direction, in which we have to seek Kaniṣka by time — in a direction, indeed, the very opposite to that hitherto followed. In other words, we have to look for Kaniṣka not *after* Kozulokadphises and Oēmokadphises, but *before* their time.

P. 93.

To investigate this assertion more closely, we must now answer the question: "Who was Kaniṣka?" The coins of Kaniṣka now extant show the legend PAONANO PAO KANHPKI KOPANO. Oldenberg and, after him, Stein have asserted beyond all question that KOPANO signifies Kuṣana, *i. e.*, Kushān. Cunningham (*Verification*, &c.), too, tells of an inscription in a pagoda at Takṣaśilā, between the Indus, Haro, and

P. 94.

Suān, in which Kaniṣka is entitled "the Maharāja of Gushang." No doubt can be entertained that Kaniṣka was a Kushān prince. Marquart, who first made the attempt to identify the provinces of the five Jabgu of the Yuë-chi, locates Kushān in "one of the northern valleys adjoining the Kābul river between the Kunar and Pangsir river, *i. e.*, immediately west (not north as Marquart thinks) of the Gandhāra of Hüan tsang, the borders of which, according to Cunningham, lay in the west, near Jalālābād, at the mouth of the Kunar river, and extended, on the south of the right bank of the Kābul, as far as the mountains of Kālābāgh. Marquart considers the province of the five Jabgu,
P. 95. Kao-fu in the earlier Han-Annals, to be the most southerly, and seeks it in the immediate neighbourhood of Kābul. The *Annals of the Wei Dynasty* give the names of the five Jabgu provinces (these names have not till now been identified) and mention with them the old Kuei-shuang as the country of K'ien-tun. The old pronunciation of the first symbol was *kan* or *kyan* (Canton. *kym*, Japan. *kan*); *tun* can stand as equivalent for a foreign *tur* or *dur*; I have no doubt that K'ien-tun may be read as Kan-tur or Gan-dur and is an older equivalent for Gandhāra. The old Kao-fu (or Tu-mi) the *Weï-Annals* call Yen-fou-ye, with the capital Kao-fu; they give its position as a short distance from Kushān. I do not know how to identify Yen-fou-ye; the two first symbols serve otherwise to represent the Sanskrit word *jambu*. Between Kushān and Kao-fu, Fu-ti-sha, the old Hi-tun, seems to have been placed. Kushān, then, here seems to be synonymous with Gandhara; but as regards the name Kao-fu, which, as before mentioned, corresponds etymologically to the modern Kābul, we must bear in mind that, of the non-Chinese authors, Ptolemy first knows it (as Κάβουρα). The name was undoubtedly introduced either by the Parthian Śakas (An-si) or by the Indo-Scythians (Yuë-chi). The country thus designated in upper Kabul is either actually, as is maintained in the older Han-Annals and the Weï-Annals, one of the five Jabgu provinces, which was then wholly or partially lost, so that the name Tu-mi, which perhaps designated the rest of the province, stepped into its place from Kao-fu, or it was originally an Indo-Parthian province partially conquered by the Yuë-chi, and, as far as possessed by them, received the name Tu-mi in the time of the later Han. In any case we are not justified in declaring the statement of the very reliable earlier Han-Annals, even on the evidence of the later chronicler, without further proof, to be an error. At the time of the later Han, at all events, the name Kao-fu, according to the earlier communicated description, must have extended from a long time previously over a much greater kingdom reaching eastwards and southwards:
P. 96. if we cannot, with Marquart, exactly identify this with Gandhāra, yet the latter must have been entirely or for the most part included in Kao-fu. Here, too, we cannot venture to attach to the same names at all periods the same extent of meaning.

The three originally small Jabgu provinces, Kushān, Hi-tun (Futisha) and Kao-fu or Tu-mi were situated then as the most southerly offshoots of the Yuë-chi kingdom in the first half of the first century B. C. in the mountainous country north from upper Kabul. Regarding the sovereigns of these states, and their inter-connection, we have no direct information, but we have seen from the descriptions of the chroniclers, how a long-standing feud subsisted between the Śakas of Ki-pin in the east, the Parthian Śakas of An-si in the west, the Jabgu of the Yuë-chi in the north, and the weak Greek rulers in the south, and how the middle tract of Kao-fu was an object of contention, torn now to one side, now to another. The Chinese historians repeatedly mention how the native commercial but gradually refined population helplessly surrendered to the powerful barbarian tribes, whose chiefs could have cared for neither barter nor culture. One must realise these conditions in order to estimate the significance which the advent of Kaniṣka must have had.

A Kushān prince, by the testimony of his own coins, *i. e.*, the Jabgu of Kushān, he is depicted by the Buddhist travellers according to tradition as the king of Gandhāra. Fa hien and Sung yün locate, as we have seen, his capital at Peshawar in Gandhāra. Hüan tsang gives him a residence in

Cīnapati, and narrates that he had a monastery built for his captives in Kafiristan. Finally, the legends in Hüan tsang have it that he ruled the whole tract of Jambudvīpa. The historic kernel of these glorified tales may possibly be that Kaniṣka, probably continuing the work of a predecessor, extended his principate of Kushān to the south and east, while he conquered the provinces of Kao-fu and portions of Ki-pin (Hüan tsang knows nothing of these two names). The last country especially seems, according to the legends, to have been forced to feel his power, since it is repeatedly observed that he overthrew "East India" after he went to Ki-pin to see a celebrated Arhat; that shortly before his death he equipped an army to punish the "East Provinces." Also the sending of hostages from the Tangut country indicates that he must
P. 97. have extended his conquest as far as Kashmir and North Tibet. After this, then, Kaniṣka would seem to have conquered and driven the Śaka princes of Ki-pin from the Pañjāb. According to one legend, too, he waged successful war against the Śakas of An-si, so that at all events he must have actually had the upper hand in the great battles for the possession of North India.

Now, if a ruler with such powerful sway, and indeed the first of all barbarian princes, accepted Buddhism and took concern for its extension, and on the other hand beat down, or at least repelled its adversaries on both sides, the Śaka races, it is easy to understand that the Buddhists could not do enough to exalt its new-gained champion. The coins of Kaniṣka and his immediate successors are a plain copy of the new state of matters; besides the Greek, Scythian, and Iranian divinities, they shew representations of Buddha. So, too, the coins of Kozulokadphises have Buddhist images and symbols, a new proof that the latter cannot possibly have reigned before the first convert to Buddhism, — Kaniṣka. Whether it was only from religious motives that Kaniṣka embraced the Indian cult, or, as is more probable, chiefly from political considerations, we cannot determine. Were he a ruler of foresight, he must have recognized that he not only in this way brought culture nearer his people, but that he had also gained an effectual means of extending his influence over India. However that may be, we have to see in Kaniṣka the man who
P. 98. by the protection of the native cult, prepared the ground for the great Kushān kingdom that Kozulokadphises and Oemokadphises founded in the middle of the 1st century A. D. on both sides of the Hindu Kush.

That the Jabgu provinces lying nearest Kushān, Hi-tun, and Kao-fu or Tu-mi, the latter in any case, were already included in the Kushān kingdom under Kaniṣka is, at least, highly probable. But now, how great may the intervening period between Kaniṣka and Kozulokadphises have been? The Chinese historians, as above stated, did not know Kaniṣka's name, and this circumstance after all the preceding can no longer seem to us extraordinary. There can be no question of a world-wide sway of Kaniṣka, including all old Bactria and extending to the gates of China, as has been accepted as a result of misunderstandings. The Chinese had no connection with the warfare waged in the Kābul districts and in the Pañjāb between the various Scythian and Turkish races; if they knew of them at all, they were, in any case, of no interest to them. We can at once infer from the silence of all the annals, that Kaniṣka's kingdom had not the importance historically with which Buddhism has later invested it.

We have seen above that the Chinese made little progress in their attempts to gain influence in Ki-pin and that they resolved about the middle of the 1st century B. C. to abstain from all interference in the affairs of those "barbarian tribes." The kings Wu-t'ou-lao and Yin-mo-fu, who were mentioned on this occasion, lived in the first half and about the middle of the 1st century B. C. The submissive attitude which the latter took up apparently toward China may have been occasioned by the pressure of the Kushān princes, but of this we have no information whatever. Of the princes of An-si (Parthia), *i. e.*, the successors of Maues, especially Azes and Gondophares, who lived in the

1st century B. C., and in the first decade A. D., we get no information from Chinese sources, so that from this side also we get no chronological reference to Kaniṣka.

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We have seen that Kaniṣka must have reigned before 2 B. C. Huviska and Vāsudeva are usually named as the immediate successors of Kaniṣka. A short time ago J. F. Fleet proved (JRAS, April, 1903), from an inscription in Bhopal, that between Kaniṣka and Huviska one Vāsiṣka or Vāsaṣka must have reigned. The period from 2 B. C. till towards the middle of the 1st century A. D. would be sufficient for the two or even the three successors of Kaniṣka.

Meanwhile we have another consideration to review. Kaniṣka was already ruler of Gandhāra. the N. Pañjāb, and parts of Kashmir, *i. e.*, of parts of the kingdom of An-si and of Kao-fu and Ki-pin. The Han-Annals, however, say of Kozulokadphises that he "pressed into An-si and took the province from Kao-fu ; he also annihilated Pu'ta and Ki-pin : all this formed his kingdom." The power which Kaniṣka had founded was, then, meanwhile lost, and had to be won afresh by the latter rulers of the same race. Between the immediate successors of Kaniṣka and Kozulokadphises there must have intervened a period of decline in the Kushān sway, which was probably occasioned by risings on the part of the Śakas in Ki-pin and An-si. We shall have accordingly to push back Kaniṣka's reign a good bit before 2 B. C. The so-called Vikrama-era began in India with the year 56-57, and if the accepted epigraphic dates mention Kaniṣka, *e.g.*, with 5, there is no reason why this number should not refer to that era, *i. e.*, the year thus indicated from Kaniṣka's reign should be understood as 52-53 B. C.

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We have, then, by means of examination of Chinese sources, as regards the time of Kaniṣka, reached again the point where Cunningham once believed the famous ruler should be sought, *i. e.*, in the beginning of the Vikrama-era. This result stands in contradiction to the accepted theories of almost all Sanskritists. Since I can express no opinion on the importance of the grounds for these theories, especially on the conclusions which must of necessity be drawn from coins and inscriptions, I should have misgivings about coming forward with this result, had I not received an unexpected confirmation of it on the part of an eminent authority in the department of Indian inscriptions.

J. F. Fleet, in his essay, "A hitherto unrecognised Kushaṇ king," writes (*loc. cit.* 334) : — "The leading mistake has been the assumption, ever since the time of Professor H. H. Wilson, that Kanishka came after that king whose name appears as Ooēmo-, Hoēmo-, or Hwēmo-Kadphisēs in the Greek legends on his coins, and in the Kharōshṭhī legends as, most probably, Hima-Kapiṁśa. In reality, the Kadphisēs group of kings came after Vāsudēva. On the other hand, a valuable suggestion made by Professor H. H. Wilson has been lost sight of, and consequently has not been worked out to its proper result. He expressed the opinion, and shewed some reasons for it, that Kanishka founded a new dynasty, different from that of the Kadphisēs group. In reality Kaniṣka belonged to a separate clan, sept, or ruling house of the Kushaṇ tribe, which made its way from Khōtan into Kashmīr, and thence into India, about a century before the time when, the first member of the Kadphisēs group having established the supremacy of his branch of the tribe in the country on the banks of the Oxus, his son invaded and conquered India from that direction."

Fleet has reserved the establishment of his thesis. But we see that he has arrived by quite another path at essentially the same results as those to which our study of the Chinese historians has led us. These results must accordingly be brought into harmony also with the results of investigation of the Indian coins and inscriptions. The theory that a branch of the Kushāns came from Khotan through Kashmir to India is, of course, irreconcilable with the Chinese statements. The investigation given above has dealt in detail with the Scytho-Turko-Tibetan coalition which at a very early time moved to Kashmir and India.

TALES OF THE TELUGU VAISHNAVAS.

Translated by N. Kuruthalvar.

Prefatory Notes

By Mrs. I. J. Pitt.

MANY pleasant hours were spent by me in India with some Hindu friends, who related for my benefit stories peculiarly characteristic of their modes of thought and sentiments. Of these I have selected some which seem to bring out most clearly the essentially Hindu ideas.

With the exception of the one story of the "Hunter and the Doves," which was told me by Mr. T. Sivasankaram, all the others were **translated,** as they were read **from the Telugu,** chiefly the **Bhâgavata Purâṇa,** by Mr. N. Kuruthalvar, a Brâhmaṇ school-master, and, with the exception of a word here and there, they are reproduced exactly as he read them out to me.

I.

The Elephant and Vishṇu.

From the Bhâgavata Purâṇa.

There once lived a king in the Tamil country named **Indradyumna,** who was a devotee of Vishṇu and used to worship on the summit of a great hill. One day, while he was there in meditation, the **Rishi Agastya** came to that place. **Indra,** being wholly absorbed, did not notice Agastya nor salute him, whereupon Agastya became very angry and cursed Indra that he and all his retinue should take the forms of elephants. The curse thus falling upon them, **the king-elephant Indra** and all his retinue went to the mountain **Trigurta.** Here there were beautiful waterfalls, where Gandharvas lived and spent their days bathing, dancing and singing, decked and perfumed with sweet unguents. Groves of trees, full of sweet-scented flowers and fruits, mangoes, areca-nut, limes and many others, and various kinds of palms and banyan trees were there.

Enshrouded by these was a calm lake, full of yellow, red, and blue lilies, and on its borders grew many kinds of flowers and creepers. Water-birds swam upon the surface and the forests resounded with glad songs. Here wandered herds of elephants, deer, rhinoceros, boar and many other animals. When the hot season approached, **the King** one day feeling thirsty, and scenting the water, and seeing the bees humming round the flowers, the yellow dust from which was sprinkled over the surface, took with him a hundred female elephants and young ones, and entered in the water, bathed in it, quenched his thirst, poured streams of it upon his back, and afterwards, in the same manner, bathed the young ones, as a father does. While he was doing this, an alligator, being disturbed, in great fury seized hold of the two front legs of the King, who struggled unsuccessfully to free himself. His wives and children in terror and dismay tried to help him, but without avail. In this way the two continued to struggle for one thousand years, and gradually the King's strength was failing him, and his enemy overpowering him. At last, realising his helplessness and weakness, he thought to himself, "There are none now to help me, and I must take refuge in the Highest Being. He is able to save me from fear of death." Then remembering one of the holiest prayers, with which he had been acquainted in **his former birth,** he cried as follows :— "Om ! I prostrate myself before thee, Bhagavân, from whom and in whom and to whom is the whole of this existence. Thou art the Primordial Force, the First Seed. The greatest Lord, the All-wise, the whole universe is thy manifestation. There is none beyond thee, I hold fast to such a being. Thou art Self-created, the whole world appears and disappears by thy mysterious divine power, throwing out manifestations as Mâyâ. Thou art the root of all existence. I pray thee to save me!

"At the end of this æon all the worlds and the rulers thereof will disappear into impenetrable darkness. Beyond that darkness thou shinest! Even Dêvas and Rishis are unable to find thy abode. Who then can know it? Like an actor in a play, thou assumest different aspects. Thy ways are beyond my understanding. Save me!

"Thy abode is all good. Rishis, who have thrown off all worldly attachments, desire to be thine; so they leave the world and live in forests. Thou art the soul of all beings; thou art their Friend. Thou art the way. Thou hast neither birth, nor action, name, nor form. Thou hast no evil in thee. Thou art never any less. Thou art unborn, yet givest birth through thy Mâyâ. I bow down before the highest and greatest Lord! Thou art the light of the soul, the Great Soul, with uninterrupted sight. I prostrate myself before a being who is beyond words, mind and *buddhi*. I can only approach thee through truth and wisdom and passivity. Thou art the only Lord of Kaivalya, nothing but that. Thou knowest the bliss of Nirvâṇa, — all bliss, for the good; all fear, for the bad; secret, unknown, possessing perfect equilibrium, no attributes. Thou art concentrated wisdom, the Knower of the body, from whom nothing is hidden. Omnipresent. Origin of all souls. Thou art the Primordial Matter. The cause of all changes. Thou art invisible to the bad and visible to the good. Thou possessest all the *Vêdas*. Thou art in the form of the great ocean. Thou art emancipation, the final goal. Thou art hidden in the world, as heat is hidden in the bodies of all things. Thou art undisturbed by the turmoil of the world. Thou art self-illumined. Thou performest no work. I worship thee.

"Thou art all mercy. Thou art known through the mind. Thou appearest in the form of the soul. Thou canst not be attained by those immersed in worldly matters. Thou art not subject to the three qualities. The redeemed will have thee in their hearts. Those who have renounced the world go to thee, obtaining their desires and never-dying bodies. Those who desire nothing will be singing thy praises, for ever merged in the ocean of bliss. I praise the Changeless One, the Highest, the Unknown, understood only by mental perception, beyond the senses, the Smallest Atom, the Farthest, Endless, Perfect. I worship such a being!

"Dêvas, *Vêdas*, and worlds are produced from a small portion of thee. These worlds proceed from thee, like the rays from the sun, and sometimes they disappear. Thou createst *buddhi*, mind and the five elements, and the bodies made of them. Thou art not a Dêva, nor a Râkshasa, nor a human being, woman or man, nor a lower animal, nor a reptile, nor an insect. Thou hast no qualities, no action, no being, no non-being. Thou neither receivest nor rejectest. Thou art in and out of the world. I desire to be free from the cover of my soul through thee!

"Thou art the most excellent Place. All thy deeds are *yôgî*-like. Thou art conceived in the heart of human beings through *yôga*. All *yôgîs* see thee. Thou art the Lord of *yôga*. Thy swiftness is unbearable! Thou possessest the three kinds of power, that is, governing, thought, and capability. Thou savest all who take refuge in thee. I am in misery. Oh, save me from this misery!"

Vishṇu heard the King's prayer and with all haste proceeded to save him. **Lakshmî**, seeing the great haste of Vishṇu, was amazed, and said to herself, "He does not tell me where he is going: maybe he heard the distressed cry of a woman; perhaps the *Vêdas* have been stolen by the wicked, or Rakshasas are besieging the Dêvas, or some evil persons are asking the devotees of Vishṇu to show the god to them." Thinking thus, she quickly followed him. In his haste he caught at the end of her garment, and without glancing at her, flew on. So she accompanied him with disordered attire. Garuḍa also went after Lakshmî, the five weapons following. But Vishṇu in his extreme haste outstripped them. Even then, feeling that his greatest speed was insufficient, he seized his mighty disc, aimed it, and hurled it at the alligator, which being struck was broken to pieces and the king-elephant was saved.

II.

Ambarîsha and the Fiery Disc.

Ambarîsha was a King, and son of **Nâbhaga.** His capital was between the Sarasvatî and Jamnâ, and he ruled the whole world. He was a true *râjarshi.* He regarded all worldly pleasures as a dream, and looked upon his riches only as earth, fixing his mind on God alone, in contemplating his lotus feet. His mouth was engaged in praising God's qualities ; his ears in hearing of his wondrous works ; his eyes in regarding the different forms of **Vishṇu** in different temples ; his nose in smelling the perfume of his sweet lotus feet; his tongue in tasting the *tulasî* offered to him; his head in bowing down to him ; his hands in keeping clean his temples ; his feet in going to different temples of Vishṇu and performing circumlocution ; his body in embracing his devotees. His love was in God's service without hope of return. Although he was always engaged in this way, yet he did not neglect his State affairs. He had many sacrifices performed through the help of Vaśishta and other Rishis, on the bank of the Sarasvatî. All the Rishis and Dêvas were present at his sacrifices, and he gave to many cows tips of gold for their horns, bracelets for their feet, and good cloths. In this way he spent his time, while his mind gradually detached itself from worldly pleasures.

In this wise he went to the banks of the Jamnâ, and performed the *dvâdaśî vrata* for one year. On the last *dvâdaśî* day, **Durvasa** came to that place, and at Ambarîsha's invitation the two went to the Jamnâ to bathe. As Durvasa delayed in the river a long time, and the period for the performance of the *vrata* was fast drawing to a close, Ambarîsha, knowing that he could not finish it without the presence of Durvasa, became very anxious, and consulted with the other Brâhmaṇs as to what he should do. They said that he could neither leave out Durvasa, nor yet delay in finishing the *vrata*, and so they advised him to sip up a little water, instead of taking a meal, as a compromise. While doing this and anxiously waiting, Durvasa came up, and seeing what was done, was very angry, and took one of the hairs from his head and beat the ground with it, invoking a certain demon to come and punish Ambarîsha. Now before this, Ambarîsha had been given the **Fiery Disc of Vishṇu,** which was able to aid him in difficulties and also to help him rule his country with wisdom. So when the demon appeared, Ambarîsha invoked the Disc, which came and quickly destroyed the demon. After doing this, it rolled swiftly after Durvasa. Then Durvasa was terrified and began to run, but the Disc rolled after him, dogging his footsteps; and if he stopped, it stopped also; when he ran again, it also ran. Then Durvasa finding the burning fire of the Disc unendurable, flew to **Brahmâ** for help and besought him to save him from the Disc. But Brahmâ said, "I, **Śiva, Daksha,** and other **Prajâpatis** will never do anything against Vishṇu's will, but must always bear his commands on our heads. At the end of every æon a frown from his brow destroys the whole universe, and we cannot even bear the sight of this Disc of his."

Thus, finding no help from Brahmâ, Durvasa went to **Śiva,** who also could do nothing for him, and advised him to go to Vishṇu, as no one else could stop the Disc. Then Durvasa, all the time a being tormented by the flames from the Disc, managed to get to **Baikuṇṭa where Vishṇu was with Lakshmî.** There Durvasa besought him to save him from the Disc, saying, "Thou art my Saviour, relieve me from this distress. It was in ignorance that I offended thy devotee."

Then Vishṇu said, "I am not my own master. My mind is dispersed amongst my devotees, they always have their minds fixed on me. I am bound by the cords of their love. My mind is theirs, and theirs are mine. I am in their hearts, and they in mine. They know nothing but me. I will never do anything without them. They serve me by their penance, their wisdom, and their lives, and so I cannot stop the Disc. You must go to Ambarîsha, and ask his pardon."

So Durvasa in great distress, ran back to Ambarîsha, fell down before him and caught his feet in sign of great humility, and begged forgiveness. Then Ambarîsha was grieved to see this, and addressed the Disc as follows : —

"O Sudarshana, I bow down to thee ; thou hast a thousand spokes ; thou art the close companion of Vishṇu : thou canst destroy all the other weapons. Now I pray thee to be good towards this Rishi

Thou art the courage, the truth, the sacrifice. Thou receivest sacrifice. Thou art Dharma. Thou art the shelter of all the worlds. Thy shining is very brilliant and holy. Thou art the bridge between earth and heaven. Thou destroyest all vices. Thou savest the three worlds. Thy speed is quick as mind. Thy deeds are very wonderful. Thou art the sight of the good, and destroyest all the darkness of sin. My tongue fails to praise thee. Thy form is beyond being or non-being. I respect this Rishi as my tutelary god, therefore I pray thee to abate thy anger towards him: in being good to him thou wilt be doing good to me. If the all-pervading Vishṇu is pleased with me, I pray thee let Durvasa cease to be troubled."

When Ambarîsha had finished speaking, the Disc stopped. Thereupon Durvasa rejoiced and began to bless the King saying, "Now do I know the real power of God's devotees, and whoever thinks upon such as you will become holy and like you return good for evil."

III.

Saryati.

King Saryati was a son of Manu, and had a daughter named Sukanyâ. Saryati went one day hunting to the forest accompanied by his daughter. It was in this forest that Chayâra the Rishi was making penance. Here Sukanyâ left her father, and playing about by herself, she came upon a little hillock, from one side of which were shining two little lights. Thinking that these were glow-worms, she got a thorn and stuck it into both of them. As soon as she did this, the King and his retinue, who were near, felt themselves attacked with violent pains, and saw a shower of blood falling upon them. Then Saryati suspected that some injury was done to Chayâra and enquired amongst his followers, who denied knowledge of anything. Meanwhile Sukanyâ approached and told the King about the hillock and the little lights, and what she had done. Then the King was much afraid, and went with her to the hillock. This they found to be Chayâra, who, from remaining there so long, had a hillock grown over his body, from which his two eyes were glowing like lights, and it was these which Sukanyâ had pierced. The King in great fear pleaded for forgiveness, and offered to make amends, whereupon Chayâra demanded that his daughter should be given to him in marriage, to which the King consenting, Sukanyâ was left in the forest to attend to the Rishi; and though he was very bad-tempered, she patiently waited on him for many years.

One day, there came to the hermitage the Asvins, heavenly physicians, and they complained to Chayâra that they were given no share in the sacrifices. Chayâra told them that he would procure for them a share, if in return they would restore to him his youth. They agreed, and took the decrepit old man with them, and all descended into a well, coming up again all alike, with youthful beautiful forms. Sukanyâ, who was waiting for them, when she looked at them, could not recognise her husband, so in distress she prayed the Asvins to point him out to her. They expressed their pleasure at her faithfulness, pointed out her husband, and went their way.

One day Saryati returned to the forest to invite Chayâra to a sacrifice, and was amazed to see his daughter sitting with a handsome young man, and, mistaking him for her lover, began to upbraid her as follows:— "I gave you to a man, who was respected by the whole world, who was a great Rishi and very virtuous, and was beloved by a chaste woman. You have left such a husband, and are living with your lover. This is wicked, your honour is lost. By doing this you have thrown me into hell! My dear daughter, whether the husband be youthful or old, the wife must attend on him. But I reproach myself for giving you to an old Rishi."

But Sukanyâ only smiled, and told her father how this was her husband Chayâra, and how he came to be changed. Then her father embraced her gladly, and blessed her, and performed a sacrifice, when Chayâra kept his word and gave a share to the Asvins.

IV.

Kântidêva.

Kântidêva was a King, the son of Saṁkṛiti. He was a good ruler and was very compassionate and merciful, and so generous that he gave away all his property, and at last was reduced to great poverty, and could not get even a morsel of food. In this way he wandered for forty-eight days. At last some one gave him some rice, milk, and water. Being very tired, and starving and thirsty, he sat down and was preparing with great eagerness to eat this food, when there appeared a Brâhmaṇ who begged food of him. At once, without a frown or any ill-feeling he gave the Brâhmaṇ half of what he had. After this a Śûdra came along, who also begged, and he gave this man a portion of what remained. After this some famished dogs appeared, and to them he gave all the remainder! When all was gone, a Chandâla came up who said he would die, if he did not get water to drink. Then Kântidêva, filled with pity seeing the man's starving condition, told him that he could give no food, but only a little fresh water, and that he would gladly give him. He considered it his highest duty to give to those in need, though he had nothing left himself. With the utmost faith in God he poured all the water into the Chandâla's vessel, who went away. Then the Dêvas appeared to him in their real forms, and told him that his virtue was fully tested. He saluted them without making any request of them. Being pleased with this, they restored to him his kingdom. Those who served under him followed his example.

V.

The Origin of Gaṅgâ.

There once lived a great **King called Sâgara,** who conquered all his enemies, and by the advice of the **Rishi Aurva** made many horse sacrifices to please Vishṇu. At one of these Indra took away the horse and hid it in **Nâgalôka,** near to where **Kapila,** a Rishi, was engaged in penance. Then Sâgara, in great distress, sent all his sons to search for the horse. They wandered over the whole earth, searching for it without success. Then in despair they began to look for it underground, digging out a large passage to go to the nether world. There, at the northern side they saw the horse, hidden behind the Rishi. Suspecting him of having stolen it, they unsheathed their swords, ready to punish him. As they approached, **Kapila fixed his eyes upon them,** when they were all immediately **turned into heaps of ashes.**

In the meantime Sâgara could not finish the sacrifice and waited a long time for his sons and the horse. As they did not return, he sent his **grandson Aṁsumân** in search of them, who traced them to the underground regions and discovered the horse near Kapila, and saw also the heaps of ashes. Then, suspecting that these were all Sâgara's sons, who had been thus destroyed, he was much afraid, and began to propitiate Kapila by worshipping him. Kapila being pleased, gave up the horse to him, saying, "Your fathers were not as wise as you, and so they became heaps of ashes. If you can obtain **the water of Gaṅgâ,** that which is poured over the feet of Vishṇu by Brahmâ, and retained by divine power in Svarga, and **pour it over these ashes,** the souls of your fathers will go to Svarga."

Then Aṁsumân saluted the Rishi and took the horse and went back to the King and told him all. Sâgara then gave up his kingdom to Aṁsumân, and, being advised by Aurva, spent the rest of his life in penance. Aṁsumân, not knowing how to bring Gaṅgâ down to pour on the ashes, was in great sorrow till he died. His son **Dalîpa** also, though making penance for the same purpose, failed, and died, leaving his son, **Bhâgiratha,** who determined to succeed in the attempt, and performed penance.

This time the prayers were heard and **Śiva** appeared to him and asked what he wanted. Bhâgiratha told Śiva that he wanted the water of Gaṅga, whereupon Śiva, making with his plaited

hair a big reservoir, the whole firmament became covered with it. Then Gaṅgâ descended into this reservoir with great force, while Śiva remained holding all the water on his head, without letting a drop fall down, so that from that day forward he was called **Gaṅgâdhara.** But Bhâgiratha, seeing that he was no better enabled to procure the water than before, besought Śiva to allow the water to flow, whereupon Śiva let loose the water in three streams; one flowed to Svarga, one to Pâtâla, and the third to the earth. Then was Bhâgiratha greatly rejoiced, and mounted his car and proceeded to the place of the ashes of his ancestors, the stream following him. Arrived there, it flowed over the heaps of ashes, purifying them all. Then the souls were liberated and went to Svarga. From that day forth the river is considered to be able to wash away all sins.

VI.

The Sibi King and the Bird.

The Sibi King ruled over the whole world, and was very charitable, and always kept his word. He would do all that he possibly could for everyone. But the Dêvas wanted to put him to the test. So **Indra, Agni and Varuṇa** consulted together, and Agni agreed to take the form of a bird, and the others the forms of two hunters. These proceeded to chase the bird, which took refuge in the King's arms. Then the hunters came up and demanded the bird, but he refused to give it up, and offered them anything else in exchange. After some discussion, they finally consented, on condition he let them **cut a piece of flesh from him equal to the weight of the bird.** The King consented and allowed them to cut the flesh, which they placed with the bird on some scales. During the process, the bird began gradually to increase in weight, so that to make up the weight they went on cutting off nearly all the flesh from the King's body; but he endured it all to the end without flinching, or showing any signs of pain. Then Indra was amazed at his steadfastness, and he, Agni and Varuṇa appeared in their true forms and all said they had never before seen such constancy and fortitude. Indra then sent for the Asvins and told them to heal the King's wounds.

VII.

King Bharata and the Deer.

King Bharata ruled over all the world, and his wife was **Pandrajânî.** She was a true companion to him. He offered good sacrifices, as his ancestors had done with *vratas*, and he regarded the whole world as the manifestation of the Supreme Spirit. He worshipped God in the form of **Vishṇu**, and was full of devotion. He ruled the earth for one hundred thousand years, and had five sons, amongst whom he divided all his kingdom, and went at last into the forest of **Pulahaśrâma near the river Gandak,** where he remained alone, making *pûjâ* to *śâlagrâmas*. His worship consisted of offering fresh flowers, tender leaves, *tulaśî* roots and fruits and lotus flowers, and he never grew weary. So he increased in *vairâgya*, and controlled all his senses. And there being none to hinder him, he was able to continue uninterruptedly in God's service, and in solving all the problems of religion. In this way he remained often in extasy, and became merged in the sea of bliss. He wore deer skins and bathed three times a day, and let his hair grow. He worshipped Vishṇu also in the sun, which had a gold body. He found in that being his only refuge, that being who cherishes those who are engaged in his service, who is omnipresent and full of bliss.

One day Bharata was bathing in the river, and remained under the water for about two hours, meditating on God through Praṇava (Om), when he suddenly heard a lion roaring, and saw a deer, which was about to give birth to a fawn, flying before the lion and jumping over the river. Whilst jumping she gave birth to the fawn, and fell on the other side and died. Then Bharata saw the little helpless fawn struggling in the water, and being moved with compassion, he took hold of it and saved it, and carried it home and reared it, and began to love it, and became attached to it: so that little by little he was neglecting his services to God. But he was unconscious of this, and said

to himself as follows: — "I saved this helpless fawn, it has none to care for it, and so I will take care of it, and bring it up. I have heard some Munis say that to help the helpless is a virtue." In this way his love towards it grew, and he used to bring it tender grass to eat, and wash it, and had it near him, even when engaged in worship. Sometimes he would take it in his arms or his lap, and loved its company. When performing some ceremony, he would often leave off in the midst of it to look for the deer and rejoiced when he saw it, and would bless it and kiss it.

But one day the deer disappeared. Then Bharata was overwhelmed with grief and bewilderment, and began to think thus: "Have I not taken care of you in every way? You who lost your mother the day you were born. Have I not sheltered you from cruel beasts, and brought you up? Now I do not know what animal has destroyed you; or if you will return to gladden my heart. You used to touch me gently with your horns when I sat in contemplation, sometimes you would playfully trample on the things brought for worship, and if I cast an angry glance at you, like a child, you would stand at a distance till I called you again, when you would return and stand behind me without causing me any disturbance, and were so careful not to annoy me in any way. The earth touched by your hoofs is blessed. The Munis and Rishis looked upon you as a holy animal. Perhaps the moon has taken you. When I was with my family I lost a son. My sorrow was so great that I felt that even the moonlight was hateful, and thus I feel now in the absence of this deer."

With these lamentations, by some past bad *karma*, he neglected his *yôga*, and his attachment to the deer grew even greater. In order to obtain emancipation, he had renounced his family and everything, and come to the forest and striven with all his powers to obtain this end. Now, by means of this deer, all his efforts were rendered futile. After he had been for a time sunk thus in grief, the deer returned. Seeing it, he was transported with joy, and his devotion to it was now such, that he treated it as his own son. In his last days on his death-bed his thoughts were all centred on the deer, and so, on leaving his body, **he was re-born as a deer**; but the memory of his past life remained. Remembering his former state and all his service to God, he was very sorrowful and bitterly repented his former attachment to the deer. He never mingled with the herd, and at last left them and his mother, and went away alone to his old place, where he had before lived and worshipped God, and there he remained grazing on leaves and dried grass and bathing in the river: and so much did he desire to be delivered from this body of a deer that, when he died, he was able to be born again as a Brâhmaṇ.

VIII.

King Bharata as a Brâhmaṇ.

Bharata, being born to a **Brâhmaṇ** father, was well brought up, and remembering his former lives, was much afraid of bad associations, and kept aloof from others with abstracted mind: so that he was considered by them to be half-witted. After a time his good father died and his mother performed *sati*. Then his brother forced him to do menial work, which he humbly submitted to, at the same time not neglecting his meditation. The ignorant people reviled him and called him a fool, but he paid no attention, took everything that was offered to him, good or bad, even from the hands of strangers, cared neither for cold nor heat, going without clothes and lying on the bare ground: so that his sacred thread became black with dirt. Withal he remained stout and strong, and though his good qualities were unsuspected by people, he might be likened to a diamond wrapped in a black cloth. Meanwhile the king of the country determined to offer a **human sacrifice to Kâlî**, and the messengers finding Bharata watching his brother's fields, and thinking him a worthless fellow, they seized him as being suitable for the sacrifice. They washed him, gave him fine clothes and decorated him with jewels, and supplied him with rich foods and fruit, and burning camphor and perfumes before him. Accompanied with bands of music and dancing, they led him to

the temple of Kâlî. Then the king himself conducted him to a raised place, and taking a sword in his hand, was preparing to cut off Bharata's head, when Kâlî, seeing Bharata and knowing that he was a man with full experience of Brahmâ, without hatred in his heart, and having love to all, was afraid to receive such a sacrifice, and feeling very angry with the king for bringing him, became visible, and caused the king and his retinue to be struck dead on the spot. She turned to Bharata and said, "No Deity will suffer any harm to befall a good Brâhmaṇ," and disappeared. Then Bharata, who feared neither the sword nor Kâlî, but looked upon all as forms of God, with his mind steadfast in God, remained standing. The people being much afraid, let him go and he returned to watch the fields as before.

A few years passed in this way, when the king, wishing to go to **Kapila the Rishi** on some religious enquiry, was being carried along in a palanquin, passed by the field where Bharata was watching. One of the bearers, seeing Bharata, seized hold of him, and made him bear the palanquin in his place. Bharata, being unable to keep pace with the others, got out of step, so that the even balance was disturbed, which made the king angry, and he bade the bearers stop and find out who was in fault. They said, "It is not one of us, but this new man." Then the king spoke angrily to Bharata, who remained quite undisturbed. The king was amazed at his calmness, and asked him how it was. Bharata replied, "It is not I who am bearing this palanquin, but only my body, and you have reproved me without knowing the truth." In this manner he continued to instruct the king, who perceived that he was a Rishi, and saluted him with respect and begged him to instruct him further. So Bharata lived with the king, and died, and obtained *mukti*.

IX.

Ajamila and the Angels of Death.

In the country of **Kanyakubja** lived a good Brâhmaṇ, well versed in the *Vêdas*. He had a son named **Ajamîla**, who was well taught and performed his duties willingly, reading all the *Vêdas*. He served his teachers and performed all the duties required of him towards uninvited guests. He treated all animals equally, was very truthful, and knew many *mantras* and obtained the results thereof. He performed the daily as well as the occasional ceremonies, tried to overcome all bad, and to cultivate all good, qualities, and was always doing virtuous actions with a good will. Besides this, he grew up into a young man of beautiful appearance.

One Spring season his father asked him to go to the forest and fetch *kuśa* grass, fuel, flowers and fruit. He went and collected them all, and was returning, when he caught sight of a Śûdra courtezan and her lover disporting themselves in the groves. Seeing her, he became fascinated with her beauty and forgot his father and his wife and everything, and became entirely given up to this woman. Then he left all and losing the good opinion of everyone, he began to work to earn money to support the woman. For her sake he underwent many hardships and difficulties, falling into debt, and at last was seized and put into prison. Even after this he did not leave the woman. She bore him ten children, of whom he loved the youngest the best.

He lived to the age of eighty-eight and on his death-bed, just before he died, he called out the name of the youngest child, **Nârâyaṇa**, several times. Then **the Angels of Death** came and took him out of his body, and bound him hand and foot. While thus in terror and dismay, he saw four Celestial Beings approach, who came to his rescue, put aside the Angels of Death and released him. Then the Angels of Death saluted these Beings, and asked who they were, saying, "O Beings of wonderful form, having beautiful shining eyes, with crowns on your heads and earrings, and wearing yellow silk garments, your bodies smooth and decorated with sweet-scented garlands, with your four arms bearing the Disc, Conch, Bow, and Sword! All who see you are lost in admiration! Your calmness is undisturbed, the worlds shine by your light and darkness is dispelled, your presence sheds comfort upon us all, your radiance dazzles our eyes, you appear as the upholders of all the virtues! But why do you hinder us from taking this bad man to Yâma?"

Then the Celestial Beings replied in grave and majestic speech as follows: "If you are the messengers of Yâma, tell us where does your Master reside? Tell us what is right and what is wise? What actions and what men are punishable? Are all beings punishable, or only sinners?"

The Angels of Death replied, "Whatever is ordained by the *Vêdas* is virtue, the rest is vice. The *Vêdas* proceed from **Vishṇu,** by whom all souls are passed into different bodies. All this is known from the *Vêdas*. The sun, the moon, the heavens, the air, the two twilights, days and nights, time, earth, fire, water, and the Dêvas, all bear witness to the actions of each embodied soul. Nothing is hidden, and the actions will determine the punishment as well as the place. All who transgress these laws are punishable. When a man begins to live, he must be doing something, good or bad, according as he is associated with the different *guṇas*. He must reap the exact fruit of action. Yâma is also present wherever a being is and witnesses all his actions, words and thoughts, which are determined by the *guṇa* he is in. And some will remember their past actions in a former birth by virtue of their bodies being made of fine matter; others will forget, by reason of their bodies being made of gross matter. Some will frequent the company of good men, and so obtain knowledge of God. Sin can only be got rid of by serving Vishṇu, who resides in the mind, who is known through the *Vêdas* and *Vêdânta*, and is the Highest Being. The man who does not know God, or keep in the company of the godly, will be lost, as a straw is destroyed in the fire. But those who serve God will be restored, as a sick man is restored by good medicine. But this man left his good life, and fell in love with a bad woman, and became sunk in sensuality, drank wine and ate meat, and so he must be punished by Yâma, and purified by that discipline."

Then the Celestial Beings enumerated all Ajamîla's good deeds, and showed that in his **past births** he had accumulated much virtue as well as some vice, and for this vice he had been already punished by falling into a state of vice. Hearing this, the Angels of Death left him and went away.

Then Ajamîla, who had heard all the conversation between the Angels of Death and the Celestial Beings, stood up and saluted Vishṇu and the Celestial Beings, and humbly tried to express his gratitude. The Celestial Beings told him that it was by his calling his son Nârâyaṇa (the highest name of God) that his thoughts were directed towards God and therefore they were able to come to his aid. Saying this, they left him, whereupon he surveyed all his past life and his bad actions, and repented of them, and said, "I was in danger of falling into hell, when these Celestial Beings saved me. This is the result of my former service to God, which can never be fruitless." On this, he was taken to heaven.

X.

Chitraketu.

Chitrakêtu was the King of Surasêna in the Mahârâshtra Country. He ruled his people well, being very patient and trying to gain their good opinion. He had a thousand wives, who were all of them beautiful, but none of them had any children. All his riches and prosperity did not make up to him for the want of a son. One day **the Rishi Angirasa** came to see the King, and seeing that he appeared sorrowful, asked the cause of his trouble. The King replied, "Through the power of your penance nothing is hidden from you, and therefore you know the cause," and bent his head with shame. The Rishi understanding what he wanted, advised him to **perform a certain sacrifice by which he would be granted a son.** The King performed the sacrifice, and in course of time, his chief wife bore him a son. The King was transported with joy, and made a great feast. The child grew well and strong, and the King became much attached to the chief wife and neglected the others. This filled their minds with **jealousy,** and at last they contrived together to poison the child. When the mother saw the dead child, she fell to the ground like a tree cut down. The King heard her cry and filled with fear, hastened to the place, where seeing his son dead, he swooned away with grief.

Then the Rishis Angiraśa and **Nârada** came near, and began exhorting the King in the teachings of **Kṛishṇa** as follows: "**In a former birth** you did not know whose son this was, nor whose father you were. Who can understand the mysterious connection? Our meetings are like the meetings of grains of sand in a flowing stream. You must not grieve for what you cannot help. There is no death, and no life. Separation is a mirage, and it is through ignorance that one soul appears to be many. When you cast away the cover of ignorance, you will realize the truth, as a man wakes up from a dream."

Hearing these words, the King recovered himself, and asked who they were. They replied, "We come to comfort and instruct you in wisdom. We are the Rishis who gave you your son, if now we restore you your son, you will again have the same sorrow as those who have children. All the pleasures of this world are transitory and through them come misery, fear and anxiety. It is all *mâyâ*, like a fortune found in a dream. Man, by his thoughts and actions, unknowingly creates transitory misery and happiness, and reels in it. There is only the one true path of the pure mind to reach the everlasting life."

Then Nârada began to say, "I will give you a *mantra*. If you repeat it for seven days without interruption, you will see God, who is the cause of all, so, you will obtain the highest happiness. I will now raise up your son, and you can then see if there is any true connection between you and him." Then Nârada looked at the dead boy, and called him by name, "Come back into your body again and comfort your parents. You can then be happy and enjoy your father's kingdom!" Upon this the boy's soul replied as follows: "I am revolving by my own *karma* through the bodies of gods, men, and animals; how am I to know who are my parents? All are like actors in a drama: there is not any real relationship between man and man. **Âtmâ** is one, eternal, has no end or beginning, is in all, and all is in him, is the shelter of all, is the smallest and the greatest, is equal to both, shines with his own light, and sees all. By his *mâyâ* he creates all. **He is Nârâyaṇa**, the Soul of All. I feel neither pleasure nor pain, I am that Great Soul! I am God himself! How then can you speak of fathers and sons? There is no real connection between you and me. You have nothing to sorrow for." So saying, he abruptly ended.

Then Chitrakêtu and his relatives were amazed and felt relieved of their sorrow and attachment towards the boy, and proceeded to perform the funeral obsequies. After a few days Chitrakêtu left his kingdom, like a big elephant who had been caught in a bog and was escaping from it, went to the Jamnâ and bathed there, in accordance with the ordinances, and afterwards went and saluted Nârada, who was pleased with him, and gave him the *mantra* formerly promised.

Then **Chitrakêtu**, following Nârada's instructions, fasted and sat in *samâdhi* for seven days, meditating upon that knowledge which is Nârâyaṇa itself. At the end of seven days, he found himself to be the **chief of the Vidyadharis**, and that he possessed a flying car, ornamented with precious stones, and by the grace of God he could move about in the airy regions with the quickness of mind. Soon he met **the King of Serpents, Adiśêsha**, who had a body as white as snow, and was clothed in black garments, and wore a crown shining with precious stones and bracelets and shoulder ornaments. He had a zone of gold and the white sacred thread. His face was very beautiful: his eyes were round and bright. He is the bed of Vishṇu, and also his foot-stool. Many Siddhas followed him. When Chitrakêtu saw him, he became free from sin, his love to God increased, his body thrilled with bliss, tears of joy fell from his eyes, and in his extasy he could not speak, but fell down before the King.

After a while he calmed himself, and drew in his senses from the outer world and concentrated his thoughts on the Reality, and put together his mind and speech, and began to praise that Eternal Being of perfect equanimity, and the *gurû* of the whole world, in these words: "Thou art the Unconquerable One! Yet the devotion of thy worshippers can conquer thee! It is through thee that these worlds come into existence, remain for a time, and then dissolve. Those

who are engaged in creating and destroying worlds are also a part of thee. These Agents dispute among themselves, without knowing thy real nature, each thinking himself greater than the other. Thou art the Atom and the Universe. Thou art the essence of the Universe. Thou art above the three *gunas*, thy power is always equal, in the beginning, middle, and end. There are seven world sheaths, each one is ten times larger than the other. All these worlds are as an atom, when compared to thee. In some places men like beasts are panting after sensual enjoyments; desiring only riches, they serve other gods, and leave thee. The riches given to them are only transitory, and are lost as they are lost. Those who serve thee, desiring nothing else, will undergo no further births, as burnt seeds do not germinate. Thy service in any way will give liberation. Thou establishest the moral code for thy devotees. To gain emancipation **Sanat Kumâra** and others are serving thee according to that code. Those who act upto that code will never want in wisdom. Being worldly-minded, men are apt to think that they are different from one another, and have the idea of possessing property. The godly consider all and everything alike. When they see thee they become sinless. I became like one of them by seeing thee. Nârada long ago instructed me in the true nature of God. A few glow-worms can temporarily hide the sun; in the same way, worldly happiness can hide thee for a time, and people do not see thee, though thou art the Soul of the whole Universe. To-day I experience thy true nature, and prostrate myself before such a being. Even Brahmâ, Śiva, and Indra serve thee with great devotion, through their minds. Thou hast a thousand heads: upon them this world is like a mustard seed!"

Then the King was much pleased with Chitrakêtu's knowledge and said, "You were able to see me by the knowledge given you by Nârada. All you see — the manifested world, and the beings therein — are my forms. I am the holiest. I am able to purify the most unholy. I am Brahmâ. I am the *Vêdas*. All the worlds live in me: sometimes they disappear in me. As a man asleep understands nothing, but only when he is awake: so a man in ignorance does not understand me, but only when he obtains knowledge. I am that knowledge which is present in three states, — sleeping, dreaming, and waking. The condition of a human being is very hard; if he does not gain true knowledge, he can never know true happiness. In one state, **Pravṛitti,** developing in worldly affairs, there is misery. In **Nivṛitti,** developing in spiritual affairs, there is happiness. Men waste their time to attain happiness in the first way, but can thereby never attain emancipation. They can only become merged in sorrow; yet they do not seek to know me with their heart and soul. Some are proud of their knowledge and art. To these it is very difficult to know my real nature. He who can find out the real good from the unreal, in the end will know me. You have found out this way. You have praised me with a language full of truth. You have become truly emancipated!" Saying this the King disappeared.

Then Chitrakêtu mounted his flying car, and roamed in it for many thousands of years. He retained all his faculties, and in his company were many Dêvas, Munis and Yôgis, who all praised him, and to whom he gave instructions. He was able to create any beautiful place that he wanted which would be filled with Dêvas and Apsarasas, dancing and singing in honour of Vishṇu. He supplied all the wants of the followers of Vishṇu, and in his mind was always decorating the person of Vishṇu. He would speak to God with all his powers of expression, and would sing and chant with great zeal at the highest pitch of his voice, shining with the splendour of Brahmic knowledge. He would serve the servants of God, and make them also sing, for which he composed hymns in God's praise. In this way he spent his time.

On a certain day he **went to Kailâsa, where Śiva was seated with Gaurî,** his wife, on a throne, surrounded by Dêvas, and those who were waving *chamaras*. On one side *Vêdas* were being chanted, on the other **Sanaka** was praising God, and all made a feast of beauty to the eyes. When Chitrakêtu looked and saw that Gaurî was seated in the lap of Śiva, he laughed contemptuously, and remarked that it was shameless of Śiva to sit like that, for even a boor would

not behave in this way, and for Siva, being one of the greatest gods, to act like this was very unseemly. Although Siva heard these remarks, he took no notice, and said nothing, but Gaurî was very angry, and exclaimed, "Is this person the controller of the worlds that he should reprove us! Sages, Rishis, and Munis have not before disapproved of this, and are they ignorant of proper behaviour! Siva is too great to be judged by anyone, and in doing so this man has committed a sin, and must be punished." Having addressed the assembly in this manner, she turned to **Chitrakêtu** and said, "For committing this sin you must be **born again as a Râkshasa.**" Chitrakêtu hearing this did not lose his composure, but descended from his flying car, approached Gaurî and saluted her saying, "I know thou art the mother of the worlds. I have received thy curse. It is only the effect of my former *karma*. Happiness and misery must follow each other in the circle of *saṁsâras*. It is only the ignorant man who thinks he is either happy or miserable, to the wise both curse and blessing are the same, so that I am not in the least affected by your curse, nor afraid of it, I am considering only why I spoke to you in that way." Then mounting his car he flew away. Then Siva, turning to Gaurî, remarked, "**You see how the servants of Vishṇu act.** How magnanimous and equable is this Chitrakêtu. To him good and evil are alike, and though he could have cursed you in return, he refrained from doing so!"

XI.

The Story of the Fifth Avatâra, Vâmana.

A powerful giant, named **Bali Chakravarti, ruled once in Pâtâlalôka.** He conquered all the worlds and none could resist him. He was also a devout follower of Vishṇu.

Once he wished to make a great feast, and requested Indra to send **Rambhâ** to dance at his court. Indra, wishing to insult him, sent instead a plantain tree, which also goes by the name *rambhâ*. The giant was enraged at this, and invaded Svarga, conquered Indra, and got possession of Svarga. Then **Âditi,** the mother of Indra, did penance, when Vishṇu appeared before her, and asked her what she wanted. She prayed that she might have a son, who would be able to conquer Bali. **Vishṇu** granted her request, and **caused himself to be born of Âditi in the form of a dwarf.** In this form he studied in the hermitage with other boys of his age, outstripping them all.

In the course of time, Bali wanted to perform a great horse-sacrifice, when all the Rishis and Yôgis thronged to his court, amongst them **the dwarf, Vâmana,** who appeared as a Brâhmaṇ mendicant. Bali caught sight of him, and supposing him to be a Brahmachâri, wished to worship him, and called him to come near. Then the dwarf went up and received worship from Bali, who asked him to make some request of him. The dwarf told Bali that he wanted only **three strides of land, measured by himself.** Bali was very surprised at such a humble request, and said it was beneath his dignity to bestow so little, therefore he should grant him a hundred lacs of strides. Then Bali's *guru*, **Sukrâchârya,** interfered and whispered aside, "Be careful what you do. Though he looks like a poor dwarf, he is in reality a divine being, and means to take all your possessions for Indra." But Bali replied, "It may be so, nevertheless I am determined to give whatever he asks, should he want all that is mine, I will give it up. If such a being comes and asks me, how can I deny him? It will be the greatest joy to me!" So Sukrâchârya saw that he could not persuade Bali.

Then calling the dwarf, the King took his hand, and told him he would give him anything he wanted, and made him sit down and called his wife to bring water, and washed his feet, and then poured water from his hands into the dwarf's hands, thereby renouncing possession over it, and exclaiming, "Vishṇu is to be praised with this my action!" Instantly the dwarf appeared to begin to increase in size, and grew and grew, up and up, till he reached the clouds: and larger and further, till he reached the sun, which appeared over him like a vast umbrella. And still he grew and grew till he reached the Pole star, when the sun's globe showed like a huge ruby on his head,

and still he grew till he reached Satyalôka, and then the sun glowed like an earring in his ear. And beyond this he grew, and the sun looked like an ornament on his shoulder, still higher and higher, till it appeared like a bracelet on his wrist. Even yet higher, when it looked like a red cloth round his waist. Even still higher, when it appeared like an anklet on his foot, and at last it seemed like his footstool. Then he filled the whole earth. His feet occupied Bhûlôka, his head filled the sky. The sun and moon were in the line of his eyes. The Piśâchas lay at his feet. Gunyakas were at his fingers, Viśvas at his knees, Sadhyas at his legs, Yakshas at his finger-tips, Apsarasas at the line of his palms, the rays of the sun were in his hair, the stars at the roots of his hair, Maharshis at the ends of his hair, Asuras at his ears. His arms extended towards the four cardinal points, and his shining was greater than that of the sun.

Then Bali was overwhelmed with amazement, and paralysed with wonder, and remained speechless, while Vishṇu with one stride measured the whole earth, with the second stride he measured the firmament. Then he stopped, and addressed Bali as follows : "You granted me three strides, the earth and heavens only measure two strides of mine, now show me the place for the third stride." Then Bali offered Vishṇu his head for the third stride, but Vishṇu hesitated and said, "I have taken all your possessions, this at least you can refuse." But Bali replied, "Wherever I go, thou art there, I cannot be anywhere without thee. Thou art full of mercy and condescension to thy devotees. Only command me how I may serve thee!" Then Vishṇu was pleased at these words, and commanded Bali to return to his own regions of Pâtâlalôka, and reign there as before.

HARVEST FESTIVALS IN HONOUR OF GAURI AND GANESH.

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I.

Gauri.

ON the sixth day of Bhâdrapad or thereabouts, a bundle of the wild flowering balsam plants — touch-me-not (*Impatiens Sp.*) — is ceremoniously collected through maid-servants, brought home, and placed in the verandah on a low stool with the roots towards the main entrance of the house. Under the stool is drawn a magic square with turmeric powder (fig. 1). Care is taken by the maids that before the plants are removed from the soil, they are worshipped, wrapped in a cloth, and placed in a winnowing bamboo tray (see fig. 3), previously decorated with the *svastika*. At sunset the bundle is worshipped and taken to the entrance, when rice and water are waved round it and thrown to the left side to guard against the evil eye. It is then placed on a chair or high stool and again worshipped, along with an unmarried girl, and all married women are served with the red powder, &c., the emblems of conjugal life.

The next ceremony consists of carrying the bundle from room to room, while the supposed foot-prints of Gaurî (fig. 2) are being impressed on the floor with *gulâl* (red powder) paste. As each room is entered, the girl, who has been previously worshipped, has to reply to the questions "Gauri, Gaurî, whither have you come?" and "What do you see?"

The first room so honoured is generally the central or chief hall. The girl then replies: "I have come to the *dîwân-khânâ*, and I see that Râvsâhîb So-and-so has been sitting on a high cushion, reclined against another, and dictating orders to his secretaries, and that sepoys and *chôbdârs* are in attendance," and so forth, generally depicting the highest desire as to the prosperity of the bread-winner. The girl is then given a mouthful of sweets, and the mistress of the house says, "Come with golden feet and stay for ever."

The middle room is next visited and the questions repeated. This is the dining-hall, and a suitable "tall" description is given of feasts and banquets. The same request is repeated, as she is taken from room to room. The important "lying-in room" is never neglected, and the description of the cradle, the babies, and their pleasure-giving pranks are minutely detailed. The bundle is then replaced on a high stool or chair.

On the first night the chief food offered is the milk and sugar *kshîr*, or porridge with wheat-flour rolls resembling small pieces of vermicelli. Before retiring for the night the plants are tied up into a mummy-like figure, with a woman's mask, dressed and decorated with ornaments, which is treated as **the goddess Gaurî.**

Next morning the goddess so formed is worshipped as usual and she is offered a rice-cake, prepared like an omelette, with the aid of cocoanut kernel and raw sugar. Every married woman now takes a hand-spun cotton-thread of sixteen times her own height, places it before the goddess, and worships it.

If there be a new bride in the house (daughter-in-law), pan-cakes with pounded gram pulse (*puran*) and raw sugar are specially offered. Twenty-five bamboo winnowing-trays are then filled up with bangles, combs, red-powder boxes, turmeric-tubers, rice, a necklace of glass-beads, dates, almonds, betel-leaves, betel-nuts, a cocoanut, some fresh fruits and a bodice-piece. They are distributed by the new bride, who is carried in a palanquin with tom-tom, accompanied by female friends.

On the second night, all the girls in the house sing songs and dance, keeping up late, visiting the houses of girl friends for dancing and singing in front of Gaurî. At midnight she is supposed to have to go away, that is, her 'spirit' departs, when an *ârtî*, consisting of incense and camphor, is offered.

The third day again sees her effigy worshipped. The food offered consists of crescent-shaped pan-cakes, containing cocoanut kernel mixed with sugar. The 'one's-own-measure-skein' of thread of the previous day, which had been placed before the figure, is then lifted up, folded into a smaller skein, and to it sixteen knots are tied. It is then worshipped, dyed with turmeric and tied by each woman round her own neck. This curious necklace is retained until the eighth day of the second half of Âshvin, the next harvest time, and removed before the sun sets on that day. The knots are untied, the skein worshipped, sixteen *ghî*-lights are burnt before it, and sixteen *til* seeds (the crop is *then* ready), sixteen grains of rice, and flowers of cucumber are offered to it. The food prepared in honour of this necklace, called *mahâlakshmî*, after the goddess of plenty and wealth, consists of the porridge described above. The thread is ultimately thrown into a river.

In regard to the chief goddess, **Gaurî, the Goddess of the Harvest**, one great peculiarity remains to be mentioned. She is supposed to have been followed secretly by her husband Śiva, who remains hidden under the outer fold of her *sâṛî* (garment), and is represented by a *lôṭâ*, covered by a cocoanut and filled with rice carefully measured for the reason given below.

During the third day of the ceremony the effigy of Gaurî is thrown into a river or tank, and a handful of pebbles or sand is brought home from the spot, worshipped and then thrown all over the house and over the trees to bring good luck to the house and to protect the trees from vermin. Before the image is taken away for disposal, in a fold of the *sâṛî* it wears are placed rice, turmeric-tubers, and betel-nuts. The woman who carries the figure is warned not to look behind her, as is the case when carrying dead bodies. The rice in the *lôṭâ* representing Śiva is finally carefully measured, to see if the quantity has increased or decreased, in order to prognosticate the results of the next harvest.

In some families *aghâda* (*Achyrantes aspera*) plants are used instead of the balsam or touch-me-not for the purposes of this ceremony.

The fable to account for the ceremony is translated below verbatim, as taken down:— "There was a big town, in which lived a poor Brâhmaṇ, with a large family. The month of Bhâdrapad came, and he saw effigies of Gaurî in all the houses of the town, and heard the music in her honour. His children saw them too. They asked him to bring Gaurî to them. He could not. He was too poor. He had not enough money to buy even the little rice-flour and sugar required for the offering. He went to a tank to drown himself, but was accosted by an old married woman. She dissuaded him from the resolution, and accompanied him home. His wife made enquiries. He told her that she was his grand-mother, whereupon the wife went in search of some grain for food for her. To her surprise, she found her barn quite full. Porridge was prepared and all partook of it. Next morning, the old woman asked the Brâhmaṇ to tell his wife to bathe her, and added, 'Do not deny and do not demur.' He did so, and left the house on his daily begging-tour. He received plenty of alms that day. The old woman asked for rice and milk *kshîr* (*kônjî* or gruel), but there was no milk. So she advised him to make a number of pegs and strings for tying up cows and buffaloes, and advised him to call by name at sun-set as many cattle as he could accommodate in his farmyard. They came and were milked, and so the *kshîr* was prepared and partaken of by the whole family. The honoured guest then asked leave to depart. The poor Brâhmaṇ expressed his fears of losing what he had got, through her favour. He was blessed and assured. The Brâhmaṇ took her to the tank, she gave him some sand and asked him to throw it over every possession of his to secure 'plenty.' She advised him to repeat the ceremony in honour of Gaurî every year on a suitable day in the month of Bhâdrapad."

This story, however, presupposes the existence of the annual worship, and is therefore merely a record of its introduction into a new family.

The rationale of the ceremony suggests, (1) the alluvial soil of the river-side or tank as the original seat of the crops, (2) the old woman as the old season going out, (3) the young girl as the new season budding up, ready to burst out, as the symbol 'touch-me-not' specially suggests, (4) the lay figure as possibly the dead body of the old season, the rice and the millets being just in flower at that time of the year, and (5) the food offered as the expected Bhâdvî, new rice-crops. The distribution of the trays, fruits, &c., represents the usual materials in use. But, (1) the loss of the spirit in the lay figure at midnight, the last day of the particular season of 'field work,' (2) the drowning of the lay figure into the bowels of Mother Earth, (3) the sprinkling of sand, and (4) the skeins with sixteen knots are symbolical of the simultaneous death and resurrection of the season, celebrated all over the world by primitive races, found here stereotyped into a Hinduised form. The sixteen knots and the sixteen folds of the skein turned into a necklace, suggest the number of weeks a rice-crop takes to grow.

II.

Ganesh.

At the same time as Gaurî is worshipped, or only a day or two previous, that is, on the fourth of Bhâdrapad, **Ganêsh** is also worshipped. The god is worshipped in the form of a clay figure, representing a fat human body with an elephant's head, riding on a rat. The terms Ganêśa and Ganapati both mean the head or chief[1] of the people, from *gana*, servants, and *îśa* or *pati*, master.

[1] The headman, or Patel, always commands the position of a *tikâit* and is offered the *pân* first of all, and so is Ganêsh in the verse which runs:—

घाणा भरीला ॥ वीडा ठेवीला ॥
आधी नमीला ॥ गण राज ॥ १ ॥

The *pân* is first placed before Ganêsh, I have bowed unto him.
And now I put the grain into the mill to grind.

From the primæval attributes of this deity, he also seems to represent the harvest festival. He is called Mushhakvâhan, rider on a rat, but the word *mushhak* comes from a Sanskrit root, which means a thief. The title therefore implies that he is riding over the thief of the field (field-rat). The elephant's head and snout have possibly their origin in the appearance of a farmer, carrying on his head a load of the corn-sheaf, particularly when the lower or lowest ears swing to and fro. The appearance was readily passed to the symbol possibly owing to the mythological fable of the four *diggajas*, or elephants, who are supposed to support the heavens in the four directions represented by the points of the compass. In India at any rate the idea of hugeness is conveyed by comparison with an elephant, the biggest animal known. For instance, when a strong young man dies unexpectedly, people say : — 'What an elephant of prowess he was, but within a few hours Death has levelled him to the dust.' Râma is compared in the *Purâṇas* to the young of the elephant, Diggaja Daśaratha, when he broke the bow of Paraśurâma. The idea therefore of a bumper crop over-riding the pestilence of the rats might well be expressed by a god with an elephant's head, riding a rat or *mushhak* (thief), and possessing in addition a 'fair round belly,' the latter evidently symbolical of the barn. Conquest is very often symbolised in this manner. Śiva rides the bull (Nandikêśvar) he conquered; Kṛishṇa dances on the hood of the snake Kâliyâ, whom he vanquished ; and so Ganêśa rides over the rat he destroys as Lord of the Harvest. The origin of the gigantic head of an elephant on one side and the little field mouse on the other can thus be accounted for in the representations of him.

As to the particular form which the elephant-headed god has taken on in representations, the human body of the figures may have been taken from the primitive effigies in vogue, and the well-known titles of Ganêśa, Śurpakarṇa, and Ekadanta, one-toothed, gives a clue to the rest. *Śurpa* or *sûpa* is the winnowing basket so essential at harvest time, and the one-tooth may well represent the ploughshare. Let two winnowing baskets and a ploughshare be added to the fat body as shown in fig. 3, and one fairly gets the form of the elephant's head with which god Ganêsh is usually endowed.

The food offered to Ganêsh connects him with the harvest, as it consists of balls, called *môdaks*, made of rice-flour, raw sugar, and the kernel of the cocoanut; all in season at the time of the festival in the month of Bhâdrapad. And there is a symbol attached to him which speaks for itself in relation to the harvest. Round the fat belly, representing the full barn, is shown a hooded cobra, the great destroyer of the field-rat.

The new crop or harvest ceremonies connected with the cult of Ganêsh seem to confirm his primitive origin as above explained. After the clay figure is thrown into a tank or river, a handful of clay or sand is brought in the tray, or on the stool used for carrying it, and ceremoniously thrown into the barn and the grain barrels, and particularly into the room in which provisions are stored. This is an exact counterpart of what the people did on the continent of Europe and elsewhere in primitive days. The Indian Ganêśa may in this matter be compared with the grain goddess of Mexico, the Alo Alo of the Tonga Islands, the Demeter of the Greeks, or the Ceres of the Romans.

As society advanced and philosophical speculation usurped the domain of direct argument, Ganêśa seems to have obtained rapid promotion and came to be styled Siddhidâtâ, the Giver of Success, so necessary to the production of a good crop. He was also styled Vighna-hartâ, the Remover of Distress, which is the peculiar power of a bumper crop. So success in every undertaking began to be attributed to him even in learning and he acquired another name as the Lord of the Goddess of Learning, Sarasvatî. So also when the clay figure of Ganêsh is lifted up for removal, it is customary to turn its face back thrice towards the house, in conformity with the belief that such a step ensures the speedy return of the man or woman leaving the paternal roof on a journey. This custom is always followed by good Hindus. I was compelled to do so when I left for England in 1886.

During the performance of the death ceremony of the Old Season, represented by Gaurî, Ganêsh is naturally invoked and asked to return soon, as the sooner a new harvest-season returns, the happier will it make the simple farmer-worshippers. That is why they say : — "*Ganapti, bâppâ, môriâ,* Father Ganêsh, Lord of the people, wish you a speedy return," to which in the Marâṭhâ Country, children add : — "*Pudhaliyâ varshi, laukar yâ* !, Come early next year." *Môriâ* may be the corruption, or rather transformation, of an exclamation of the simple Kunbî (farmer) : — "*Mhôră yâ*, Come before all." The Kanaits of Kâṅgṛâ say "*môrê yé*" when they want a friend to return quickly. This expression has been transformed by the learned into the grandiloquent title Môrêśvar, or yet more grandiloquent still Mayûrêśvar, Lord of the Peacocks. *Môryâ* therefore represents the welcome with which Ganêsh is hailed every year at the harvest season, Bhâdrapad, rice-in-ear month, which occurs just when his mother Gaurî (Mother Earth) is *enceinte* and cries out "touch-me-not," through the balsam which is used in the preparations for the ceremonies in her honour then performed.

BOOK-NOTICE.

A Grammar of the Kannada Language in English, comprising the three dialects of the language (ancient, mediæval, and modern), by the Rev. Dr. F. Kittel. Mangalore, Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository, 1903.

As its title implies, this work aims at a complete description of the Kannaḍa language throughout its different stages of development. It is chiefly based on the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, a grammar in Kannaḍa verse which was drawn up by Kêśava in the 13th century and edited by Dr. Kittel in 1872 with the commentary of Nishṭhûrasañjayya. But Dr. Kittel has not only explained and arranged Kêśava's rules, but supplemented them with the help of the existing vast literature in Old Kannaḍa and of epigraphical records in the same language. In every separate chapter of noun and verb inflexion he furnishes a complete list of the forms of the three successive dialects. This will be felt as a great boon and an important step in advance by all scholars who have to deal with ancient or mediæval Kannaḍa works or documents. But Dr. Kittel does not rest content with supplying the facts of the language. Following in the footsteps of Dr. Caldwell, he tries to ascertain the prehistoric growth of roots and inflexional forms by subjecting them to an analytical treatment. His explanation of the relative participles (§§ 178, 185) resembles Dr. Caldwell's (*Comparative Grammar*, p. 413 f.). His ingenious explanation of the negative verb (§ 210) seems to be preferable to the more mechanical one of his predecessor (*op. cit.* p. 366 ff.). Throughout the book we feel the master-hand of a ripe scholar, whose deep erudition and love of his subject is blended with amiable modesty. It is sad to remember that this grammar was to be his last work. The preface is dated on the 5th February 1903, and on the 19th December of the same year he died, in his 72nd year, after having worked until the last day of his life.

Ferdinand Kittel was born on the 7th April 1832 at Resterhafe in Ostfriesland (North-West Germany), where his father was protestant minister. He received his education at the high-school in Aurich and entered the Mission College at Basel (Switzerland) in 1850. Three years later he sailed for Mangalore, where he began to study the Kannaḍa language and to lay up stores for his greatest scientific achievement — the *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*, which appeared at Mangalore in 1894 and will remain a *monumentum œre perennius* of a noble life devoted to incessant earnest labour. The earlier volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* contain a number of articles from his pen on Draviḍian philology. Among the educational books which he published for the Basel Mission we may mention an useful *Canarese Poetical Anthology* (3rd edition, Mangalore, 1874). Another important work is his edition of Nâgavarman's *Canarese Prosody*, to which he prefixed a learned essay on Canarese literature (Mangalore, 1875). In 1892 he left India for good and settled at Tübingen (Württemberg), whose University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1896. In the summer of the last year of his life he still enjoyed the pleasure of having all his children staying with himself and Mrs. Kittel. On the very eve of his sudden and peaceful death he wrote to inform the Basel Committee that he had received from Mangalore the first printed copy of his *Grammar of the Kannaḍa Language*.

E. Hultzsch.

Halle, 11th December 1905.

HARVEST FESTIVAL.
GAURÎ AND GANÊSH.

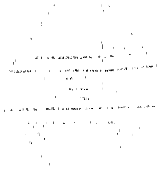
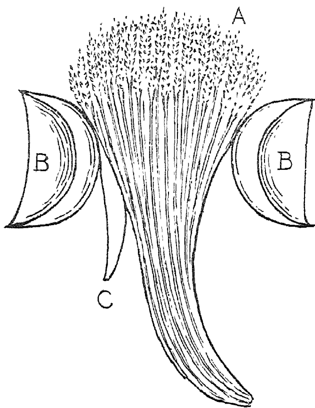


Fig. 1. Gaurî Festival.
Evil Eye Protector.



Fig. 2. Print of Gaurî's Foot.
A possible origin of the well-known
"shawl-pattern."



A. Corn-sheaf.
B, B. Winnowing trays or baskets.
C. Plough-share.

Fig. 3. A possible origin of the form of the one-toothed elephant's head given to Ganêsh.

B. A. GUPTE, DEL. W. GRIGGS, CHROMO-LIT

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PANJABI LANGUAGE.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT.

CAREY, the famous missionary of Serampore, was the first to describe the Pañjâbî language, in his Grammar published in 1812. The only previous mention of it which I can find is a couple of brief notices in Adelung's *Mithridates* (1808—1817).

The following is a list of all the works dealing with Pañjâbî which have come under my notice. Except in one or two instances, I have excluded reference to texts printed in India. These can be found in Mr. Blumhardt's catalogues mentioned below. I give, however, a pretty full account of editions of the *Âdi Granth.* I have excluded all mention of works in Western Pañjâbî, or Lahndâ, in which the *Janam Sâkhî* and other works are written. This is an altogether different language, akin to Sindhî and Kâśmîrî.

I. — GENERAL (including Texts).

Âdi Granth, — *Srî Guru Granth Sâhib Jî.* Numerous editions. I have noted the following. Unless otherwise stated, they are in the Gurmukhî character. Lahore, 1864; *ib.*, 1868; *ib.*, 1881; Gujranwala, 1882; Lahore, 1885; *ib.*, 1886; *ib.* 1887; *ib.* 1889; Amritsar, 1892; Lucknow (Dêva-nâgarî character), 1893.

Selections, &c., — *A Collection of ślôkas from the Âdi Granth. Composed by Têgh Bahâdur, the ninth Guru.* Lahore, 1867. *Pôthî Anandu Sâhib Mahlâ (Devotional hymns of the Sikhs), composed by Guru Amar Dâs* (consisting of 40 verses from Râg Râmkalî of the Âdi Granth). Lahore, 1873.

Pañj Granth Âdi, — (A collection of eight devotional books of the Sikhs, consisting of selections from the Âdi Granth. Lahore, 1874; Gujranwala (Persian character), 1875; Lahore, 1878; *ib.*, 1879; Gujranwala (Persian character), 1879; Lahore, 1881; *ib.*, 1882; *ib.*, 1885; *ib.*, 1886; Amritsar (Persian character), 1895.

Pôthî Rahirâs, — (A manual of Sikh evening prayers, consisting of selections from the Âdi Granth and the Granth of Guru Gôbind Siṅgh). Lahore, 1867, 1869, (with other extracts from the Âdi Granth) 1869, 1873, 1874, (with select passages from the Âdi Granth, Persian character) 1874, 1875, 1878, 1879; Amritsar, 1893.

Pôthî Japjî, — (A collection of Sikh hymns and prayers, composed by Nânak, which form the introductory chapter to the Âdi Granth). Lahore, 1865, 1868, (Persian character) 1871, (Persian character) 1872, 1873, (with other verses by Nânak taken from the Âdi Granth) 1873, 1874, (Persian character) 1874; Amritsar, 1875; Karachi, (in Khoja-Sindhî characters) 1875; Lahore, 1876, (with other verses by Nânak) 1876, (with a Pañjâbi commentary by Bihârî Lâl) 1876; (Persian character) Sialkot, 1876; Lahore, 1877, (with a commentary by Maṇi Siṅgh) 1877, (with a commentary by Paṇḍit Salgrâm Dâs) 1877; (Persian character) Sialkot, 1877; (Persian character) Lahore, 1878, 1879, (with Maṇi Siṅgh's commentary) 1879; (Persian character) Sialkot, 1879; Amritsar, 1882; (with commentary of Hariprakâś, entitled *Bôdh-arthâvalî*) Rawalpindi, 1889; Lahore, (with Bihârî Lâl's commentary) 1891, (with Maṇi Siṅgh's commentary) 1900.

(The original text of the Japjî form is given as an appendix to Trumpp's Translation of the Âdi Granth.)

Translations of the Japjî. Text in Persian characters, with a Hindôstânî translation and notes. Followed by the *Janam-sâkhî*, or life of Nânak, and the *Gurbilâs*, or account of his successors. Lahore, 1870. The same, Lahore, 1878. With an interlinear translation in Hindôstânî, Gujranwala, 1879. With an Introduction and translation into Hindôstânî by Sardâr 'Itr Siṅgh of Patiala, Gujranwala, 1879. *Jap-paramârtha*, an edition of the Pañjâbî text, with a Hindî translation and notes by Lakshmaṇ Prasâd Brahmachârî, Lucknow, 1887. A Circular Letter to the Sikhs, dated Amritsar, December 24th, 1897, written by M. Macauliffe. To this is added a tentative translation of the Japjî into English. Letter printed at the New Anglo-Gurmukhi Press, Amritsar. *Translation of the Japji.* By M. Macauliffe. *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1900, pp. 43 and ff.

Pôthî Âsâdî Wâr. (A collection of hymns from the Râg Âsâ of the Âdi Granth. Repeated by Sikhs after the Japjî and the Hazârêdê Sabd as a morning divine service.) Lahore (1873), (Persian character) 1874, (Persian character) 1875, 1876, 1877. *The Asa di War. A Morning Prayer of the Sikhs.* By M. Macauliffe. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xxx. (1901), pp. 537 and ff. (A translation of the *Âsâdi Wâr* into English, with a short Introduction.)

Translation of the Âdi Granth —

Trumpp, Dr. Ernest, — *The Âdi Granth, or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs, translated from the original Gurmukhī, with Introductory Essays.* London, 1877. According to Mr. Pincott (see below), Trumpp only translated 5,719 stanzas, out of a total of 15,575.

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Adelung, Johann Christoph, — *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit dem Vater Unser als Spracheprobe in bey nahe fünfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten.* Berlin, 1806—1817. Vol. i., p. 195, a short account of the local Dialect of Lahore called the *Panzabische Sprache*, about which nothing except the name, together with the fact that it is much mixed with Persian, was known. On p. 201 a version of the Lord's Prayer in the *Gemeine Mundart zu Kasi* by the missionary Schultz (*sic*), which is a mixture of Pañjâbî and Bihârî. There is also a brief mention of the language in Vater's appendix to Vol. iv., p. 487.

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„ „ *The Local Distribution and Mutual Affinities of the Gaudian Languages. Calcutta Review,* Vol. lxvii (1878), pp. 752 and ff.

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„ „ *The Sassí Punnín of Háshim Sháh. The Roman-Urdú Journal (q. v.),* 1881, Vol. iv., July, pp. 19—31: August, pp. 34—43: September, pp. 12—20 (contains, carefully transliterated, the whole Punjabi text of this important poem).

„ „ *Muhammadan Belief in Hindu Superstition. Indian Antiquary,* Vol. x. (1881), p. 371 (contains extracts from Pañjâbî Ballads).

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" " *Some Notes about Râja Rasâlû. Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xii. (1883), pp. 303 ff. See also Steel, Mrs. F. A.

" " *A Dissertation on the Proper Names of Panjâbîs, with special Reference to the Proper Names of Villages in the Eastern Panjâb.* Bombay, 1883.

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THE ROCK INSCRIPTIONS AT MULBE.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

Introduction.

THE village of **Mulbe** has a mixed population so far as regards **religion,** being inhabited by both Muhammadans and Lamaists. It is situated between the village of **Kargil,** which is entirely Muhammadan, and the village of **Kharbu,** which is almost entirely Lamaist. **The language** of the village **is** now-a-days **Tibetan,** but according to the recollection of the people it used to be **Dard.** When the people of Mulbe speak of the past, they divide it into three separate **periods:** (1) **'aBrogdus,** or Dard-time; (2) **rGyaldus,** or the time of the Tibetan Ladâkhî kings; (3) **Jambupaidus,** or reign of the kings of Jammu.

Mulbe belongs to the district known as **Purig** (in Tibetan Burig), which received its name from the Tibetans on account of its inhabitants, who are called **Purigpa** (in Tibetan Burigpa). The term Burigpa means 'clever boys,' and was given by the Tibetans to the people of the region between the Namika Pass and the Zoji Pass, *i. e.*, to an originally pure Dard population, probably in recognition of the higher civilisation of the Dards. For, as I have stated in another place, there are many signs to indicate that Western Tibet was brought under cultivation by the Dards, who probably surpass all primitive nations in the art of irrigating the most unfavorable ground, while Tibetans that conquered Western Tibet about a century after **Langdarma,** were, as I believe, herdsmen, who had not yet practised agriculture to the extent to which the Dards had developed it. The change of the original Burigpa to Purigpa is due to the influence exercised by Lhassa on the educated people, especially the kings, of Ladâkh, because in Lhassa the word *bu*, boy, is pronounced in a way for which the Ladâkhîs would adopt the spelling *pu*. We find occasional traces of the Lhassa pronunciation also in other words, for instance, in the name Buthrid, Educator of children, which is pronounced Puthrid. Another case is the name of the village Stog near Leh, which was altered to Tog for official correspondence, because in Lhassa an *s* before *t* is not pronounced.

The inscriptions at Mulbe are found on the north-side of the rock, which is crowned with two small modern monasteries. On the top of the rock are also seen the ruins of at least two distinct castles. One of them, the walls of which are roughly constructed, is called the Dard Castle; the other one, the stones of whose walls have been carefully fitted together, is called the Castle of the Ladâkhî Kings. According to the ideas of the people, the inscriptions date from the times of the Dards, but, as will be shown later on, they date from the times of the Ladâkhî Kings. It is, however, possible that Dard dialects were still spoken by the side of Tibetan, when the earliest inscription was carved.

The inscriptions are of great **historical interest,** because for the first time we find in them the **names of Ladâkhî Kings which are mentioned in the rGyalrabs,** the official history of Ladâkh; and because, for this reason, they can be dated approximately. It will be well, therefore, to give a rough outline of the history of Ladâkh, according to the *rGyalrabs.*

The first person to tell us something of Western Tibetan historiography was General Sir [then Major] Alexander Cunningham in his *Ladakh.* He did not believe in the first part of the history, because he had heard that the Baltis, when conquering Ladâkh in 1600 A. D., had destroyed all the ancient books, which was an unnecessary assumption, as there must have always been in existence a number of copies of a book like the *rGyalrabs,* and although several were destroyed, others probably survived. His History of Ladakh, therefore, begins with **King Thse-dbang-rnam-rgyal,** whom he calls **Chowang-namgyal.** He had the Tibetan text translated into Urdu and wrote down in English what he was told, and if we compare his account with that of the *rGyalrabs,* we see at once that he must have had before him much the same books as those translated later on by Schlagintweit and Marx.

Emil von Schlagintweit edited a somewhat imperfect copy of the *rGyalrabs* with a still more imperfect translation in 1866 (*Abhandlungen der kgl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften,* I. Cl., X. Bd., III. *Abtheilung.*). The late Dr. Karl Marx, a Moravian Missionary at Leh, provided himself with a more correct copy of the *rGyalrabs,* and the first part of it appeared in 1891, soon after his death, with an excellent translation in *J. A. S. B.,* Part I. Of the second part, the Tibetan text being lost, only the English translation appeared in the same *Journal,* 1894. The third part was also published in it in 1902, consisting of the Tibetan text and an English translation by Mrs. Francke. On this work by Dr. Karl Marx are based the remarks on the history of Ladâkh which follow.

The whole chronology of the ancient kings would be in a fluid condition, were it not that fortunately we have a few kings with fixed dates, and going by them, the other kings can be given some approximate date. The following are **the fixed dates: Langdarma; Tsongkhapa; the conquest by the Baltis; the conquest by the Dogras.**

The following is a list of the Ladâkhî Kings, arranged according to generations, not according to probable length of reign: —

List of the Ladâkhî kings.

Name.	*Approximate date.*
1. Langdarma	Beginning of the 10th century A. D.
2. Odsrung	About 920—1000 A. D.
3. Lde-dpal-'akhor-btsan	
4. Skyid-lde-nyima-mgon, he conquered Western Tibet ...	

No.	King	Period
5.	Lha-chen-dpalgyi-mgon, he received Ladâkh as one-third of his father's realm.	About 1000—1100 A. D.
6.	'aGro-mgon, and Chosmgon	
7.	Lha-chen-gragspa-lde	
8.	Lha-chen-byang-chub-sems-dpā	
9.	Lha-chen-rgyalpo, he was the founder of the first Tibetan lamasery in Ladâkh, at Likir.	About 1100—1200 A. D.
10.	Lha-chen-utpala, he conquered Lahoul and Purang ..	
11.	Lha-chen-nag-lug, he was the founder of Wanla and Khalatse.	
12.	Lha-chen-dge-bhe	
13.	Lha-chen-joldor	About 1200—1300 A. D.
14.	bKrashis-mgon	
15.	[Lha-rgyal][1]	
16.	Lha-chen-jo-dpal	
17.	Lha-chen-dgos-grub; henceforth all novices have to go to Central Tibet.	About 1300—1400 A. D.
18.	Lha-chen-rgyalbu-rinchen[2]	
19.	Lha-chen-shesrab, he built the village Senge sgang near Sabu.	
20.	Lha-chen-khri-btsug-lde; he built 108 stûpas in Leh, and 2 × 108 in Sabu.	
21.	Lha-chen-grags-'abum-lde, contemporaneous with bTsong khapa, whose date is 1378—1441 A. D. This king will be treated more fully under Inscription No. 1.	About 1400—1450 A. D.
22.	Lha-chen-gragspa-'abum, younger brother of the preceding; he built Tingmogang[3] and reigned there.	
23.	Lha-chen-bhara; he was the son of Lha-chen-gragspa-'abum.	About 1450—1550 A. D.
24.	Lha-chen-bhagan; he deposed the sons of Lha-chen-grags-'abum-lde.	
25.	Lha-chen-lha-dbang-rnam-rgyal; deposed by his younger brother bKrashis-rnam-rgyal.	

[1] This king is doubtful. The name occurs only in Schlagintweit's MS. It is quite possible also that it stands in the wrong place. One great advantage of taking it out here would be that it gets king Lha-chen-rgyalbu-rinchen's date in closer correspondence with the *Râja Tarangiṇî* of Kashmir.

[2] This king apparently occurs in the *Râja Tarangiṇî* under the name of Rinchana Bhoti, *i.e.*, Rinchen the Tibetan. It must be understood that in the above only the word Rinchen is the proper name; *lha chen* means 'great god,' and is the title of many kings; *rgyalbu* means 'prince.' This king invaded Kashmir in 1314 A. D. and reigned in Kashmir from 1315—1318 A. D., according to Cunningham. If Cunningham's date is correct, I am wrong by 10—20 years, which is not much considering the great uncertainty of the whole. It is of some particular interest that the *Râja Tarangiṇî* specially states that a Tibetan prince quarrelled with his father and therefore left home. For this reason we do not find Rinchen mentioned as a 'king,' but only as a 'prince,' in the Tibetan record. Before he left Ladâkh a son had probably been born to him.

[3] As we know from the Balu-mkhar Inscriptions, the original name of this village was mThing-brang, house of the lapis lazuli. The present name γTing-sgang, as we find it in the *r-Gyalrabs*, was probably given in recollection of the Tibetan place-name γTing-skyes. There is no proper sense in the present name γTing-sgang; for *γting* means 'deep' (of water) and *sgang* 'hill-spur.' But whether the present name ought to be spelt mThingmos-gang, 'full of lapis lazuli,' or mThingmo-sgang, 'lapis lazuli hill,' I must leave undecided.

26.	Lha-chen-Thse-dbang-rnam-rgyal. Ladâkh was conquered by the Baltis about 1600 A. D.	About 1550—1600 A. D.
27.	'aJam-dbyangs-rnam-rgyal, brother of the preceding ...	About 1600—1800 A. D.
28.	Senge-rnam-rgyal, son of the Balti princess Khatun; he built the palace of Leh.	
29.	bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, victory over the invading Turks ...	
30.	Lha-chen-bde-legs-rnam-rgyal; great battle of Basgo, when the invading Mongols and Central Tibetans were defeated with the help of the Kashmiris.	
31.	Lha-chen-nyima-rnam-rgyal	
32.	Lha-chen-bde-skyong-rnam-rgyal...	
33.	Thse-dbang-rnam-rgyal	
34.	Thse-dpal-mi'agyur-don-grub-rnam-rgyal, king of the Dogra conquest which put an end to the political power of the Ladâkhî kings.	Known dates during his reign are 1805, 1822, 1834, 1841.

Note.

There is still an interesting reminiscence of Langdarma in the head-dress of the Ladâkhî ex-kings. They wear long hair to cover the middle part of the head. They say that Langdarma had to wear his hair in this fashion to cover two horns of one inch in length each, which grew out of his head. These horns proved that Langdarma was a devil in his capacity of a kind of Julian the Apostate of Buddhism. This is what the lamas say, but the idea of his having horns may have been suggested by the first part of his name '*lang*' or '*glang*,' which means 'ox.'

THE INSCRIPTIONS.

There are a number of pictures of *stûpas*, *om-maṇi-padme-hum's* and similar formulæ on the rock, besides the inscriptions given here. They were not copied, because they were of no particular interest.

INSCRIPTION No. I.

Text in Roman transliteration.

lama khyen,
chos rgyal bum lde yis thse phimai
las 'apras thongnas ni
mul 'abyepala: phyug thsir thog phud-
de phyag dpaspo
chunpa phud dangs.

Text in Classical Language and Orthography.

blama mkhyen.
chos rgyal 'abum ldeyis thse phyimai
las 'abras mthongnas ni
mul 'abyepala: phyug thsir thog phud-
de phyag dpe btangsso.
[or: *phyag thsallo*].
mchodpa phud btangs.

Translation.

Oh Lama, take notice [of this]!

The religious king 'aBum-lde, [1400—1450 A.D,] having seen the fruit of works in the future life: [gives order] to the men of Mulbe to abolish, above all, the living sacrifices and places the sign of his hand [on the rock], (or: and greets [the lama]). The [bloody] offerings are abolished.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

phima, instead of *phyima*, corresponds to the modern dialectical pronunciation of the word. There are no examples of the pre-classical orthography in this inscription. At the same time there do not occur any characteristic words in it which might exhibit the ancient orthography. Nevertheless, we may say this much: if the *y* after the *ph* was lost, it is not likely that *y* after *m* was written in those days, for instance *myi* and *mye*, instead of modern *mi* and *me*, which would be one of the characteristics of pre-classical orthography. My conclusion is that it is probable that the pre-classical orthography, as exhibited in the Stein MSS. of Endere, was no longer in existence in 1440 A. D.

'apras, instead of *'abras*, is an instance of the influence of the Lhassa dialect on the educated people of Ladâkh, unless it is an ordinary orthographical mistake. After about 1300 A. D. all novices were sent to Central Tibet.

mul 'abye, the name of the village means 'opening of silver.' It may refer to an ancient silver-mine.

phyug thsir is a word which is still in use. It signifies the bloody sacrifices which take place every year in spring before a *lha tho* or altar of the Pre-buddhist Religion of Ladâkh. Whether the custom is originally Dard or Tibetan, I cannot decide. The word *phyug thsir* means literally 'turn of cattle,' because every year another peasant has to give one of his animals to be sacrificed; generally it is a goat, but the word *phyug* seems to point to oxen or cows being sacrificed originally. In Khalatse these sacrifices are very cruel, as the heart is torn out of the living animal. About Saspola, another village, I am informed that only some blood of the goat is spilled before the *lha tho.*

phyag dpaspo; this is the only difficult word in the inscription. Two explanations are possible. (1), *dpas* is the ancient form of the present word *dpe*, likeness, example, just as we find *thoras* as the ancient form of *thore* in the Ladâkhî dialect. This would make the translation run, 'places the mark of his hand on the rock,' and there is a mark of a red hand on the rock. The red colour used is of the same kind as that smeared on flour-offerings as a substitute for the blood of animals. The inscription would thus refer to the mark of a hand, the red colour of which has of course been renewed again and again in course of time. (2) The expression stands for *phyag bas* (not *byas*), which phrase is used by Purigpas now-a-days in a similar way as *phyag thsal* in Ladâkh. It means 'making a salutation,' and this salutation would have to be understood as being offered by the king to the lama (bTsongkhapa).

chunpa is a dialectical Ladâkhî word which is used in the sense of *mchodpa*, sacrifice. Here it can only mean 'living sacrifice.'

dangs, instead of *btangs*, can only be explained as an orthographical mistake, which is common even now-a-days.

Notes on the English Translation.

The inscription was carved by order of King 'aBum lde, whose full name is Lha-chen-gragspa-'abum-lde, the contemporary of the great reformer bTsongkhapa. Apparently it was not then customary to call the kings by their full names. From the *rGyalrabs* we learn that this king was generally called Lde, and that his brother, who was a minor king at mThingmo sgang, was called Gragspa (full name: Lha-chen-gragspa-'abum).

This inscription, containing an edict of the king, was probably carved shortly after bTsongkhapa's embassy to him. Of this embassy we read the following in the *rGyalrabs* (Marx's translation): "At that time it came to pass that the omniscient of the period of degeneration, the great bTsongkhapa-bLobzang-Dragspa, having in his possession a *Thse-dpag-med* about as long as a finger joint, which had originated from the blood of his nose, entrusted the same to two

ascetics, and said, 'Give it either to the one called Gragspa, or to the one called Lde.' When the two arrived in Mar-yul (Ladâkh), the one called Gragspa was in Nubra. They went into his presence, but he did not deign to look at them with so much as one eye. So they went on to Leh. On the morrow the king gave command: 'At to-day's Darbar, whosoever attends, be it ascetics, or Bheda, or Mon, or Tishi (three low castes), he should not be refused admittance.' Now when the two ascetics came into his presence, the king rose and met the two ascetics. The two ascetics made over the present, and the king was delighted with it. Taking the precious law of Buddha for his pattern, he built the Lamasery of Spe-thub (Spithug), though in reality he did not build it, but it came into existence by a miracle. Having built it, he caused many brotherhoods of Lamas to settle down (in the country)."

My explanation of the *Thse-dpag-med* is that it was a short summary of the doctrines of bTsongkhapa, perhaps written with his own blood, which had to be explained by the two ascetics. King 'aBum-lde seems to have had a sincere wish to purify the Buddhism of Ladâkh and to abolish the living sacrifices in the first place, and it is not likely that he published his edict at Mulbe only. In the other villages it was perhaps written on wooden boards, as, in spite of special enquiries, no other edict of a similar character has as yet been discovered. Apparently the edict did not meet with general approval, as is shown by Inscription No. 3 (see below), and, without doubt, the *phyug-thsir* sacrifice is still a general practice.

The date of the Inscription.

I put the date of the inscription at 1430-1440 A. D., because it is not very likely that bTsongkhapa, who died in 1441,[4] would have sent the embassy to Ladâkh in his early years. Besides the Spithug monastery, this king built a temple according to the pattern of the mTho-gling Temple on the upper Sutlej and the greatest *mchod-rten* of Ladâkh. The ruins of this tremendous structure can be seen a mile above the Commissioner's compound at Leh. It was called Tcu-bkrashis-od-mtho, and is now called Ti-serru, because it was built over the "yellow crag" — *tcu yserpo.*

The Legend of the Red Hand.

At the present day the following story is told about the print of a red hand on the rock, mentioned above. Ages ago a good king was asked by his people to relieve the poor from their taxes. He printed the red hand on the rock and said: Only those who can reach up to the red hand, will have to 'pay taxes.' In consequence of this order all the fatherless children were exempted from taxes, until they were tall enough to touch the red hand. It requires a man of about six feet to reach the red spot. Men of six feet are only found among the 'aBrogpa or Dards now-a-days. To-day there is hardly a single man in the village who would be able to touch the red mark. If the legend were true, it would have meant in earlier days that only the Dards had to pay taxes and not the shorter Tibetans of Mulbe.

INSCRIPTION No. II.

Position: About the middle of the rock, below Inscription No. I.

Text in Roman Transliteration.

Om maṇi padme hūm hri
om sbasti chos rgyal
mchog gyur rgyalpo khri rgyal yab yum sras bcas ysum
gyi sku drin dpā yongyi bdagpo 'agarba montiyis (thongnga?)
don ldan rtsa brgyad maṇi bzhangs dgebas potalaru skyebar

[4] This date is given in Grünwedel and Pander's *Pantheon.* I see in *Journal* and *Proceedings*, A. S. B., Vol. I., No. 4, 1905, that Sarat Chandra Das gives 1418 A.D. as the year of bTsongkhapa's death.

Text in Classical Orthography.

Om maṇi padme hūm hri
om sbasti chos rgyal
mchog 'agyur rgyalpo khri rgyal yab yum sras bcas ysum
gyi sku drin[la] dpā yongyi bdagpo mgarba montiyis
don ldan [brgya]rtsa brgyad maṇi bzhengs; dgebas potalaru skyebar [gyurcig].

Translation.

Om, happiness be to you, Manipadmâ, through the kindness of the religious king mChog-'agyur-rgyalpo-khri-rgyal, father, mother [and] son, the three together, the head-sacrificer of the heroes, the smith Monti, [in brackets: did you see it ?] erected 108 *mchod rten*; through [this] virtue may he be reborn at Potala!

Notes on the Tibetan text.

padme; as regards the writing of this word, now-a-days the *d* is generally written with the second syllable, and then the *d* and *m* form one compound letter. As will be seen in the plate, the *d* is here written with the first syllable, and thus the compound letter is avoided. The latter mode of writing I have always found in ancient carvings.

mchog 'agyur rgyalpo, may not be part of the name of the king, but may stand to express the idea 'may he be elevated!'

khri rgyal, seems to be the proper name of the king; it means 'throne-king.'

dpā yongyibdagpo; lit., the owner of the sacrifices of the heroes.

Monti, is not a Tibetan name, but may be Dard.

thongnga, which I put in brackets, seems to be an addition by another hand.

rtsa brgyad, in similar connections is always understood to mean 108, not 28, as the modern dialect has it.

don ldan maṇi, is a certain kind of *mchod rten.*

The inscription was left unfinished, but it was necessary to add only two more syllables to make it complete.

Notes on the English Translation.

This inscription is one of the ordinary type of Ladâkhî rock-inscriptions, and is a record of the erection of *mchod-rten*. Still, it would be of some historical interest, if it were possible to identify the name of the king mentioned in the inscription with one of the kings of the *rGyalrabs*. This, however, I find impossible, as neither a king mChog-gyur-rgyalpo-khri-rgyal, nor a king Khri-rgyal can be traced there. For this reason it is impossible to date the inscription approximately. But I believe we shall not be far wrong, if we say that it was probably carved after Inscription No. I., and before Inscription No. IV., which is placed below it (1440—1600 A. D.). It is possible that the king, given here, is one of the vassal-kings of the kings of Leh. The line of the Khri Sultans, for instance, often tried to shake off the sovereignty of the kings of Leh. Before they became Muhammadans, their title may have been Khri-rgyal. They had their residence at Kartse, not far from Mulbe. It is of some interest to see a smith in a high position, and in Inscription No. IV. also we find a smith among the nobility. It is possible that among the Dards the position of the smiths was not so low as it was among the Tibetans.

As regards my rendering of the well-known formula '*Om maṇi padme hum!*' I have followed Dr. F. W. Thomas, who explains it as a vocative case of a female name Maṇipadmâ. The ordinary translation is 'Oh thou jewel in the lotus!'

INSCRIPTION No. III.

Position : To the right of No. I.

Text in Roman Transliteration.

ska 'athabs yin
rtsobola γsanpar

Text in Classical Orthography.

dkā thabs yin
γtsobos γsanpar [mdzodcig].

Translation.

[This] is a difficult way.
May the Lord hear [us]!

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

ska, instead of *dka,* is one of the many cases in which a *d, b,* or *γ* prefix assumes the pronunciation of *s* or *r*.

rtsobo, instead of *γtsobo,* is another example of the same kind.

This inscription also was left unfinished, but it was necessary to add only two more syllables.

Notes on the English Translation.

This short inscription refers evidently to Inscription No. I., which makes its date 1400—1440 A. D. In it is expressed the voice of the people with regard to the edict of king 'aBum-lde. The people were afraid that the god to whom the goat had been annually offered would be displeased, if it was withheld from him, and apparently wish to tell him that it was not their fault if the sacrifices were discontinued. This god is addressed by the title *γtsobo,* Lord. Of course, the sacrifices were resumed later.

INSCRIPTION No. IV.

Position : Below Inscription No. II.

Text in Roman Transliteration.

Om s[ba]sti dam sridla pad rgyud rgyalpo
rgyalmo co 'amir 'akhadum nyisgyi chab
srid rgyas 'agyur cig lhonpo husen mir chos
don gru[b]pa yongyi bdagpo the gar 'agaripa (lnga yon 'adag gūrubu yu lnga)
rtsig rbon ali mama so rnams ldancig (khanmo bis 'ajoms)
(man khang zhung sa yin) rtso cas kris rgyas cig.

Text in Classical Orthography.

Om sbasti; dam sridla pad brgyud rgyalpo
rgyalmo jo mir khatun γnyiskyi chab
srid rgyas 'agyur cig; blonpo husen mir, chos
don grubpa yongyi bdagpo the mgar 'agaripa (lnga yon bdag guru bu γyu lnga)
rtsig dpon ali mahmad bsod rnams ldancig; (khanmo bis 'ajoms)
(maṇ khang γzhung sala yin) γtso bcasla bkrashis rgyas shig.

Translation.

Om, happiness be to you! During [their] holy reign may the progeny of the king of the lotus-family and of the noble queen Mir Khatun become many! May the minister Husen Mir and the fulfiller of the meaning of religion, the sacrificer, 'aGaripa, the seal-smith, and the architect Mahmad bSod-rnams, prosper! May happiness spread over this assembly of lords!

In brackets: (apparently later additions) the five priests, the five turquoise-sons of the teacher; the wife of the Khan, Bís-'ajoms; the *maṇi*-house is in the middle.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

pad brgyud, the lotus-family. This is the name of the ancient Buddhist family of the Ladâkhî Kings. The proper name of the particular king was 'aJam-dbyangs, who, after being defeated by the Baltis, was compelled to marry a Musulman lady, the daughter of Ali Mir.

co, instead of *jo,* either shows the influence of the Lhassa dialect, or it is an ordinary orthographical mistake.

'aMir 'akhadum is a case of not fully grasping a foreign name.

chab-srid, does not mean 'government' in Western Tibet, but 'progeny,' as I am informed. But I must add that since I read the Mulbe inscriptions, I have found other inscriptions in which the word *chab-srid* has to be translated by 'Government.'

lhonpo, instead of *blonpo,* is due to mispronunciation. The *h* after the *l* is due to such spellings as *lha* and *lho,* instead of the more correct *hla* and *hlo.*

the gar, is said to be a particular kind of smith. I believe of those who make seals (*thetse*). The compound formed of *thetse* and *mgarba* would be *the-mgar.*

guru, teacher. This is the first time that I have met with this Sanskrit word in the colloquial language of Ladâkh.

rbon instead of *dpon.* The *d* prefix became an *r* prefix, as is often the case, and the *b* instead of *p* is an ordinary orthographical mistake.

Mama So-rnams. Mama is still the ordinary Ladâkhî pronunciation of the name Mahmad. So-rnams is apparently the ancient careless pronunciation of the Tibetan name *bSod-rnams.* It is remarkable that the same personality possesses both Musalman names and Buddhist names.

khanmo, a daughter or wife of a Khan.

Bis 'ajoms. This name is said to occur still.

maṇ khang, house of *maṇi*-[stones]. This is a kind of *mchod-rten.*

γtso bcas, "assembly of Lords," or "the Lords together," may also be translated by "aristocracy."

kris for *bkrashis,* is a well-known abbreviation.

Notes on the English Translation.

The date of this inscription can be fixed with some certainty. The inscription contains in its first part a wedding congratulation, which was probably carved on the rock on the occasion of King aJam-dbyangs' marriage to Ali Mir's daughter rGyal-Khatun. We find similar wishes expressed in Ladâkhî Songs Nos. XVIII. and XIX., *ante,* 1902. The Ladâkhîs were defeated by the Baltis, and Ali Mir, the Balti general, compelled the Ladâkhî king to marry his daughter. The wedding took place about in 1600 A. D. The name of the queen, Mir Khatun, represents a combination of the father's and the daughter's names. I am told by the natives, it is a general custom in Purig to add the father's name, or part of it, to the names of the children. In Ladâkh proper, instead of the father's name, the name of the house is added.

Rock Inscriptions at Mulbe.

Plate I

No. 1.

ཨོཾ༔ ། ། ལྷ་མོ་ཁྲུམ།

ཆོས་རྒྱལ་བྲུམ་ལྡེ་ཡིས་ཚེ་ཡི་མ་རི་

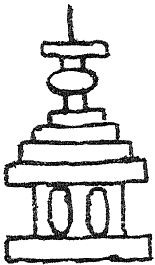
རྒྱལ

ཕྱོགས་འཕྲུལ་ཁྲོང་ནས་ནི་

སྐལ་འདྲེ་པ་ལའོ༔ ཕྱུག་ཆེར་ཕྱིག་བྱུང

དེ་ཕྱུག་དཔལ་པོ

ཆུན་པ་ཕུང་རངས



No. 2.

ཨོཾ་མ་ཧི་པད་མེ་ཧཱུྃ་ཧྲཱི།

ཡིམ་སྤྲ་ཧཱུྃ། ཆོས་རྒྱལ

མཆོག་གྱུར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྲི་རྒྱལ་ལབ་ཕྱི་སྲུས་བཙས་གསོ་

ཀྱི་སྐུ་རྡིན་དཔལ་ཡིན་གྱི་བདག་པོ་འཁོར་བ་མེད་དི་ཡིས། ཁྲོང

རྟེན་སྟོན་རྩ་བརྒྱད་མ་ཏི་བཞངས་དགོང་བས་པོ་ཏ་ལ་རྩ་སྐྱེ་བར

No. 3

སྐུ་འབྲིབས་ཡིན།

རྟོ་བོ་ལ་གསེན་པར

A. H. Francke, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho.

Indian Antiquary.

Rock Inscriptions at Mulbe.

Plate II

No. 4.

ཡ། ཨོཾ་[illegible] ཀྲི་དམ་གྲིར་ལ་པར་བཀྲུར་རྒྱལ་པོ་

རྒྱལ་[illegible] ཙོ་འམིར་འཁ་སྣམ་ཉིས་ཀྱི་ཆབ་

གྲིར་རྒྱས་འགྱུར་ཅིག་སློན་པོ་ཧུ་སེན་མིར་ཆེས་

དོན་གྲུ[illegible]པ་ཡིན་ཀྱི་བདག་པོ་བྲིག་ར་འབག་རི་པ་ ཐུ་ཡིན་འདོན་ཀུ་ཤ་ཧུ་ཤ་ཤྭ་

ཅིག་ཐྲིན་ཨ་ལི་མ་མཆོ་ནམས་ལྡན་ཅིག། ཁན་མོ་བྲིས་འཛམས་

མན་ཁང་ཞུར་ས་ཡིན། ཅོ་ཅས་ཀྲིས་རྒྱས་ཅིག།

No. 5.

ཀློན་པོ་ཧུ་སེན་ཨ་ལི་སྐྱབས་ ཕེལ་ལེ་

དེ་མ་ཅིག་

རི་གསྒྲིུ་ཞྭ་ཡུ་པ་ཡིན་

གྲིས་ཁན་འོན་པོ་དང་

དཀོན་འབྱིར་ཡིན་

བཀྲིས།

A. H. Francke, Del. B. E. S. Press, Litho.

With reference to that part of text which is given in brackets, I may say that in the minds of certain people the list of the nobility was not considered complete, and that for this reason the first two additions were made. The notice about the *maṇ-khang* (*mchod-rten*) had probably nothing to do with the rest of the inscription.

INSCRIPTION No. V.

Position: To the left of Inscriptions Nos. II. and IV.

Text in Roman Transliteration.

blonbo husen ali skyabs ['a]phelle
'oma cig
di γsum zhuwapa yin
briskhan 'onpo dang
dgon 'abyong yin
bkris.

Text in Classical Orthography.

blonpo husen, ali, skyabs 'aphelle
'oma γcig
'adi γsum zhubapa yin
brismkhan 'onpo dang
dkon 'abyong yin.
bkrashis.

Translation.

Minister Husen, Ali [and] Skyabs—'aphelle,
[who are all of] one mother,
these three are the petitioners.
The writers [of the inscription] are the astrologer
and dKon—'abyong.
Happiness!

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

'aphelle may either represent an original name *'aphel-las*, or it may be the word *'aphel* furnished with the termination of respect.

'oma γcig, originally means 'one milk.' It expresses the idea that the three drank from one mother's breast.

zhuwapa, instead of *zhubapa*, comes near to the actual pronunciaton of the word.

dgon, instead of *dkon*, can only be explained as an orthographical mistake, which shows once more how uncertain the people are about the actual phonetical value of *tenuis* and *media*.

bkris is another well-known abbreviation of the word *bkrashis*.

Notes on the English Translation.

What the petition of the three men was will probably always remain obscure. The Tibetans have always been very fond of making petitions. The occurrence of Muhammadan names in it seems to show that it was carved after 1600 A. D., *i. e.*, after the conquest of Ladâkh by the Baltis.

THE CHUHRAS.[1]

BY THE REV. J. YOUNGSON, D.D., CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION; SIALKOT.

[Under the title of "The Genealogies of Lal Beg," Sir Richard Temple, in his *Legends of the Panjab*, gave several *kursînâmas* or so-called genealogies of the Chuhṛâs, but "after repeated enquiries extending over several years" he was unable to obtain more than these and 'some fragmentary tales related verbally.' The Rev. J. Youngson, D.D., of the Church of Scotland Mission at Sialkot, has, however, since 1891, been able to obtain not only an apparently complete *kursînâma*, but also a complete version of the songs sung by the sweepers at weddings and so on. These he has translated, and thus the following pages contain a very full account of the caste, its observances and ritual. As pointed out by Sir R. Temple in his *Legends*, "the *kursînâmas*, as a matter of fact, contain also their stories and their ritual, as much of them, at any rate, as they ever commit to paper." Dr. Youngson, however, has taken much of the material now published from a MS. which he found at the village of Kharolîâṅ in the Siâlkot District, and he was informed that another book existed at Gujrânwâlâ, which he had not seen. Enquiry would probably result in the discovery of other MSS. Nothing has as yet been printed by the Chuhṛâs from these records, and fuller accounts of them would be of interest. — H. A. ROSE, *Superintendent of Ethnography, Panjab.*]

I. — CONSTITUTION OF THE TRIBE.

Origin and internal organisation.

I VENTURE to write about this tribe shortly, and with considerable diffidence, as contributing an uncertain quantity to the knowledge of the origin, manners, customs, and, if we may dignify it by the name, literature of this people. This small endeavour to add to the materials from which their story must be finally written, has been determined by a real interest in the people themselves, and terms of close intimacy with them. The Chuhṛâs of the Panjâb, by whatever name they may be known elsewhere in India, are a people worthy of study, destined, as they probably are, on account of their hardy, patient, kindly nature, as well as their simple religion, to rise in the social scale, while they benefit by the opportunities which the British Government has brought them. I claim no value for the account that I give of them — that will be estimated by those who are qualified to judge. It may be of some interest; it may be useless. The writing of it has given *me* a better insight into their character and life.

1. Caste divisions.

In order to ascertain the names of the various divisions of the Chuhṛâs I thought the best plan was to invite a number of them to give me all available information. I seated them in my room in Siâlkôṭ one day, conceiving that I had an opportunity to obtain the very best that could be had, for there were priests and genealogists among them. But I had reckoned without my host, for the very mention of tribal distinctions set them all by the ears. When, however, they had exhausted their first ardour, I was furnished with the following tribal names.

The original division, they said, was into Lûtê, Jhâe, and Ṭêngrê, the Lûtê being Manhâs Râjpût, wandering Dôgrâs; the Jhâe, Dhâê or Sâhî being named from their founder, who, when a child, slept beside a hedgehog (*sêh*); and the Ṭêngrê being makers of winnowing sieves, living in the desert, and named Ṭêngrê on account of their pride. Besides the three original divisions, there are Gôriyê, so called from the fact that their founder was born in a tomb (*gôr*). They hail from Dehli. The founder was Shâh Jahân's son. He was also called Kaṇḍârâ, because he spoke harshly.

Next come Paṭhân, originally from Kâbul, in Akbar's time. There were three brothers, of whom Ḍhagâuâ was the eldest. They entered the country as *faqîrs*, or *pîrs*. Gil; from Chakrârî in Gûjrânwâlâ. A tree sheltered the first of the name in a time of rain. Bhaṭṭî; from the Bâr in Gûjrânwâlâ, Pinḍî Bhaṭṭiâṅ, Dullâ being their chief. Sahôtrê; in Akbar's time Sahôtrâ was thrown to the tigers, but the tigers did not injure him. Soênî Bhunniâr; descendants of Râjâ Karn, the Brâhman who gave away 1¼ maunds of gold every day before he ate his food.

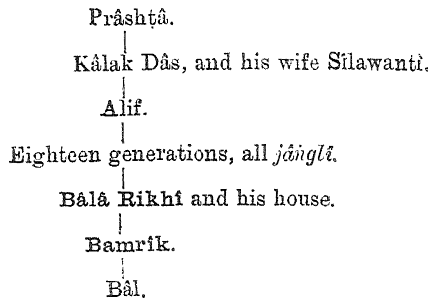
[1] [The great interest in this article is the light it throws on the religious notions of the Lâlbêgî Mehtars — *vide* Vol. I., *Legends of the Panjab*, the section on "the Genealogies of Lâl Bêg." — ED.]

Then follow Laddaṛ, Khôkar, Khônjê, Kalîânê, Rattî, Maṭhî, Bûrṭ, Mômê (in Illâqah Mômâ near Gôndhal), Hauns, Chaprîban (in Khâk beyond Lahore, makers of wicker-work), Ghussûr, Balhîm, Labantê, Nahîr.

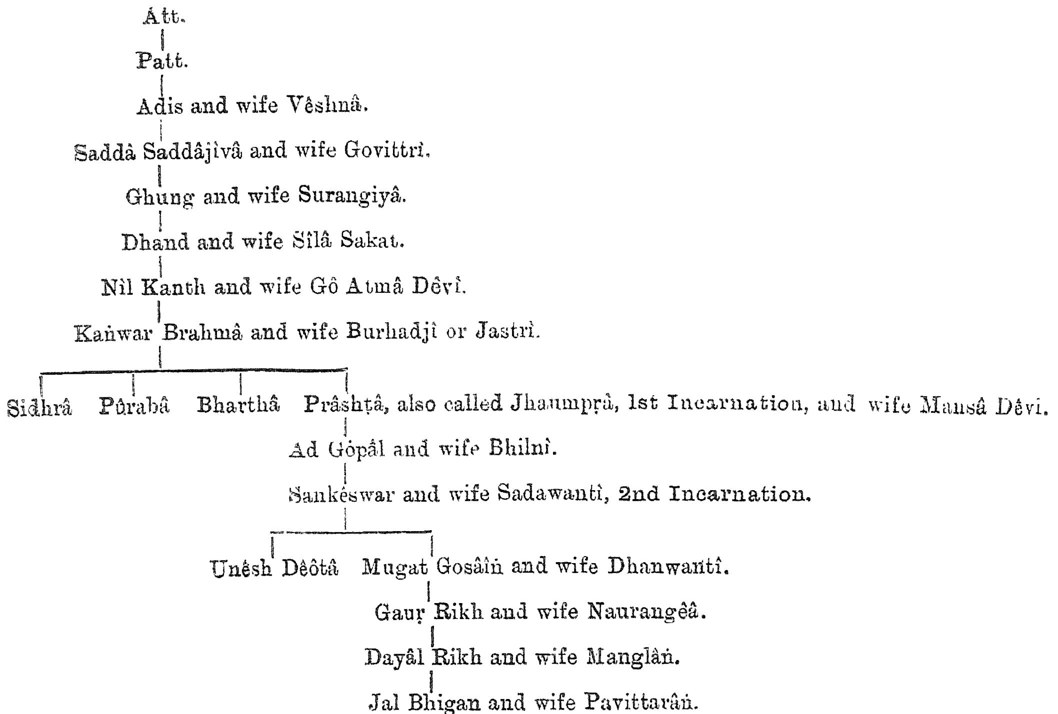
The Ḍûm, the Chuhṛâ, the Mìrâsî, the Mâchchî, the Jhîwar, and the Changaṛ, are all of the same origin. They claim to be indigenous in the Siâlkôṭ District, at least as far as the older divisions are concerned.

In the time of the Pâṇḍavas and Kairavas there were four sons of Kañwar Brahmâ, *viz.*, Pûrabâ, Pârthâ, Siddhrâ, and Prâshtâ, the last being also called Jhaumpṛâ, from living in a jungle. There are other names applied to him and to his successors, such as Ghuṅgur Bêg, Ail Malûk, Lâl Bêg, Pîr Chhôṭâ, Bâlmîk, Bâlâ. The following genealogical tree was given, but I presume it is a very uncertain one :—

A Genealogy.



Another Genealogy or Kursînâma.



A

Angash Dêôtâ and wife Satwantî.

Agganwar and wife Asnâ.

Sankh Pat or Santôkh and wife Jâss Vantî, 3rd Incarnation.

Bâlâ Rikhî and wife Shâm Rûp, 4th Incarnation.

Bîr Bamrîk and wife Râjwantî, 5th Incarnation.

Ball and wife Nau Chandrâṅ.

Iswar Bâlâ and wife Mansâ, 6th Incarnation.

Bâlmîk and wife Mahêṅ, 7th Incarnation.

Ud Rikh   Budh Rikh and wife Salikâṅ.

Mârwar Didârî and wife Dayâlî.

Nûr Didârî and wife Asâwantî.

Shâm Surandâ and wife Surgûṅ, 8th Incarnation.

Shâm Barbarî and wife Lachhmî.

Srî Rang Shâm and wife Râjwantî.

Sati and wife Sâlô.

Shâh Safâ and wife Sâvâṅ.

Arjân and wife Arfâṅ.

Pîr Sâval and wife Jâfarâṅ.

Âsâ and wife Janatâṅ   Qâsâ.

Ahir Malûk and wife Sikiâwatî.

Ghuṅgar Bêg and wife Nâsarâṅ.

Bâz Bêg and wife Sadîqâṅ.

Barêhhî Bêg and wife Varsâṅ.

Lâl Bêg and wife Satilâṅ, 9th Incarnation.

Bâlâ Sher (also called Pîr Jhôṭâ, the wrestler) and wife Amôlikâṅ, 10th Incarnation.

Sadâ Bâlâ Lâl Khân and wife Roshanâṅ.

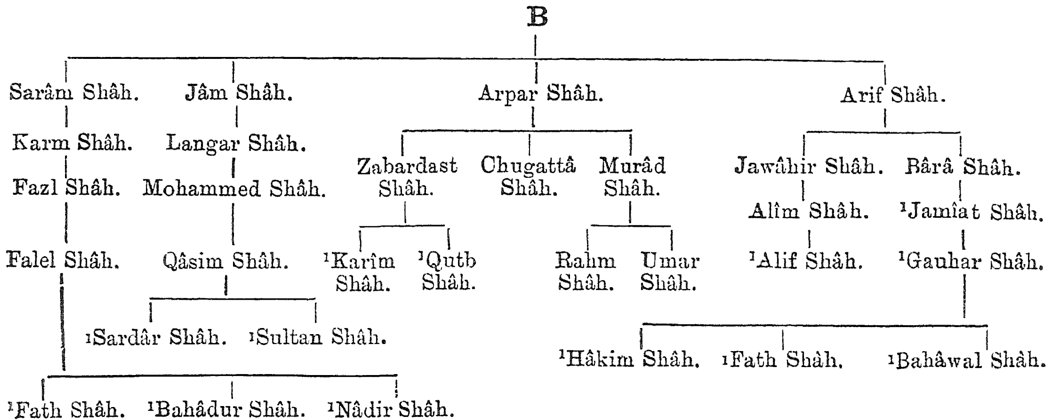
Pîr Dhagânâ and wife Nûr Dîvânî.

Shâh Sûrâ and wife Gussâṅ.

Mahî Shâh.   Dargâhî Shâh.   Shâh Akhlâs and wife Lachhmî.

Ghasîtâ Shâh.   Yârâ Shâh.   Sêvâ Shâh and wife Sarsî.

B



Bâlâ is a name given to the leaders. Another genealogy appears in the religious service.

The Gil will not eat *batâûṅ*, the egg-plant (*bhatâ bart*): the Lûtê do not eat hare or rabbit: the Kanarê (?) abstain from cloves: the Sahôtrê refuse to look on a tiger; at marriages, however, they make the image of a tiger which the women worship: the Bhaṭṭî will not sit on a bench of boards or bricks: no Chuhṛâ will eat *sêh*, or hedgehog.

2. Governing body.

There representative assembly, or governing body, is the Painch, Panch, Panchâyat, the members of which are chosen by the people, and the head of which, *i.e.*, the Pîr Panch, or Sar Panch, is selected by the other members. I have heard them speak of a *kharpanch* too, *i.e*, the most troublesome member of the *panch*! The office of the *pîr panch* is held permanently, and is even in some cases hereditary. If the *pîr* is unable to preside at the meetings his place may be taken by a *sarbarâh*, or substitute, for the time being. The *painch* settles disputes of all sorts, having to interfere especially in matters of marriage and divorce; it also looks after the poor. It punishes offenders by excommunication, *hukka pânî band*, and also by imposing fines of 20, 40, 100 rupees, or even more. The punishment of excommunication, of being *barâdarî sê judâ*, is a heavy one, pointing to the fact that the people, valuing so highly the opinion of their fellow-men, are amenable to the rules of their society by reason of sanctions affecting their standing in the society. All over the Panjâb the dearest thing to a Panjâbî is his *'izzat*, *i.e.*, the estimation in which he is held by his fellows.

3. Rules of inter-marriage.

They do not marry within their own section, but they take wives from all the other divisions. Marriage with a wife's sister is permitted after the death of the wife. Marriage with the wife's mother, or wife's aunt, is not allowed. Two wives are allowed; the former of whom is considered the head, and has peculiar rights and privileges. The wives live together in the same house. Marriage takes place when the girl is about 7 or 8, and even 5 years of age.

Marriages are arranged by the *nâî* (barber), the *chîmbâ* (washerman), and the *mîrâsî* (village bard and genealogist). The consent of the parents is necessary in all cases, except when the woman is a widow, or independent of her parents. Girls are never asked whom they will marry, or if they are willing to marry. They would not give an expression of their wishes, as they say, *sharm kê mârê*, for shame. There is no freedom of choice in the case of young persons marrying.

A price is paid by the bridegroom's family, the amount of it being settled by the two contracting parties. It becomes the bridegroom's property after marriage. An engagement to marry may be broken off in the case of a defect or blemish in either the man or the woman, and divorce may be

[1] Present representatives.

obtained after marriage by a regular "writing of divorcement." Divorced wives marry again. Children of different mothers inherit on equal terms, and all assume the father's section.

Widows remarry, but they have no price. The widow of an elder brother may marry a younger brother, and the widow of a younger brother may marry an elder brother. A widow marrying out of her husband's family takes her children with her.

II. — DOMESTIC CEREMONIES.

Birth and pregnancy.

In accouchement the woman sits, with one woman on each side of her, and one behind her. The *dâî*, or midwife, sits in front. No seat is used. When the child is born, the midwife places her head on the stomach of the mother to press out the blood, and with her feet and hands presses, *dabâtî*, the whole body. The *dâî* and women relations attend during and after confinement.

As an expression of joy at the birth of a child a string of *shîrîṅ*, or acacia leaves, is hung across the door. Green symbolises joy and blessing, *mubârakbâdî*. The leaves of the *akk*, a plant with poisonous milky juice, are thrown on the house to keep away evil spirits. If the child is a boy, born after two girls, they put the boy in a cloth, which they tie at both ends as a sort of cradle, and then they lift the child through the roof, while the nurse says :— *Trikhal kî dhâr â gaî*, *i. e.*, 'the third time thrives.' *Guṛ* is given to the friends, and ten days after that a dinner, to which the relatives are invited. At the end of 21 days the mother is over her separation, and resumes cooking.

Adoption.

Adoption of children is common, but with no special ceremonies.

Betrothal.

When a betrothal takes place, the *lâgî*, the marriage functionary and go-between, goes to the house of the boy's parents, taking with him sugar and dates for the inmates. He states the purpose of his visit, and there is placed before him five or ten, or more, rupees, of which he takes *one* and goes. If the people are very poor they intimate to the *lâgî* how much he should take out of the heap. Returning to the house of the girl's parents he makes his report, describing the boy, his prospects, circumstances, and so on.

A *lâgî* now goes from the boy's residence, carrying clothes and jewels for the girl. He himself is presented with a turban (*pagṛî*) and songs are sung by the womankind. The binding portion of the ceremonies is where the turban is given to the *lâgî* before witnesses.

In two, three, four, or five years, the girl's parents send the *lâgî* to say that it is time for the marriage. If the parents of the boy find it convenient, they declare that they are ready, and instruct the *lâgî* to ask the other house to send *nishân, bhôchâ, bahôṛâ*, which is a present of three garments, one to the *mirâsî*, one to the *nâî*, and the third to the Chuhṛâ who lights the fire. There is *guṛ* also in the basket containing the clothes, and this is distributed to the singing girls and others. The *lâgî* receives a rupee or two, and goes back with the news that the *bhôchâ* has been accepted. Then a *trêwar*, a present of seven garments, is prepared, and sent from the girl's residence, a white *phulkârî* (embroidered shawl), a *chôb* or *chop* (a red cotton shawl with a silk embroidered edge), a *chôlî* (bodice), a *kurtâ* (jacket), a *dariâî* (narrow silk cloth), a *lungî* or *sâya* (a check cloth or petticoat), two *pagṛîs* (turbans) and one *châdar* (sheet or shawl). The jacket has a gold button, *bîrâ*, and three silver ones called *allîâṅ*, and *gôṭâ*, or gold and silver lace, with the figure of a man embroidered on the right breast or shoulder. This present is sent to the boy's residence, where the garments are spread out on a bed to give the inmates and friends an opportunity of seeing them. The *lâgî* takes with him also *guṛ, pôtâssê* (sweets), and a rupee as *rôpnâ*, which he gives to the bridegroom. This *rôpnâ* may be seven dried dates, and other things. The boy's hands are dyed with *maindî* (henna) to signify joy. Again rupees are placed before the *lâgî*, of which he takes as many as he has been instructed to take. He then says that such and such a day has been fixed for the wedding,

and goes back to tell the bride's friends that the day is appointed. On this occasion songs are sung. The following are some of them :—

Marriage Songs.

The sister sings.

Ghôrî têrî vê, mallâ, sôhnî,
Sôhnî bandî kâṭhîâṅ dê nâl,
Kâṭhî ḍhêr tê hajâr.
Maiṅ manêhârî, bahinû dêâ surjnâ.
Surjnâ, vich vich bâgâṅ dê jaṅj ê âwê,
Jhuldêâṅ sehrêâṅ dê nâl,
Bajdêâṅ bâjêâṅ dê nâl,
Shahr nawâbâṅ dê ghar ḍhuknâ :
Ḍhuknâ vê amîrâṅ dî têrî châl,
Barkhurdârâṅ dâ têrâ baiṭhnâ.

Your mare is beautiful, beloved,
Beautiful with cushions,
Thousands of cushions.
I am a sacrifice to you, my sister's friend.
The procession has entered the gardens, friend,
With waving garlands as crowns,
With beating drums.
You come to the house of nobles.
Your gait is princely,
Your seat is graceful.

Chîrâ têrâ vê, mallâ, sôhnâ,
Sôhnâ bandâ kalgêâṅ dê nâl,
Kalgî ḍhêr tê hajâr.
Maiṅ manêhârî vê, bahinû dêâ surjnâ.
Surjnâ, vich vich bâgân dê jaṅj âwê,
Jhuldêâṅ sêhrêâṅ dê nâl,
Bajdêâṅ bâjêṅ dê nâl,
Maiṅ manêhârî vê bahinû dêâ surjnâ.

Your turban is beautiful, beloved,
Beautiful with plumes,
Thousands of plumes.
I am a sacrifice to you, my sister's friend,
Friend, the procession enters the gardens,
With waving garlands,
With the beat of drums.
I am a sacrifice to you, my sister's friend.

Vâlê têrê vê, mallâ, sôhnê,
Sôhnê bandê sabzêâṅ dê nâl,
Sabzê ḍhêr tê hajâr,
Maiṅ manêhârî vê bahinû dêâ surjnâ.
Surjnâṅ, vich vich bâgâṅ dê tussî âô,
Chôṭ nigârêâṅ dê nâl,
Jhuldêâṅ sêhrêâṅ dê nâl,
Maiṅ manêhârî vê bahinû dêâ surjnâ.
Shahr nawâbâṅ dê ghar ḍhuknâ,
Ḍhuknâ vê amîrâṅ dî têrî châl,
Bâdshâh jehêâ têrâ baiṭhnâ.

Your earrings are beautiful, beloved,
Beautiful with green drops,
Thousands of jewel drops.
I am a sacrifice to you, my sister's friend.
Come into the gardens, beloved,
With the beat of drums,
With the waving of garlands.
I am a sacrifice to you, my sister's friend.
You come to the house of nobles.
Your gait is that of princes,
Your seat is kingly.

The mother sings.

Ghôrî têrî vê, mallâ, sôhnî,
Jaṛî môtîâṅ dê nâl,
Môtî ḍhêr tê hajâr.
Maiṅ balhiârî, mâ dêâ surjnâ, &c.

Your mare is beautiful, beloved,
With set pearls.
Thousands of pearls.
I am devoted to you, the mother's friend.

Harîâ, Harîâ, gâwîyêṅ.
Harîâwâḷâ bannâ hê.
Kis ghar Harîâ gâvîyêṅ ?
Kis ḍhang viâh hê ?
Bâp ghar Harîâ gâvîyêṅ,
Vîr dâ ḍhang viâh hê.
Harîâṅ chugan lavêrîâṅ.
Dudh vadhêrâ dêhn hê.
Ghunḍâ khôl, bulâkâṅwâḷîê.
Khôl bulâkâṅ-wâḷîê.
Chîrêwâḷâ arz karê.
Ghunḍâ khôl, bulâkâṅ-wâḷîê.
Khôl, bulâkâṅ-wâḷîê.

Let us sing Harîâ, Harîâ.
The bridegroom is handsome.
In whose house shall we sing Harîâ ?
Whose marriage is to be celebrated ?
We will sing Harîâ, in the father's house.
It is our brother's marriage.
The cows graze on the green grass.
They give plenty of milk.
Untie the knot of your veil, nose-ringed lady.
Unloose it, nose-ringed lady.
The bridegroom entreats you.
Open your veil, nose-ringed lady,
Open it, nose-ringed lady.

They sing for the bride.

Aj mêrê lâl nê âûnâ.	My bridegroom comes to-day.
Buhâ puṭ galî vich lâvâṅ.	Take off the gate and put it in the lane.
Puṭ galî vich lâvâṅ.	Take it out, and put it in the lane.
Hîrê nî, hûṅj galîâṅ dâ kûṛâ;	Like Hîr I would sweep the lanes of dust;
Hûṅj galîâṅ dâ kûrâ.	Sweep the lanes.

They sing for the bridegroom.

Jadôṅ gharê âvâṅgâ,	When I come home,
Ôdôṅ pâîṅ sônê dâ chûrâ;	Put gold bracelets on thy wrists;
Pâîṅ sônê dâ chûrâ.	Put on golden bracelets.
Hîrê nî, hûṅj galîâṇ dîâṅ ṭhîkarîâṅ;	Like Hîr I would sweep the potsherds from the lanes;
Hûṅj galîâṅ dîâṅ ṭhîkarîâṅ,	Sweep the lanes clean of potsherds.
Jadôṅ gharê âwâṅgâ,	When I come home
Odôṅ pâîṅ tûṅ laung tavîtrîâṅ:	Then put on your nose and forehead jewels:
Pâîṅ tûṅ laung tavîtrîân.	Put on nose and forehead jewels.
Gôrî vê kahin pajjarkê âî hôṅ;	You are come well dressed;
Pahin pajjarkê âî hôṅ.	You have come well dressed.
Mukhôṅ tûṅ bôldâ kyûṅ nahîṅ?	Why do you not speak!
Mukhôṅ bôl, bandî dêâ sâîâṅ:	Speak, your handmaid's friend:
Bôl, bandî dêâ sâîâṅ;	Speak, O handmaid's friend.
Terîâṅ vê Allah nê pûrîâṅ pâîyâṅ;	God has blessed you;
Maulê nê pûrîâṅ pêîâṅ,	God has fulfilled your desires.
Kardî gôbî gôbî maiṅ.	I say *gôbî, gôbî* (to unite the songs).
Maṅg têrî, Pûrnâ, vê,	I am your bride, O Pûran,
Mâpê hôngê damâṅ dê lôbî.	My parents are avaricious.

Eight or nine days before the wedding they have what they call *mâî panâ*, that is, they take *ghungnîâṅ*, wheat roasted in the husk, to the quantity of five or six *parôpî*, which they put in the boy's lap. This he distributes with *guṛ* to his friends of the same age as he is seated on a basket. Wheat is distributed to the other friends, perhaps as much as four or five maunds, with *guṛ*. The boy is anointed with oil as many times as there are days before the marriage:—

The friends sing.

Mâîâṅ paindîâṅ lâṛê nû,	While the bridegroom is being anointed,
Allah dîâṅ vadhâîyâṅ.	May God bless him.
Allah dîâṅ vadhâîyâṅ.	May God bless him.
Pîrâṅ dîâṅ vadhâîyâṅ.	May the priests bless him.
Chaṛh jîvîṅ vê, chaṛh jîvîṅ.	May no misfortune befall you as you ride.
Sarb suhâgan deâ pâîṅâṅ	May the master of the beautiful
Vê lâṛî deâ saiyâṅ.	Bride live long
Â, mallâ, pâô mâîṅâṅ	Come, beloved, we will anoint you.
Têrêâṅ nâîyâṅ dê man châh.	Make happy the barbers.
Chîrêwâlê dîâṅ vêlâṅ dendî mâṅ:	The mother of the bridegroom gives gifts:
Velâṅ dêndî sû mâṅ:	The mother gives gifts:
Chîrêwâlê dê sagan mannândî mâṅ,	The mother of the bridegroom seeks good auspices,
Sagan mannândî mâṅ:	Good auspices she seeks:
Vêlâṅ dêndi sû mâṅ.	The mother gives gifts.

It is the *nâî* that anoints the bridegroom to make him sweet. The ointment is made of the flour of wheat and barley, *kachur* (a drug), *ḳhardal* (white mustard), *chaihaḷ charîlâ* (a scent), and oil. This preparation is called *baṭnâ*.

When the boy is taken off the basket they bind a *gânnâ* (ornament) or *kangnâ* (bracelet) on his wrist, which consists of an iron ring, a cowrie, and a *manka* (string) of *kach* (glass) beads. They put a knife into his hand at the same time. All this is to keep off the evil spirits. The same operation is performed on the girl by her friends; only she puts on a *kangnî* (wrist ornament) or *chûṛî* (bracelet) of iron, instead of taking a knife in her hand.

Betrothal takes place at any time from five years of age and upward, the consent of the parents only being necessary. If the betrothal is cancelled, the *painch* arranges the amount to be repaid, and recovers it.

When the wedding day approaches, a big dinner is given in the boy's home on a Wednesday, the entertainment extending to Thursday morning. This is called *mêḷ*.

The *bharjâî*, or other relative, with his wife, goes to the well for a jar of water, which they carry between them. With this water the *nâî* washes the bridegroom on a basket. His hair is washed with buttermilk and oil. Seven *chapnîân*, unburnt earthen plates, are placed before him. These he breaks with his feet. His uncle on the mother's side gives him a cow, &c., and the bride's uncle gives the same to her. The bridegroom puts on his new clothes, the old ones being appropriated by the *nâî*.

The uncles sing.

Pahin kapṛé, mallâ vé, pahin kapṛé,	Dress, beloved, dress,
Téré jaṅj sawêḷé apṛé.	That your marriage party may arrive early.
Pahin lungîân, mallâ vé, pahin lungîân.	Put on your turban, beloved, put it on
Térîân sabbé murâdân punnîân.	May all your wishes be gratified.
Térîân sabbô murâdân punnîân.	May all your desires be gratified.
Pahin lâché, mallâ vé, pahin lâché.	Gird yourself, beloved, gird yourself.
Térâ kâj savâran châché, &c.	Your uncles will grace the marriage.
Chaṛh ghôṛî, mallâ vé, chaṛh ghôṛî.	Mount your mare, beloved, mount your mare.
Téré nâḷ bharâvân dî jôṛî.	With you are your two brothers.

The bridegroom's sister sings and gives him his clothes.

The bridegroom's sister sings.

Méré ammâ bâbé jâyâ.	My own brother, my parents' child,
Tainû chaṛhiyâ rûp savâyâ.	Your handsome appearance is enhanced.
Tû pahin, main mul dénîân.	Dress yourself, I will pay for the dress.
Bahô uchche, mâ té péô nû puchhké.	Seat yourself with leave of father and mother.
Chaṛh ghôṛîyé, téré naḷ bharâvân dî jôṛîyé.	Mount your mare, with your two brothers.
Mallâ, nikkâ nikkâ sût	Beloved, fine threads spun by your sister
Bahin katiyâ vé mallâ.	Have made your turban beautiful.
Nikkâ, nikka sût	With fine thread,
Téré paggé âyâ rûp.	Your turban is beautiful.
Mâû ṭhôk unâyâ.	My mother had it woven,
Tû pahin, main mul dénîân.	Put it on, I will pay.
Tu pahin layâ vé,	You have put it on,
Méré ammâ bâbé jâyâ.	Son of my father and mother,
Tainû chaṛhiyâ rûp savâyâ.	How beautiful you look.
Wé dal kangnâ vé !	O Saffron, Saffron!
Vé tûn kéhṛé désôn âéôn ?	Where have you come from?
Késar sôhnîâ vé !	O Saffron, beautiful Saffron!
Nâî ragaṛ kaṭôré pâéôn.	The barber prepared you in the cup.

Vê ḍal kaṅgnâ vê!	O Saffron, Saffron!
Tû tê Pûrab dêsôṅ âêôṅ.	You come from the East.
Vê ḍal kangnâ vê!	O Saffron, Saffron!
Vê tû kis kis paggê lâêôṅ?	Whose turban did you first adorn?
Tû Yusaf paggê lâêôṅ.	It was Joseph's.
Vê ḍal kaṅgnâ vê,	O Saffron, Saffron!
Tû Dâûdê paggê lâêôṅ,	It was David's.
Vê ḍal kaṅgnâ vê,	O Saffron, Saffron!
Phir lokâṅ nâṅ vartâêôṅ,	Now it is of the common people.
Vê ḍal kaṅgnâ vê.	O Saffron, Saffron!

They dress him on a rug after his bath; the *sâfâ* or turban is placed on his head, over which they throw the *sehrâ,* or garland of flowers. They sprinkle saffron on his clothes.

A tray is put down with a rupee in it, representing 101 rupees. On the rupee *guṛ* is spread, while they say, "*Jagat parwân suprî sô dharm, Ikôtr sau rupaiâ ghar dâ;* According to the custom which binds us like religion, We lay before you 101 rupees of our own house."

Then into the tray is put the *tambôl, nêundrâ, i.e*, the contribution given by wedding guests to defray the expenses of the festival. At each succeeding marriage one rupee more is given, or the same sum is given each time, if it is so arranged. *Nêundrâ* is given in the girl's home as well. This custom of giving at each other's wedding is a very binding one. Whoever receives *nêundrâ* from his guests must pay back in *nêundrâ* one and half or double the amount at their wedding feasts.

The party now gets ready to go to the bride's home. The bridegroom is seated on a mare, or, if poor, he goes on foot. He is accompanied by the *sarbâhlâ,* or bridegroom's friend, generally seated behind him on the same animal. On their way they give a rupee to the head men of the villages they pass. This is for the poor. Fireworks blaze as they proceed, while the drums and other noisy instruments of music announce the coming of the bridegroom, who sits under a paper umbrella, or canopy, which has been made by the fireworks man. This last-named individual gets money also on the way — a rupee or so. As they approach the bride's village the women and girls come out, singing, to surround the whole party with a cotton thread, as if they had made prisoners of them all.

The village women sing.

Â ḍhuk vê,	Come,
Têrê ḍhuknê dâ vêḷâ.	It is time for you to approach.
Tû â ḍhuk vê.	Come,
Mâô jankê na chaṭṭêôṅ,	Your mother did not lick you when you were born,
Pôândî val suṭṭêôṅ.	She threw you away at her feet.
Tû â ḍhuk vê, &c.	Come, &c.

To the barber they sing.

Hanêrâ lâêôi vê,	You have brought him late,
Nâîyâ lâlachîâ.	Covetous barber (because you are not well fed).
Tainû damm duâiyê vê,	We will get you money,
Kaurê Shâh kôḷôṅ!	From our Banker Kaurâ.
Â ḍhuk vê.	Come.
Têrê ḍhuknê dâ vêlâ:	It is time for you to come:
Tû â ḍhuk vê.	Come.
Phul, mêrîê phuliârê,	Flower, my orchard,
Sajjan milan piyârê.	When friends meet.
Phul, mêrîê, dhrêkê,	Flower, my *dhrêk,*
Sajjan milan ôchêchê.	When our friends meet by appointment.

Hâr nâ âéôṅ,	You did not come in spring,
Siyâḷ na âéôṅ,	Nor in winter.
Âéôṅ sâwan rutté,	You came in the rainy season,
Sâwan mîṅh diâṅ	In July and August.
Pahn phuârâṇ.	There are showers.
Vaḍḍ vaḍḍ khândî guttî.	The mosquitoes bite us.
Utté nahîṅôṅ pâmbrî :	You have no shawl:
Tệrî pairî nahîôṅ juttî,	You have no shoes.
Bahin dî léâvéâṅ pâmbrî,	You should have brought your sister's shawl,
Bhanîjé dî léâvéâṅ juttî.	And your brother-in-law's shoes.

Kâman pâniyâṅ kôṭhé té chaṛhké,	I go on the roof and put omens on you.
Sâḷîâṅ mangdîâṅ rângḷé chaṛkhé,	Sisters-in-law ask for coloured spinning wheels.
Déh vé kanaiyâ : têrî mâṅ uddaḷ gaiyâ.	Give something: your mother has run away.
Maiṅ téré kâman paniyâṅ :	I put omens on you:
Ḳâman pâniyâṅ javâṅ dî kasârî,	I put omens of husks of barley.
Traé gaz muchâṅ té nau gaz ḍâṛhî.	Three yards mustaches and nine yards of beard.
Maiṅ téré kâman paniyâṅ.	I put omens for you.
Ŗâṇî Bégam déâ jâyâ,	Son of Rânî Bệgam,
Aundé dé sagan manânîyâṅ.	I observe auspicious omens at your arrival.

Meantime the bride has been dressed, and songs have been sung by her friends.

The bride's friends sing.

Bôl nî mệṛî bôl kaniyâ ! Bôldî kyûṅ nahîṅ ?	Speak, my daughter! why don't you speak?
Ant piyârî ! Bôldî kyûṅ nahîṅ ?	My darling child! why don't you speak?
Kaniyâ sôé sôé jhaṭ jâgdi.	The girl now awakes.
Apné vîr kôḷôṅ kujh mangdî.	She asks something from her brother.
Dharmî bâp kôḷôṅ kujh mangdî,	She asks something from her generous father.
Bôlnî mérî, &c.	Speak, my daughter, &c.

Ais véḷé kaun jâgé ?	Who will awake at this time?
Vé Râja, dharmé dâ véḷâ.	O Râja (father) this is the time for gifts.
Ais véḷé bâbul jâgé.	Let the father awake now.
Vé Râjâ, Dharmé dâ véḷâ.	O Râja, this is the time for gifts.
Chûṛâ vî déndâ.	He gives bracelets,
Té bîṛâ vî déndâ.	He gives golden buttons,
Kapaṛ dân karéndâ.	He gives a gift of clothes.

Ais véḷé kaun ? &c.	Who will awake, &c.
Ais véḷé mâmâ jâgé.	The mother's brother now rises,
Vé Râja, dharmé dâ véḷâ.	O Râja, this is the time for gifts.
Gavâṅ vî déndâ.	He gives cows.
Té maiyâṅ vî déndâ.	He gives buffaloes.
Palang pîṛé dâ dân karéndâ.	He gives a bedstead and a chair.
Ais véḷé, &c.	At this time, &c.

Having arrived at the village they rest in a garden, or go to the *dârâ*, or traveller's rest-house, while dinner is being prepared. A large tray is brought out (*changér lâl*) with sugar in it. The *lâgîs* put some into the bridegroom's mouth, the rest being divided among the guests. The *sarbâhḷâ*, or bridegroom's friend, and the others prepare to go to the bride's house with the beating of drums. The two parties meet and salute one another. The bride's father gives a cow or a buffalo, but if he is poor he gives a rupee, which the *mirâsî*, or village bard, gets. Nearing the house they find the

way obstructed by a stick (*kuddan*) placed across the path by the *mehtars*, or *âg bâlnêwâḷê*, fire-lighters. They must be paid a rupee before the party can proceed. They reach another gate formed by a red cloth held by women. This is *chunnî*. The bride's sister receives a rupee at this stage. The *mâchî*, or *jhîwar* (water-carrier) brings a vessel of water, and says, "*Mêrê kumb dâ lâg deo*, Give the price of my earthen water jar." He also receives a rupee.

The marriage party now dine, while the women sing.

The women of the marriage party sing.

Haskê bulâ, dil hôgayâ razâ.
Sâḍḍâ pardêsîâṅ dâ râkhâ âê Ḳhudâ.
Zara haskê bulâ, dil·hô gagâ razâ.
Ḍhôlkî bajâ, zara haskê bulâ,
Jhûṭhê maujê sâḍḍî paindî âê baḷâ.
Suchê suchê maujê vê shitâb mangâ.
Zara haskê bulâ, &c.
Chândî dâ chhallâ sâḍḍî paindî hai baḷâ.
Sônê dâ chhallâ vê shitâb mangâ.
Zara haskê bulâ, &c.
Kanak dî mânî vê tû mêrê val pâ.
Javâṅ dî mânî vê tû mâṅ val pâ.
Zara haskê bulâ, &c.
Lêkê gharôṭâ vê maiṅ pânî val jâ.
Gâḍî pêyâ vâhânâ dil hô gayâ razâ.
Zara haskê bulâ, &c.
Pânî bhariyâ chhêti mêrâ gharâ tê uṭhâ;
Dêr lagî mainû gâḷî dendia pêi mâṅ.
Zara haskê bulâ, &c.
Gâdhî uttôṅ utarkê tû jôrâ pairî pâ.
Gharâ mêrâ chukkê tû sir tê takâ.
Zara haskê bulâ, &c.
Golî hâṅ maiṅ têrî, mêrâ jândâ Ḳhudâ.
Tê mâpê mêrê âpê payê karangê nakâh.
Zara haskê bulâ, &c.
Pânî ghar lê jândî têrî rôṭî vî pakâ,
Rôṭî ôṭî khâkê mil karâṅgê salâh,
Zara haskê bulâ, ḍil hogayâ razâ,
Lôkâṅ bê samajhân dî kî jânê balâ.

Laughing call me, my heart agrees.
God is ever the protector of us strangers.
Chorus. Laughing call me, my heart agrees.
Beat the drums, and laughing call me.
I will not wear shoes with false gold thread.
Bring me quickly shoes with real gold thread.
Chorus. Laughing call me, &c.
I will not wear a silver ring,
Send instantly for a gold ring.
Chorus. Laughing call me, &c.
Give me 200 measures of wheat.
But give 200 measures of barley to your mother.
Chorus. Laughing call me, &c.
Taking a pitcher I go to the water.
You drive the wheel—my heart is glad.
Chorus. Laughing call me, &c.
Quickly I have filled my jar; help me to lift it;
I am late, my mother will scold me.
Chorus. Laughing call me, &c.
Coming off the seat put on your shoes.
Lift my pitcher and put it on my head.
Chorus. Laughing call me, &c.
I am yours, God knows this.
My parents will marry me to you.
Chorus. Laughing call me, &c.
Taking the water home, I will cook your dinner.
After dinner we will sit and plan.
Chorus. Laughing call me, &c.
A plague on people who do not understand.

While the party dines outside, the *lâṛâ* (bridegroom) and the *sarbâhḷâ* (friend) go inside the house. A *chhânaṅî*, a sort of sieve for cleaning flour or wheat, is placed over the door with a light burning in it. The bridegroom strikes this with a sword or knife seven times, knocking it down, light and all, with the seventh stroke. The *sarbâhḷî*, or bride's friend, comes with a handful of oil and *guṛ* which she holds firmly, while the other girls tell the bridegroom to open the hand with his little finger. This he tries to do, but the *sarbahḷâ* advises him to use his thumb and press more forcibly. When her hand is opened, she rubs the bridegroom's face with the mixture. The young lady also spits rice in his face—*phurkrâ*. The bridegroom is then drawn into an inner room by means of a pair of trousers (*pâêjâma*) twisted round his neck. He has to give the girls a rupee before they let him go. They place a small tent made of reeds (*ghôrcbêrî*) like a tripod, on a *pîṛî* (stool), and in it *kujîâṅ* (small lamps and vessels) made of dough. One of these is lit, and the bridegroom is asked to put cloves into the little *kujîâṅ*.

The girls sing.

Têrêâṅ laungâṅ dâ kî karîyê.	What are we to do for your cloves (jewels)?
Têrî mâṅ nû gahnê dharîyê,	Let us mortgage your mother,
Uttôṅ laung vî pûrê karîyê.	And so obtain cloves.
Ukhlî lavâ vê, bâbul,	Get a mortar made, father,
Ukhlî lavâ.	Get a mortar made.
Âvêgâ dâmâd têrâ,	When your son-in-law comes,
Dhâîṅ chharêgâ.	He will clean rice.

They then take a tray and put it on a cup (*kaṭôrâ*). This they call *tilkan.* All the girls press down the tray on the cup with their hands one above another, telling the bridegroom to lift it up. He tries to do so but cannot, and the *sarbâhlâ* with his foot overturns it. This is the signal for the girls to give *gâlî* (abuse) to the *sarbâhlâ*: they pull his hair, slap him, push him about, and generally ill-treat him until the bridegroom at his cries for help asks them to desist.

The girls sing.

Lâṛâ âyâ kammâṅ nû.	The bridegroom has come for his wife.
Sarbâhlâ âyâ ammâ nû.	The bridegroom's friend for his mother.

They deny having beaten him, and treat them both to sweets (*laḍḍû* and *parâkrîâṅ*) and sugar, which they call *bêjwârî* or *hâjirî*. The bride is now admitted and seated. They throw bits of cotton wool on her, which he picks off. He takes off her troubles, as it were. They throw them on him also.

The girls sing.

Khêḍ, mallá, guṛ rôṛîâṅ.	Play, beloved, with balls of sugar,
Têrî mâṅ dîâṅ gallâṅ maroṛîâṅ.	We will pinch your mother's cheeks.
Khêḍ, mallâ, khudaknê,	Play, dear, with your toys,
Têrî mâ dê bhannê chuknê.	We will break your mother's legs.
Khêḍêgâ, khaḍâêgâ,	He will play, he will cause to play,
Sâlîâṅ parchâêṅgâ.	And please his sisters-in-law.
Kauḍî kauḍî churandôṅ vê,	You should have stolen cowries.
Salîâṅ parchândôṅ vê.	And given something to your sisters-in-law.
Kauḍî dî taufîq nahîṅ.	You haven't even a cowry.
Kanjrîâṅ dî rît nahîṅ.	We do not allow the custom of dancing girls here.

He walks seven times round the bride, and the bride seven times round him. He lays his head on hers, and she hers on him, after which she kicks him on the back. The others follow suit. It goes hard with the unhappy bridegroom then. They seize his *châdar* (shawl), and tie two pice in it. The bride then fastens it tightly round his neck, meaning by this that he is captured and is *hallan jôgâ nahîṅ* (unable to move).

The bridegroom sings.

Maiṅ khatâṅgâ, tûṅ khâîṅ,	I will earn money, and feed you.
Mêrî galôṅ paṭkâ lahîṅ.	Remove the shawl from my neck.

She takes it off, but they tie it to the bride's shawl (*ganḍ chattrâvâ*), meaning that they are now one.

The girl is bathed, the barber's wife, *nâîn*, braids her hair, then she sits on a *ṭôkrâ*, basket, under which is a light. Two pice are placed under her feet. The one that gives the bath gets the pice.

The uncle gives the girl a cow, &c. Of the earth wetted with the water of the bath some is thrown to the ceiling. The mother (*khârâ langâî*) passes before the girl seven times a large basket made of reeds.

The bride's mother sings.

Khârâ chittar machittar,	The basket is of divers colours,
Khârâ aḍḍiyâ.	And I sit on the basket.
Khârê tôṅ utâr,	Take me off the basket,
Mâmmâ vaḍḍhiyâ.	Great uncle.

The girl is taken away, and the bridegroom gives the barber's wife a rupee.

The *lâgî* is now sent to bring the clothes that the bridegroom has brought for the bride. Jewels also he brings, and she is fully dressed. These jewels are various — for the nose, *bulâk, laung, nath;* ear, *ḍanḍîâṅ, pattar, chauṅkê, bâlê;* neck and throat, *hass, hamêl, taḳhtîâṅ;* forehead, *chikkân, chaunk, phûl;* arm, *ṭâḍâṇ, bôwaṭṭâ, chûṛâ, gôkhrû, kangan;* fingers, *chhâp* or *chhallâ, ârsî;* foot, *panjêbâṅ, kaṛîâṅ.*

The bride is now ready and comes to be married. She is seated and the Brâhman (or the Maulavî) is called. Four poles are stuck in the ground fastened together with green branches above. The Brâhman (or Maulavî) reads a service, and two pice are handed seven times. The Brâhman says: *Ṡuṭṭô; êkî, mêkî, nêkî, têkî, pâô dhangâ,* and snaps the pice.

The bridegroom goes round the bride seven times, and she round him seven times under the green canopy. The Brâhman gets four annas in pice, and one rupee. The married pair sit on a bed or seat, while the bride's people bring him clothes, which he puts on over the ones he has. The *mîrâsî* seizes his turban, and retains it until it is redeemed with a rupee. The parents are next called, and water is brought to be sprinkled over the hands of the married pair. She is thus given over to him. They rise from the *chârpâî*, and go inside, throwing backward over their heads barley and cotton seeds which had been placed in their laps. They do not take away all the blessing.

A *trêwar* (21 or 12, &c., pieces) of clothes is now given (*khaṭ*), all shown to the assembled guests, and vessels also seven, *viz.: thâḷ* (platter), *chhannâ* (metal drinking vessel), *lôh* (large iron baking pan), *kaṛâhî* (frying pan), *dêgchî* (pot), *karchî* (ladle), *ḍhaknâ* (lid). There are 21 *kallê*, or scones, placed in the basket of clothes. The *lâgîs* who take this away receive presents of money. The bridegroom's father gives alms to the poor at this point, and there is much crying and weeping as the bride prepares to leave her home.

The bride is put into the *ḍôḷî* (palanquin), and the bridegroom's father throws money on it, which goes to the poor.

The women sing.

Hun kî da'vâ, bâbal têrâ?	Now what claim have you, father?
Da'vâ bandâ lâṛê dâ bhâî.	The brother of the bridegroom has a claim.
Pakaṛ khalôndâ ḍôḷê dî bâî.	He stands holding the side of the palanquin.
Da'vâ bandâ lâṛê dâ châchâ.	The uncle of the bridegroom has a claim.
Pakaṛ khalondâ ḍôḷê dâ pâssâ.	He stands holding the side of the palanquin.

The bridegroom's party returns home carrying the bride with them. At the bridegroom's house all the women sing.

The women sing.

Jin jitôriâṅ ghar âyâ,	They have come like conquerors.
Mêrâ lâḍḷâ.	My darling,
Têrê bâbê dâ bôl savâyâ.	Your father's plan was successful.
Ḍôḷê dâ mûṅh khôl vê,	Open the palanquin,
Têrê sadkê kahâra.	Good bearer.
Lai lai apnâ lâg vê:	Take your hire:
Ḍôḷâ sâḍḍâ mâl.	The palanquin is ours.

When they reach the house the mother is at the door.

The women sing.

Jé tú ândrî vé, mallâ,	Beloved, you have brought
Pârê dî kôwâr.	The maid from a distance.
Mâô pânî pîtâ vâr.	The mother passes and drinks the water.
Assân saik saik laddî.	We tried hard to find a maiden.
Têrî dhôtî dê lar badhî.	We tie her to your girdle.
Têrî dhôtî pallê bâdâm.	There are almonds in your girdle.
Vouhtî nikal paî jawân.	Your wife appears to be a grown-up girl.

The mother has a cup of water in her hand, which she waves round the heads of the married couple. She then attempts to drink it seven times, the bridegroom preventing her. At the seventh time she drinks. Then they enter the house.

The bride is placed on a mat. All the bridegroom's relations are called, and a large vessel called a *parât* is brought, in which is a mixture of rice, *ghî* and sugar cooked. This is *gôtaknâlâ*. The women seat themselves and of this they take a morsel and each puts a little in the bride's mouth. She *sharm kê mârê*, out of shame, refuses to take it, but they insist as they are her relations.

The bridegroom's relations sing.

Vôuhtî nanânnân thôn sharmâê.	The bride is shy before her sisters-in-law.
Vôuhtı chûrî mul na khâê.	The bride does not now eat pudding.
Bhainân, hun nahîn khânndî chûrî.	Sisters, she does not eat pudding now.
Pichhôn na chhadêgî turî.	Afterwards she will eat even chaff.

The women all partake. They call this *bharmdâlâ, i.e.,* union with the family. If they do not have this meal, they do not admit the other party to family privileges.

After this the bride remains two days more in the house, and on the third and fourth day the women again gather. They take a *parât* (tray) in which they put water and milk, or *kachchî lassî*, and in another vessel they put *âtâ* (meal). In the meal they put *gur* and *ghî*, mixing them together (*gulrâ*). Into the tray of milk and water they make the bride put in her heel, and the bridegroom washes her foot. The bridegroom now puts in his foot, and she is told to wash it. This is *shagun*. The bride unties her *gânnâ* (wrist ornament), which is so securely fastened that they sometimes draw it over the hand.

The women sing.

Nî khôl, pîyârîyê, ganrâ,	Unfasten the band, my dear,
Têrêân dêvrân baddâê badhâê.	That your husband's younger brother fastened.
Nî badhâi wâr sulakhnê,	They fastened it on an auspicious day,
Aj khulan laggâê.	It is to be unfastened to-day.

It is thrown into the *parât* of milk and water. Then the bridegroom unfastens the bride's *gahnâ.*

The bride and bridegroom sing.

Khôl, piyârêâ, ganrâ,	Unfasten, my dear, the band
Têrîân sâlîân badhâê.	That your sister-in-law bound.
Sâlîân chambê dîân dâlîân.	Sisters-in-law that are like jessamine branches.
Sat mânsîan badhâî.	They tied seven knots.

It is placed in the vessel next. They are fastened together. The *nâin* (*lâgin*) takes both and turns them round in the water seven times. She drops them in the water seven times, the bride and the bridegroom grabbing at them. The one that succeeds the oftener in getting hold of them first wins—the caste therefore wins.

The women sing.

Lagî jê ghêrnî.	The turning has begun.
Gânnâ jit jânâ.	We have to get possession of the band.

It is done amid great laughter. Only women are present, excepting the bridegroom.

The flour, *ghî* and sugar are then divided amongst them. Other songs are sung when the bride first comes to the house.

Home coming songs.

Mallâ, pârê dî kowâr.	Beloved, the bride comes from across the river.
Mâô pânî pîtâ vâr.	Your mother has passed the water and drunk it.
Vôuhṭî êk nanânâṅ châr.	One bride and she has four companions (the sisters of her husband).
Burkî lêndî vâr ô vâr.	She takes a morsel with each.
Vouhṭî ân baiṭhî havêlî.	The bride has come into the house.
Têrî mâṅ phirê arbêlî.	Your mother goes about happy.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE KSHATRACHUDAMANI OF VADIBHASIMHA, with critical and explanatory notes, by T. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRIYAR. Tanjore, 1903. (Sarasvativilasa Series, No. III.).

THE indefatigable scholar whose *editio princeps* of Vâdîbhasiṁha's *Gadyachintâmaṇi* I noticed in a former issue of this *Journal* (above, Vol. XXXII. p. 240) now presents us with the text of another hitherto unpublished work by the same Jaina author. The *Kshatrachûḍâmaṇi* also has for its subject the legend of Jîvaṁdhara or Jîvaka and is divided into eleven *lambas*, but, unlike the *Gadyachintâmaṇi*, it is written in the Anushṭubh metre and in comparatively simple Sanskṛit.

In the introduction Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri discusses the question of the author's lifetime. The upper limit of Vâdîbhasiṁha is about A. D. 900. For the subject-matter of his two works is taken from Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurâṇa*, which was completed on the 23rd June, A. D. 897.[1] In this connection Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri states that Guṇabhadra is mentioned in Hastimalla's drama *Vikrântakaurava*, and that he was the preceptor of Maṇḍalapurusha, the author of the Tamiḻ dictionary *Chûḍâmaṇi*. Vâdîbhasiṁha's two works were again drawn upon by Tiruttakkadêvar in his Tamiḻ poem *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*,[2] and this book is referred to in Śêkkiḻâr's *Periyapurâṇam*, which was composed at the instance of the Chôḻa king Anapâya[3] or, as he calls himself in an inscription at Tiruvârûr, 'Râjakêsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulôttuṅga.'[4] Unfortunately the precise time of this Kulôttuṅga, surnamed Anapâya, has not yet been settled. If he is identified, his reign will furnish the lower limit of the *Jîvakachintâmaṇi* and, with it, of the *Gadyachintâmaṇi* and *Kshatrachûḍâmaṇi*.

The text of the last-mentioned work *Kshatrachûḍâmaṇi*, is accompanied at the foot by explanatory notes and parallel passages which greatly add to its value and testify to Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri's extensive knowledge of the Sanskṛit language and literature. I am glad to note that he is going to issue also a commentary to his previous publication, the *Gadyachintâmaṇi*, which on account of its ornate language offers to the reader more serious difficulties than the *Kshatrachûḍâmaṇi*.

E. HULTZSCH.

Halle, 22nd November 1905.

[1] Compare above, Vol. XII. p.217, and Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1883-84, p. 430.

[2] Edited with the commentary of Nachchinârkkiniyar by Mahamahopadhyaya Paṇḍit Svâminâthaiyar. Madras, 1887 (over 900 pages).

[3] Compare above, Vol. XXV. p. 150.

[4] See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 153.

BOATS AND BOAT-BUILDING IN THE MALAY PENINSULA.

BY H. WARINGTON SMYTH.

(*With Notes by Walter W. Skeat.*[1])

HAVING regard to the wide reputation which **the Malays** have earned for themselves as a maritime people in Eastern seas, it is at first sight not a little remarkable that, so far as the Malay Peninsula is concerned, they have developed **no really able type of sea-going boat.**[2] European writers have credited the Malays with building boats, the lines of which are unsurpassed by European types; yet, so far as the writer has been able to discover, no specimen answering to such a description is to be met with in the Peninsula. **The characteristics of build** are small displacement, hollow lines, V-shaped sections and sharp floors, shallow draft, lack of beam, and a consequent want of stability and weatherliness. An enquiry into local conditions, however, explains much. **Three main factors** have been at work, influencing the development of the boats, and tending to produce the results arrived at.

In the first place, the rivers, which almost invariably constitute the ports of the Peninsula, are, with scarcely one exception, protected by **very shallow bars** of sand or mud, which make it impossible for a deep-bodied boat to obtain shelter within them. These bars are caused by the vast quantities of detritus brought down by the rivers in flood time, as a result of the very heavy tropical rainfall;[3] detrital fans of mud are deposited around their mouths, over which the mangroves steadily grope their way out to sea; the current keeps open a channel, which is of fair depth within, but shallow and shifting upon the bar, varying often with the strength and direction of the wind prevailing outside.[4] Safely ensconced within these creeks, protected from observation by the mangroves, and from pursuit by the shallow bars, the old Malay pirates scarcely sixty years ago used to watch the seaboard traffic of the Straits and swarm out upon their chosen prey. When pursued by the boats of His Majesty's Ships, they would make good their escape by just bumping over a friendly bar, where their pursuers could not follow them, and then turning aside up some of the innumerable creeks that intersect the mangrove swamps near the river mouths. Hence came the necessity for shallow draft and small tonnage. (Plate I., fig. 1.)

The second factor, scarcely less potent, so far as the west coast of the Peninsula, from Penang to Singapore, is concerned, has been the **variable character of the light breezes** prevailing in the Straits of Malacca. The monsoon currents of the neighbouring seas do not blow with any regularity or force, owing to the protection afforded by the island of Sumatra on the south-west and the Peninsula on the east; and the usual light winds are varied only by occasional south-westerly squalls of great violence but short duration, known as "Sumatras."

The third factor was the **great strength of the tides,** which, on the Selangor coast-line, have a rise and fall of as much as 20 feet. The lot of the sailing vessel in this neighbourhood is thus precarious; racing tides and baffling winds and calms make progress very slow. Hence propulsion by oars or paddles was a first necessity of the old-time Malay seaman in the Straits; sails were merely

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[1] Reprinted from the *Journal* of the Society of Arts, 1902. Some of the illustrations are from Mr. Skeat's Collection of boat models in the Archæological Museum at Cambridge.

[2] The question of what constitutes a "boat," properly speaking, is not always easy to decide. Many of the Malay craft, up to 70 feet in length, may, owing to their narrow beam and shallow draft, be legitimately styled boats, especially as they are by no means invariably decked in. The line which divides a boat from a sea-going vessel, is, on the whole, very arbitrary, and varies really with the sea-worthiness, or sea-keeping power, of the type under discussion. For instance, the Penzance lugger of 40 feet long, or the Norwegian pilot "boat," of somewhat similar dimensions, is, from a sea-keeping point of view, not a "boat" at all, while the native canoe, a hundred feet long, as certainly falls within the category for all purposes.

[3] Upwards of 110 inches per annum, in some inland districts.

[4] In many parts of the Peninsula, the on-shore monsoon causes wholesale alterations in the banks and channels of these bars, and leaves enormous deposits of sand in the river entrances, through which the fresh water has to cut a new channel to the sea, nearly every season.

an occasional convenience. (Plate I., fig. 2.) He soon found that a long light craft, having plenty of accommodation along its sides for paddlers, was by far the best form for the navigation of these waters, and, further, this form had the sailing vessel at its mercy nine times out of ten, — a very pleasing feature in the eyes of the Malay at the time when the Straits of Malacca served as the high road for all the sailing tonnage of the Eastern trade. Moreover the lack of freeboard suitable for manual propulsion was not a serious danger in a locality, where heavy weather is so little known. Hence it came about that the " long canoe" form of craft established itself as the most suitable type, and that not only, as was natural, for the river navigation of the interior, but also for the estuariess and the more open waters of the Straits. Steam and the growth of the British power in the Straits have combined to make impossible the old buccaneering pursuits dear to the heart of the Malay sailor, and he is now constrained to ship as a "fo'c'sle" hand in Penang or Singapore steamers, or to make sailing voyages up and down the coasts as a common-place trader or peaceful fisherman.

The foregoing remarks are not, however, entirely applicable to the **east coast** of the Peninsula, where, during the prevalence of the north-east monsoon in the China sea, strong gales with heavy sea and violent rain blow havoc upon the unprotected coast line. At first sight then, we might have expected to find some powerful sea-keeping boats on this coast; but in fact, we find practically the same types as on the sheltered waters of the Malacca Straits. (Plate I., fig. 3.) The explanation is easy. During the prevalence of the on-shore monsoon, the bars at the entrance to the rivers, which form the only ports, are a whirling mass of breaking seas, through which, only during rare lulls in the weather, can any vessel pass with safety.[5] From the shelving beaches thrown up by the monsoon it is, of course, impossible to launch a boat. Hence from October or November to February or later, according to the strength of the weather, the whole coast is shut up, so far as local navigation is concerned. An occasional high-sided Chinese junk will now and then venture along the coast, but communication in most cases becomes easier across the peninsula, and the men of Patani and Singora find it simpler to cross overland to Kedah to reach the west coast, than to attempt to get out across the dangerous bars, and through the heavy sea raging on the eastern coast.

During the open season the weather is not unlike that in the Straits, bringing light sea and land breezes, varied by occasional squalls. Then the Malay fishermen run their long canoes down the beach and put to sea again, and the traders creep out with new mat sails to resume their coasting voyages.

Owing to lack of ports free from shallow bars large displacement is impossible; and for the fishermen light canoe-like craft are preferred, as they launch easily from the beach, and can be paddled at high speeds to come up with fish. Hence deep-bodied boats, which can beat to windward, are again absent on this coast; and as the centre board and the leeboard is not known, the paddle retains its importance for working to windward. Though hardly coming under the heading of boats it should be remarked that for some trades, involving long voyages and calls at deep water ports, **the advantages of big-bodied craft** are fully recognised by the Peninsular Malays, and that between Singapore and Siamese ports, for instance, fine vessels of 200 tons, built on European lines, are frequently to be met with. They are rather nondescript craft, often with overhanging clipper stems and deck-houses galore. The masts are generally very light and crooked-grown spars; the rigging and gear aloft make up in quantity what is lacking in quality. They are generally rigged with two nearly equal-sized masts and a bowsprit on which from one to three jibs are set. The mainsail and foresail are either Chinese lugs or on the European fore and aft plan, the gaff being a standing spar controlled by vangs, and the sail being set by hauling out along it and being taken in by brails to the mast, topsails being used. The sails are of light material, when they are not, as in the case of regular Chinese or Malay lugs, made of matting; and they seldom set very flat. (Plate I., fig. 4.)

The true Malay sail, however, is nothing more than an adaptation of the original and primitive square sail, as used alike by the sailors of ancient Egypt, of Rome and of Scandinavia; and

[5] To such an extent is this the case, that the north-east monsoon is called by the Malays, "Musim Tutop Kuala," or the " shut-port [*i. e.*, close] season."

this sail is used still in the majority of the Malay fishing craft and small traders, matting being the material used. A boom along the foot is almost as necessary as a yard along the head. The Malays, by the simple expedient of tilting the sail forward, so as to bring the tack right to the deck, have long converted this square-cut sail into the most powerful of lifting sails on a wind. (Plate I., fig. 5.) The dipping lug is set taut along the luff by a spar bowline fitting in a cringle, the lower end of which comes to the deck abaft the mast. The yard, being too light to stand alone by the wind, is invariably controlled by a vang. The unhandiness of the dipping lug in tacking is felt to the full with this sail, owing to the stiffness and weight given to it by the material of which it is made, and the boom along the foot; and the operation is such a long one, that the anchor is often thrown over while the manœuvre is gone through with the two big sails. (Plate I., fig. 6.)

The devotion of the Malays to **top hamper in** the shape of raised **deck houses and outrigged superstructures** over the bow and stern, is shared with many other Eastern races, and is no doubt largely owing to the lack of body in their craft. In boats with sharp bottoms and fine lines, the cargo, whether of fish or merchandise, has often to lie high; and consequently all the accommodation for the crew is high up, and every foot of extra space, which can be built on in this manner, is so much added to their comfort and to convenience in working the vessel. The galleries built out over the bows of the larger craft are used for working and storing the anchors, just as was the case in the vessels of the classical and mediæval seamen, and as still remains the rule in the Chinese junks; and in boats, which are often so lean about the quarters the little stern galleries and rails, they add greatly to the comfort and safety of the steersman and of men handling the mainsail. (Plate I., fig. 7.)

Even in the smallest canoes, which most of us would think crank under any circumstances, there is generally, in the East, a grating (or lattice) forming a raised floor, within an inch or two of the top of the gunwale, upon which the crew is accommodated. It can certainly not be claimed that such an arrangement conduces to stability; yet such good watermen are these warm water sailors, and the Malays in particular, that even long coasting voyages are undertaken in such craft without any apparent anxiety as to the result.

The Penjajap on the east coast is often a rather unsuccessful imitation of European build, with transome stern, half concealed by the overhanging stern galleries. There is generally plenty of show, but the boat is very wall-sided and with insufficient beam, which facts combine to spoil her appearance on a close inspection, although she looks smart enough a little distance off. The writer has seen these boats nearly on their beam ends when caught by a heavy squall at anchor, though with nothing but their slender masts aloft, a fact largely caused by the want of under-water body in the hull, and the amount of top-hamper by way of accommodation on deck. A bundle of bamboos along under each gunwale frequently adds some much needed stability, and provides a store, from which to renew broken spars. Yet crank as these craft seem, the Malays manage to make their way for long distances in them with very few accidents. No fact could form more conclusive evidence of their pluck and skill.

The Malay, like a true seaman, takes a great pride in his vessel, and if his ideas of **ornamental decoration** do not always accord with those of the West, he has, at all events, never been guilty of producing such scarecrows of the seas as many of the tramp steamers at this moment lying in the port of London. In rigging, as already hinted, he is partial to **slender lofty masts**, and if his vessel is large enough, he indulges in two masts of nearly equal height, to which is generally given a very smart rake forward. Under Chinese sails, the advantages of which over the dipping lug have been recognised by many on the east coast, the Malay may be distinguished from the Chinaman at sea, when yet hull down, by the equal size of the big sails, and the invariable absence of any mizzen. (Plate I., fig. 8.) The hull is also low and long, with no many-storied castle aft, but merely a *kajang* or thatch awning, over the raised, overhanging poops, or a simple *dandan* or gallery. There is something of the yachtsman in the Malay, and he is much addicted to graceful

little vanities about the **stern-head and stern-post** of his small boats; and so greatly does he hold the "figure-head" in estimation, that a class of boat is often named after the form given to the stern-head. European influence may now be seen at work to a greater or less degree in almost every class of rig in the ports of the Peninsula, but the Malay more than any other Oriental, has adopted **the jib, or three-corned staysail.** This essentially modern product of Western Europe, he has adopted not only in the large traders already referred to, but also in the *kolek* or "sea canoe" of Singapore, in which also the old Malay lug has been altogether discarded, especially for racing purposes, in favour of the spritsail. The staysail is recognised as the most convenient form of head sail, to prevent excessive griping, and does not involve the disadvantage of the weight of a mast right in the eyes of the ship. (Plate I., fig. 9.)

It will thus be seen that, from a variety of causes, with which the physical geography and the meteorology of the locality have much to do, **the canoe shape**, the canoe idea, predominates in most of the boats of the Malay Peninsula. It may, in fact, be said that the maritime enterprise of its inhabitants obviously commenced with the canoe and continued with the canoe, and that its highest form of development has resulted in a craft of larger dimensions, which yet, in all essential particulars, still remains — a canoe. (Plate II., fig. 10.)

The nomenclature employed by the Malays for their boats appears to the traveller at first to be unnecessarily intricate. Closer attention, however, soon shows that the name, as has indeed been already suggested, is very rarely derived from the rig, as is so much the case in Europe, but rather from distinctions, which often seem to the stranger to be comparatively insignificant, in the hulls or build. (Plate II., fig. 11.) Nearly every water-side settlement of any importance having developed its own ideas of ornamentation or of construction, it is not to be wondered at, that boats, which might well be classed under one head, as far as all essential particulars are concerned, yet come under the observation of the traveller under widely different names, differing often merely with the locality of their origin. (Plate II., fig. 12.) For instance, a number of otherwise very similar boats are named (*a*) simply after the form of figure-head, to the frequency of which reference has already been made, *e.g.*, the Hornbill-boat,[6] the Crocodile-boat[7]; or (*b*) from some peculiarity in construction, *e.g.*, the Patani "Half-decked" boat (literally, Boat with decked fore-part),[8] or the "Civet-fence"[9] boat, which is nothing but a form of the type generally known as *penjajap,* to which a peculiarly ornamental bulwark or rail is given.

A large number of boats, as might be expected, are distinguished by the use for which they are built; *e.g.*, the "boat for going up-stream,"[10] and various types of fishing boat.[11] Others are of purely local significance; *e.g.*, Banting [an Achinese type]. While several appear to be derived from European names; *e.g.*, *skonar* [schooner], and *pinis* [pinnace], and perhaps *kichi* [ketch], *skuchi* [scotchy], and *katar* [cutter].

It is noticeable that, in most of their larger built boats, the Malays have adopted the comparatively modern method of slinging the rudder by metal fastenings on the stern post, known afloat as "gudgeons" and "pintles."

In many of their dug-out canoes, in the *kolek*, and in some of the non-Europeanised types of fishing boats[12] of Selangor and the East Coast, for instance, **the rudder** consists of the simple paddle held on the quarter, or a paddle-shaped rudder slung at the head on a stout upright, and held at the neck by a rattan lashing. This is the earliest and simplest form of rudder known to man. It was that used in the ships of the earliest navigators of the Mediterranean, of whom we have record,[13] and it remained, with slight modifications, as the usual steering contrivance of the Egyptians, of the Greeks and Romans, and of the Danes and Saxons and Normans, down to Mediæval times.

[6] *Prahu Enggang.* [7] *Prahu Buaya.* [8] *Katop 'Luan.* [9] *Pagar Tenggâlong.*

[10] *Prahu pemudik*, from *mudik*, to go up-stream. [11] *Prahu ikan*, or *per-ikan*, from *ikan*, fish.

[12] *e.g.*, the *Kakap Jeram.*

[13] We have records of craft in Egypt so steered from the time of the Third Dynasty (about 6000 B. C.).

It is much used in some of the craft of the Northern portion of the Gulf of Siam, and it may be noted that the rudder is always used on the lee quarters, if, as is usual, the boat carries a weather-helm, this position giving far greater power and deeper immersion. (Plate II., figs. 13 and 14.)

The Malays do not use **oars** to a great extent, except with the bigger decked vessels. These oars are somewhat heavy about the loom and have often sharp pointed blades, shaped rather like a broad angular spear head. They are generally worked in a rattan grommet to a sharp quick stroke, any other kind of stroke being impossible, owing to the friction in the grommet and the shortness of the oar. The "standing up and pushing" (or "salmon-stroke") position, common with the Siamese and Chinese and in the Mediterranean, is, on the whole, rarely adopted by the Malays. In the smaller craft, with low freeboard, **the paddle** is used, the blades in some localities having the same angular spear shape. (Plate II., figs. 15, 16, 17, 18.)

BOAT-BUILDING.

The Malays usually follow **the general Indo-Chinese method of construction,** in the first stages, at all events, of their smaller boats.

A selected tree is laboriously hollowed out by the adze, until the sides are sufficiently thinned to open out under pressure, and by the judicious application of heat from a slow burning ember fire beneath the bottom. The fore and after ends are roughly modelled with the adze. Before proceeding further, the hull is, at this stage, frequently soaked for some days in the water. In many parts of Siam and Burma, the presence of a monastery can almost be certainly predicted by the little fleet of hewn modelled hulls lying sunk beside a landing place, a sure sign of the boat-building propensities of the brethren of the yellow robe close by. When sufficiently soaked, the opening out process begins.

The opening out of dug-outs. — Various methods are used for this purpose. In this case, water is placed inside the dug-out hull, and hot embers are placed upon the ground underneath her and kept at the required temperature, until the sides have opened out sufficiently to take ribs, knees, and cross-pieces. The sides, in falling out, come down to the bow and stern, and a specimen of your up-river canoe is now complete, *viz.*: —

1. *Sampan s'lit,* a dug-out canoe with wash strake raised on the inside.
2. *Chemplong,* a fairly deep bodied canoe.
3. *Jalor,* a shallow dug-out canoe.

Another method of opening the dug-out hull is often used. To the perpendiculars on each side cross-pieces are securely lashed under the hull. A similar number of crosspieces are placed above the hull over the lower ones and connected by a strong double rattan rope. Through these rattans hardwood levers or handles are placed to give a purchase, and are then twisted round and round, bringing the ends of the crosspieces together. This pressure is kept constant, while water and hot embers are applied as necessary.

Two dug-outs may sometimes be seen being cut from one log; the inner and smaller one is worked out by the driving of stout wedges. In order to facilitate the heavy work of driving home these wedges, a low scaffolding is erected alongside one of the canoes for the wedger to stand upon, and the log itself is turned over till it lies at a convenient angle, by means of a lever placed underneath it, the end of the lever being raised by a rope made fast to a windlass. Sometimes a simple floor or keel-piece is used, on which the boat is subsequently built up. In this case, stem and stern pieces will be worked in. The sides are rabetted into the floor-piece, and the upper strakes built on, as in an ordinary carvel-built boat. The simple dug-out form having been obtained, the upper strakes can be built on, the ribs being carried up to receive them. For this purpose the planks are bent by various ingenious applications of levers and hot embers. Many clever devices are used by the Malays for getting the necessary power, and the boat-builder has many arrangements of stout upright pegs about his shop or in his compound.

In the inland sea of Singora, many dug-outs may be seen, built up with strake on strake, in the most unblushing way, without any attempt to hide the roughest method of boat-building, perhaps,

to be seen anywhere. No attempt is made to work in stem and stern posts. The ends are blocked across, a foot or two inside the end of the boat's nose or tail, if one may use the expression, thus forming thwartship water-tight bulkheads. The two or three strakes, often various coloured, are built on, and the topmost one is utilised to give a finish to the whole, by being extended and turned up forward and carried out to form a steersman's staging some way aft. The almost submerged noses of these boats, which are really more Siamese than Malay in type, have generally a most pathetic expression. These boats draw very little water, and are used all over the lake, being able to navigate the shallows, which now form so large a portion of it. They are usually rigged, not with the Malay lug, but the Siamese high-pointed standing lug, a far handier and handsomer sail. For these, the very light yellow matting is used, which is almost universal in the upper portion of the Gulf of Siam.

In another method of warping planks by aid of a fire, when the planks are ready to go on as upper strakes, they are fixed in position, and built up upon the dug-out keel and floor portion of the boat, which has already been opened out to the required extent, as described. The strakes, as they are put on, are held in position by a system of bamboo ties, and secured by rattan lashings.

The last stages of the Malay boat differ with the district. In many cases a beautiful finish is given to the fittings, and a shining polish to the under-water portion of the hull. At this stage half the village may be found at the boat-builders', polishing or criticising with much energy and enthusiasm.

LIST OF BOATS.[14]

1. **Balok.**[15] — A single-masted lugsail boat. The model suffers from a mast which is too short to hoist the lugsail. The boat has good beam and fairly flat floors. There are washboards at the quarters and a peculiar slightly outrigged grating or staying over the stern post. The rudder is very small and short, and has a yoke and lines.

2. **Bedar or Bidar.**[16] — From shape of stemhead or beak; built of *chengal*: length, 24 ft.; beam, 4 ft.; depth of hull, 2 ft.; freeboard, 1 ft.; capacity, 1 *koy*; number of crew, 3: oars only.

3. **Bandong.** — Built of *merawan*: dimensions, 54 ft. by 6 ft. by 3 ft.; 13 ft. freeboard; capacity, 2 *koy*; crew of 5; length of mast, 50 ft.; cloth lugsail.

4. **Banting**[17] (Achin, Sumatra). — A two-masted trader, built of *giam* wood: dimensions, 90 ft. by 27 ft. by 7 ft.; 2 ft. freeboard; capacity, 12 *koy*; crew of 6; length of mainmast, 50 ft.; sails of cloth, but rig uncertain.

5. **Bermat (Gelmat).** — A type of boat frequently seen in tidal waters on the west coast. Has one mast, carrying a square-headed dipping lugsail of the usual type; also a small, roughly-made gallery aft, which amounts to little more than an out-rigged seat; fitted with a steering paddle in place of a rudder. Length of this model is 19 in.

6. **Gubang**[18] (Bugis or Celebes). — The hull of this model shows a lot of dead-wood aft and a lack of body abaft the midship section. A clipper cut-water, a long, straight bottom, narrow quarters, leading to a perpendicular stern-post, do not combine to make a handsome vessel, or to satisfy one as to the accuracy of the model. The rig is a European adaptation, scarcely satisfactory, except when beam-winds are available. (Plate III., fig. 1.)

7. **Chemplong** (Sumatra). — A long paddling canoe, built of *jati*. Dimensions, 60 ft. by 5 ft. by 2 ft. 3 in.; 1 ft. freeboard; capacity, 1 *koy*; crew of 12: oars only.

8. **Gubang** ("pirate" boat). — The gong is usually hung just forward of the deck-house. This model is chiefly interesting as showing what in old days was a very formidable type of sea rover, or pirate, propelled chiefly by oars and armed with swivel guns of considerable size in

[14] The illustrations are from the models in the Cambridge Archæological Museum.

[15] Klinkert says: a trading vessel of great tonnage formerly used.

[16] Klinkert says: a small, single-masted sailing boat, also used as a state boat by princes.

[17] Klinkert says: a two-masted Achinese vessel.

[18] Klinkert says: A small sea vessel, exceedingly seaworthy. In reality it is no doubt much more so than in the model.

the bows. A stout timber breastwork forward gave shelter to the crew when, as usual, the attack was made end on.

9. **Gurap.** — One of the largest Malay traders, fore and aft rigged on two masts: material, *giam*; dimensions, 300 ft. by 30 ft. by 20 ft.; 11 ft. freeboard; capacity, 100 *koy*; crew of 30; length of mainmast, 100 ft.

10. **Jalak.** — The Pahang name for the ordinary east coast two-masted *penjajap*-rigged trader, known as **payang** at Trenggânu. The main proportions are the same as of the preceding, as is the rig, but there are local differences in build of hull, though the material is the same *giam* wood, and the general appearance practically the same. Dimensions, 72 ft. by 12 ft. by 9 ft.; 4 ft. freeboard; capacity, 2 *koy*: crew of 8; length of mainmast, 36 ft. in this instance. The lugsails are of the usual screw-pine leaf.

11. **Jong** (junk). — A large type of trader, having mainmast, foremast, and possibly mizzen. Built of *jati*: dimensions, 200 ft. by 29 ft. by 18 ft.; 10 ft. freeboard; capacity, 50 *koy*; crew of 24; length of mainmast, 90 ft., said to carry *gusi* sail. According to Klinkert, this may be a *bezaan*, mizzen, or *gaffelzeil*, fore and aft gaffsail, as distinguished from Chinese or Malay lug. The probability is, that this craft is always rigged with fore and aft sails. For in this case topmasts are always used by the Malays, while with the lugsails, pole masts are used. The length of the mainmast given almost precludes the latter.

12. **Jong-Batubara.** — Built of *chengal*: dimensions, 90 ft. by 24 ft. by 16 ft.; 7 ft. freeboard; capacity, 15 *koy*; crew of 9; length of mainmast, 90 ft.

13. **Kakap Jeram**[19] (native Selangor coast fishing boat). — A typical Malay fishing boat of the Selangor coast. The rig is practically the same as that of the *nadir*. The model shows the figurehead, ornamented stern-post and the long paddle rudder already described. The gratings on which the crew are accommodated are shewn, and along each side forming the gunwale may be seen a wash-strake formed of strong lacing of split bamboo strips, stoutly sewn together with bamboo withies and filled in with palm-leaf, the whole held in position by lashings to knees brought up from the boat's ribs. This is a very usual form of wash-strake in Malay boats, and is strong, light and effective. It is given considerable flare at each quarter. The equivalent of the lumber irons used in European fishing craft is provided by loops of rattan on the starboard side, and here the punt poles and other spars are stowed. Forward will be noticed a peculiar form of bits, stretching athwart ships, used for winding the cable upon, as well as bitting it. Dimensions, 13 ft. by 7 ft. by 3 ft.; 1 ft. freeboard; capacity, 2 *koy*; crew of 3; length of mast, 23 feet: material, *meranti*.

14. **Katar.** — Built of *jati*: dimensions, 180 ft. by 21 ft. by 9 ft.; 4 ft. freeboard; capacity, 20 *koy*; crew of 10; length of mainmast, 90 ft. Said to be a one-master. Though the name resembles our word cutter, one cannot suppose that a Malay vessel of such dimensions is cutter-rigged. The Malays are not accustomed to use material of sufficient strength to stand the enormous strains that would be involved.

15. **Ketiap** (trading river boat, built of *giam*). — Dimensions, 48 ft. by 9 ft. by 3 ft.; 1 ft. freeboard; capacity, 2 *koy*; crew of 3: oars and poles only. (Plate III., fig. 2.)

16. **Ketiap Buaya (Katar).** — A cutter-rigged river boat, carrying a figurehead, representing a crocodile, and an outrigged gallery. It is propelled by sweeps. The length of this model is 21½ in. (Plate III., figs. 3 and 4.)

17. **Kichi** (large two-master). — Material, *jati*: dimensions, 200 ft. by 30 ft. by 15 ft.: 5 ft. freeboard; capacity, 60 *koy*; crew of 20; length of mainmast, 80 feet; said to be rigged with yards, brig-rig.[20] Some of the Malay Peninsula Rajas have at various times owned very fine European built and rigged vessels, half as traders, half as yachts. A very handsome brig belonged to an East Coast Raja a few years ago.

[19] *Kakap* means "spy" or "scout," or "look-out," and *Jeram* is the name of a big fishing-village in the Kuala Selangor district (of Selangor), from which this boat took its name of the Jeram Scouter.

[20] Klinkert says · English brig or yacht.

18. **Kolek**[21] (*lit.*, the "Rocker" or wobbler, from its crank build). — The term **sampan**, a word of apparently Chinese origin, which is given generally to any small, especially Chinese boats, is also frequently applied to these canoes. The *kolek* is the usual form of small sea-fishing canoe, the stem and stern-post are generally high and pointed, with some decorative paint work, or other ornamentation. It is generally carvel-built, with a shapely hull and prettily rounded forefoot; but there is very little bilge, and consequently small stability, which, combined with the low canoe-like freeboard, makes these boats somewhat tricky to the novice. The peculiar "crab's-eyes" are frequently to be seen in these boats. They carry single or double lugsails according to length. In the former case, the tack of the sail is usually belayed at the mast, so as to form a standing sail. In these little boats the young Malays generally get their first lessons in sailing. In the longer boats, with larger crews, two dipping lugs of the usual Malay type are generally preferred. Dimensions of 5-man boat: — length, 24 ft.; beam, 4 ft.; depth, 2 ft.; freeboard, 1 ft.; capacity, 20 *pik*; length of mast, 24 ft. Some of these boats are said by the Malays to carry the *sabang* sail.[22]

In Singapore, the *koleks* have developed into long boats, used a good deal in racing, rigged with large cloth-made sprit mainsail and stay-foresail, and manned by a large crew of 20 or more, who act as live ballast out to windward. In a fresh breeze they stand on the gunwale, and, holding on to man-ropes leading from the mast, lean out all their length to windward. These boats are very slippy with the wind abaft the beam, for, with a length of 45 feet, they have a beam of not more than 5 ft. 6 in., and a draught of about 2 ft. But they have no grip for weatherly work. The increase of the lateral resistance, by the introduction of a centre-board, would probably result in enabling these boats to perform well on a wind in smooth water.

19. **Lancha**[23] or **Lanchang**[24] (Malay two-master, with dipping lugsails). — This is an approach to a sea-keeping type of vessel. She is rigged with the ordinary square-headed dipping lugsails, which are of nearly equal size as in the *penjajap*. The lofty slender masts are well stayed, and are stepped in tabernacles of a kind which is common to the Malays, and both are raked forward. The sails are made of the screw-palm with cloth tops, and there are main and peak halyards. The vessel has a clipper stem, over which the foregallery is built for the anchors; this also acts as a bumpkin or bowspit for spreading the tack of the foresail. A comparatively commodious deck-cabin and stern gallery are added over the straight stern-post. The hull is carvel built on very European lines, but has no great depth. The model is armed with pivot m. l. guns, and has sweeps along her sides as is usual. (Plate III., fig. 5.)

In Selangor it is affirmed that the *lanchang* is a type of boat, which was frequently owned by Malay Rajas on the Sumatran coast, and to this day in Selangor, it is this royal vessel, which is dedicated to the service of the spirits, when the medicine-man invites them to sail away.

20. **Lanchang To'Aru**[25] (Bandar). — Malay two-master, fore and aft rigged. This is very similar to the other *lanchang* in hull, but the model has short masts, and two badly cut and fitted fore and aft gaff and boom sails. She would need very much a larger spread of head

21 Klinkert says: The small variety for one person only; but big ones hold 10 or more persons.

22 Klinkert describes this as "the sail of a small boat which has no tackle except a brace, but has instead a kind of *sokong* [= prop]." This presumably means a spritsail, set up by its spreet — no other sail so exactly answering to this description.

23 Klinkert says: big Indian three-master, with slanting or sloping sails from port; *lancha*, boat or sloop. (See *Lanchang*.)

24 A galley or oared vessel with yards, but without *spiegel*. — Klinkert.

25 To'Aru was one of the council of four great chiefs of Selangor, who in former days had much power, and to whom was entrusted the election of the Sultan. To'Aru was the most powerful of these four great chiefs, and took his name from a district called Aru, in Sumatra, from which he came over to settle in Selangor. Aru is probably the same as the word *aru* (also *eru* or *'ru*), which means a casuarina-tree. Bandar was the name of the place (on the Langat river) where To'Aru lived.

canvas, and boats thus rigged on the east coast generally carry long topmasts and jib-booms for light-weather sails. (Plate III., fig. 6.)

21. **Nadir.** — This is a more Europeanised form of the next, with cloth sail and weather-boards astern.

22. **Nadir.** — A shallow-draft Malay fishing-boat of the Malacca coast, carvel built, with straight stem and stern posts of European type. The rig is a single lug, the tack or fore-end of the boom being made fast well forward and to windward of the mast. The luff is set taut by a spar-bowline fitting in a cringle, the after-end coming to the deck abaft the mast. There is a peak as well as a main halyard, both in single parts, the sheet and vang being the same, and leading to the helmsman aft. There are spear-bladed paddles, and in the model the *kajang* or *attap*-thatch shelter, used by the crew when riding to an anchor, is shown rolled up on the gratings. The sail is reefed by rolling round the main boom by help of a wooden pin used as a lever, from the fore-end to the height required. A rope *parral*, as is usual, keeps the sail to the mast. Such a boat would be enormously improved by centre or lee boards. Material, *kelidang* : dimensions, 24 ft. by 6 ft. by 3 ft. 3 in. ; 1 ft. freeboard ; capacity, 1 *koy* ; crew of 5 ; length of mast, 30 ft. ; screwpine-leaf sail.

23. **Pedewak**[26] (Bugis, Celebes). — A two-masted trader. Built of *giam* wood. Dimensions, 99 ft. by 15 ft. by 12 ft. ; 6 ft. 3 in. freeboard ; capacity, 60 *koy* ; crew of 16 ; length of mainmast, 60 ft.

24. **Payang.** — This is a type which has a divided deck-house. The *payang* has usually the ordinary two-lug rig, and *dandans* fore and aft. Dimensions, 72 ft. by 12 ft. by 5 ft. ; 3 ft. freeboard ; capacity, 4 *koy* ; crew of 4 men; material, *giam* ; sails of screw palm-leaf ; length of mainmast, 60 ft.

25. **Pelang**[27] (a large canoe-like boat, built of *giam* wood). — Dimensions, 42 ft. by 5 ft. by 2 ft. 3 in. ; 1 ft. freeboard ; capacity, 1 *koy* ; one mast about 40 ft. long, with cloth lugsail.

26. **Penchalang** (Bugis, Celebes). — A two-masted trader, built of *jati*. Dimensions, 80 ft. by 15 ft. by 9 ft. ; 4 ft. freeboard ; capacity, 15 *koy* ; crew of 30 (?). Apparently European rigged, the masts having ratlines.

27. **Pemudik.** — A river boat, built of *seraya*. Dimensions, 48 ft. by 15 ft. by 2 ft. ; 6 in. freeboard ; capacity, 2 *k*. 20 p. ; crew of 5. Carries no awning.

28. **Pinis.** — Built of *penak* wood. Dimensions, 120 ft. by 27 ft. by 8 ft. ; 3 ft. freeboard ; capacity, 30 *koy* ; crew of 9 ; mainmast, 50 ft. long. (Plate III., fig. 7.)

29. **Prahu Ayam (Cock boat).** — So-called from its figurehead. In other respects it differs little from other forms of Malay river boats.

30. **Prahu Buaya (Crocodile boat).** — So-named simply from its figurehead. Has a stern gallery, a *kajang* for the passengers and four oars, with mast and a sail. The rudder is hung upon the stern post. Length of model, 23 in.

31. **Prahu Enggang (Hornbill boat).** — Named after its figurehead. The boat has a stern gallery and the peculiar, but not uncommon, divided deck-shelter aft. As regards her rig, we may charitably suppose that the skipper, having been dismasted in a squall, has borrowed or stolen his mast and sail from a passing *kolek*.

32. **Prahu Kumbang (Borer-bee boat**, the Royal barge from Selangor). — The gong is usually suspended from the ridge pole aft.

33. **Prahu Naga (Dragon boat).** — A two-master with the ordinary square-headed dipping lugsails, deck-house rudder and galleries both fore and aft. The name of this boat, which means dragon, is taken from its figurehead which represents a dragon. It is said to be of a type formerly used by Malay Rajas, *e.g.*, by the Sultans of Perak and Selangor. The length of this model is 27 in.

[26] Klinkert says : *Pedewakan*, a Bugis trading vessel.

[27] Klinkert says : A flat-bottomed vessel. Chinese *pilan*.

34. **Prahu Penggalah** (a river boat of Kelantan type propelled by from four to six quanters). — The quanting poles, when out of use, are slung under the eaves of the deck-house, which is very low and entirely unprovided with windows. The quanters stand in pairs on the outrigged staging over the bows, and when the first pair have planted their poles, they walk rapidly down towards the door of the deck-house, pushing hard as they go. Immediately behind them come the second pair, and behind them come the third; each pair, as they come to the end of their walk, lifting the poles over the heads of the succeeding pairs and returning to the fore-end of the staging referred to. Length of this model about 19 in.

35. **Prahu Pêlet** (Eng. *pilot*). —A thorough-going Malay as regards hull, with a low-cut imitation of an European gig's dipping lug, with the addition of the usual Malay boom and the vang to the yard. These vangs are always necessary, owing to the sails not being of sufficiently stout material to carry a stout luff-rope, by which the sail can be set up taut to stand on a wind.

36. **Prahu Jolong-jolong** (Long-beaked boat), from her cut-away fore-foot and clipper stem. — She has the galleries shared by most of the large-decked Malay boats. The rigging of the model is, as will be seen, somewhat faulty, but is sufficient to show that the ordinary two lug of the *penjajap* and her sisters is used.

37. **Prahu Tambang** (Passenger or Ferry boat). — Has the bows prolonged into a sharp beak, mast and shoulder-of-mutton sail, outrigged seat for the steersman and washboards astern. The steersman's seat is called *ketam kemudi*, *lit.*, rudder-crab, from a supposed resemblance between its shape and that of a crab. The rudder is hung European fashion. The length of this model is 20 in.

38. **Salah-Salah.** — A large three-master, being fore and aft rigged on two masts, with yard or *peruan* (square or lugsail) on the third. Built of *kelidang*. Dimensions[28] — 240 ft. by 30 ft. by 15 ft.; 5 ft. freeboard; capacity, 30 *koy*; crew of 20; length of mainmast, 80 ft.

39. **Skonar** (? schooner). — Built of *jati*: dimensions, 180 ft. by 26 ft. by 12 ft.; 4 ft. freeboard; capacity, 40 *koy*; crew of 10. Described as being rigged on fore and mainmasts with yards, and the third mast with *gusi* sail (mizzen or fore-and-aft sail). It would appear that the two forward masts either carry lugsails or square yards. The mizzen would be a fore-and-aft sail. This might be a barque-rigged or Chinese-rigged vessel.

40. **S'kuchi or skochi.**[29] — A two-masted trader. Dimensions, 50 ft. by 15 ft. by 7 ft.; 3 ft. freeboard; capacity, 10 *koy*; crew of 8; length of mainmast, 40 ft.; lugsails of screw palm-leaf, of the usual type. (Plate III., fig. 8.)

41. **Tongkang Malayu** (Malay Lighter). — This ketch-rig is now much used in the cargo lighters of Singapore, and is a handy one for a small crew, working about a crowded anchorage liable to sharp squalls. Mainsail and mizzen are set by an outhaul along the gaff, and are easily and rapidly taken in by being brailed to the mast. Many of these boats may be seen any day working in Singapore roads. There is also a class of lighter in Singapore rigged with a big flat-headed lugsail, somewhat like similar lighters at Rangoon. They are big powerful boats, well suited to their work. The rig is handy for going alongside ships, as involving very little gear.

42. **Top or Tôb.** — A two-master, built of *giam* wood. Dimensions, 90 ft. by 18 ft. 8 ft.; 4 ft. freeboard; capacity, 15 *koy*; crew of 8; length of mainmast, 60 ft. Probably a fore-and-aft schooner-rigged vessel, being described as having the *gusi* sail. But if the name means "mizzen," the rig is left open.

43. **Tunku Kudin's Barge** (Kedah pattern), called **Kempeng** or **Ketiap Kedah.**

44. **Wilmana** (from the name of a fabulous bird), an obsolete type of State-boat, formerly used by Selangor Rajas. The particular boat from which this model was copied belonged to one Ungku Alang. — A river boat propelled by sweeps, and fitted with an awning for the crew, as well as for the passengers. It has outrigged galleries fore and aft, and carries a flag and royal gong. The length of this model is 32 ins.

[28] Probably over-all length to end of *dandans* or galleries.

[29] Klinkert says: from Dutch *schuitze*, used for any small sailing boats of European rig.

TABLES OF BOATS.

A.

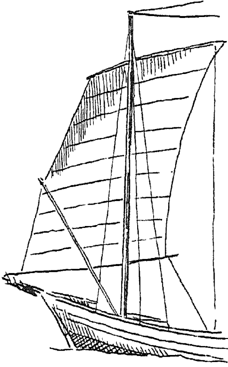
No.	Name of Boat.	Material.	Length.	Beam.	Depth (of hull).		Tonnage.		Free-board.		Crew.	Masts.		Material of Sails.	Remarks.
		Name of Wood.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Inches.	*Koyan.*	*Pikul.*	Feet.	Inches.	No.	No.	Height in feet.		
1	Bedar ...	Chengal	24	4	2	0	1	0	1	0	3	...	...	None	Oars only.
2	Ketiap ...	Giam	48	9	3	0	2	0	1	0	5	...	...	„	Oars and poles only; used for trading up the rivers.
3	Pemndik ...	Seraya	48	15	2	0	2	20	0	6	5	...	...	„	Carries no awning; open river boat.
4	Nadir	Kelidang	24	6	3	3	1	0	1	0	5	1	30	Screw-pine (*mengkuang*).	Leaf.
5	Payang ...	Giam	72	12	5	0	4	0	3	0	40	2	60	„	
6	Kakap ...	Meranti	18	7	3	0	2	0	1	0	3	1	23	Cloth	
7	G'lemat ...	Merbau	36	8	2	3	1	0	1	0	3	1	36	„	
8	Skuchi ..	Kelidang	50	15	7	0	10	0	3	0	8	2	40	Screw-pine leaf	
9	Jong	Jati	200	29	18	0	50	0	10	0	24	2	90	Cloth	*Gusi* sail.
10	Jong (Batu-bara).	Chengal	90	24	16	0	15	0	7	0	9	2	90	„	
11	Salah-Salah ...	Kelidang	240	30	15	0	60	0	5	0	20	3	80	„	(1) Mast, with yard (*peruan*); (2) Masts with gaff topsail (*gap tapsir*).
12	Gurap ...	Giam	300	30	20	0	100	0	11	0	30	2	100	„	Same as No. 11.
13	Kichi	Jati	200	30	15	0	60	0	5	0	20	2	80	„	Two masts, with yards.
14	S'konar ...	„	180	26	12	0	40	0	4	0	10	2	70	„	Two masts (fore and main), with yards, third mast with *gusi* (gaff topsail).
15	Penchalang (Bugis).	„	80	15	9	0	15	0	4	0	30	2	60	„	Masts furnished with ladders (? *tangga*) (possibly European "shrouds").
16	Chemplong ...	„	60	5	2	3	1	0	1	0	12	...	...	None	Oars only.
17	Bandong ...	Merawan	54	6	3	0	2	0	1	3	5	1	50	Cloth	
18	Pedewak (Bugis).	Giam	99	15	12	0	50	0	6	3	16	2	60	„	
19	Pinis	Penak	120	27	8	0	30	0	3	0	9	2	50	„	
20	Katar... ...	Jati	180	21	9	0	20	0	4	0	10	1	90	„	
21	Banting (Acheh).	Giam	90	27	7	0	12	0	2	0	6	2	50	„	
22	Pelang ...	„	42	5	2	3	1	0	1	0	5	1	40	„	
23	Top	„	90	18	8	0	15	0	4	0	10	2	60	„	*Gusi* sail.
24	Jalak (Pahang)	„	72	12	9	0	2	0	4	0	8	2	36	Screw-pine leaf	"Awning fixed permanently astern askew (?)."
25	Kolek... ...	Seraya	24	4	2	0	0	20	1	0	5	1	24	Cloth	*Sabang* (sprit) sail (?).

TABLES OF BOATS.

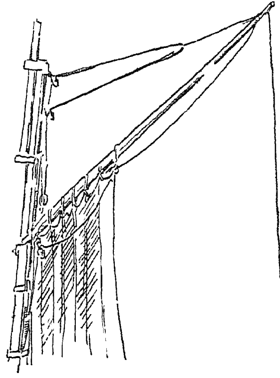
B.

Name of Boat. (*Nama prahu.*)	Length. (*Panjang-nya.*)	Beam. (*Awak-nya.*)	Draft. (*Brapa kaki dalam makam-nya.*)	Freeboard. (*Brapa kaki tinggi-nya deri pada ayer.*)	Cargo. (*Muatan-nya.*)	Number of Crew. (*Orang-nya.*)	Number of Masts. (*Brapa tiang-nya.*)	Remarks.
Sampan	4 *depa*	4 *kaki*	1½ *kaki*	1 *kaki*	6 *pikul*	2	...	...
Jalor	3 „	3 „	½ „	½ „	3 „	1	...	...
Sagor	25 ft.	5 ft.	1 ft.	3 ft.	6 „	3	1	...
Kolek	3 *depa*	6 *kaki*	1 *kaki*	1½ *kaki*	6 *pikul*	1	...	...
Bedar	4 „	5 „	1½ „	2 „	6 „	4	...	...
Ketiap	30 ft.	6—7 ft.	1 ft.	2 ft.	1½ *koyan*	5	...	...
Pemudik... ...	35 „	7 ft.	1 „	3 „	2 „	6	...	...
Nadir	20—25ft.	6 „	1½ „	4 „	1 „	4	1	...
Payang	48 ft.	7 „	2 „	3 „	2½ „	12	2	...
Kakap	5 *depa*	1½ *kaki*	2 *kaki*	1½ *kaki*	5 „	5	...	...
Bermat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Skuchi	50—60ft.	8 ft.	3 ft.	5 ft.	5–6 *koyan*	6	2	1 jib
Salah-Salah ...	72 ft.	10 „	5 „	7 „	10 „	8	2	2 jibs
Jong	12 *depa*	2½ *depa*	5 *kaki*	6 *kaki*	10 „	6	3	...
Tongkang-Malayu	35 ft.	6—7 ft.	2 ft.	5 ft.	2 „	5	2	...
Gubang	4 *depa*	4½ *kaki*	1 *kaki*	4 *kaki*	8 *pikul*	3	1	...
Penjajap (lebak bergantong).	7 „	1½ *depa*	2 „	4 „	5 *koyan*	4	1	...
Balok	30 ft.	6 ft.	1 ft.	2 ft.	1½ „	5	...	...
Gebang	10 *depa*	2 *depa*	2½ *kaki*	5 *kaki*	7 „	5	2	...
Lancha	5 „	1 „	1½ „	4 „	5 „	4	1	...
Lanchara ...	10 „	2 „	3 „	5 „	8 „	6	...	...
Prahu-Tambang, &c.	18 ft.	5 ft.	½ ft.	2 ft.	1 „	2	1	...
Kolek lumba (Singapore).	6 *depa*	1 *depa*	1½ *kaki*	4 *kaki*	4 „	3	1	...

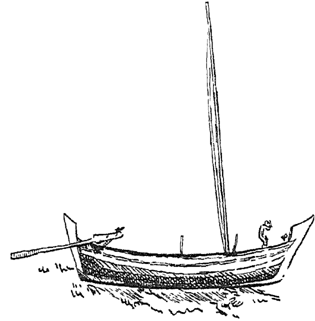
Plate I.



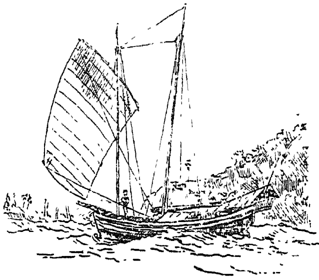
1 FOREMAST, WITH SQUARE SAIL



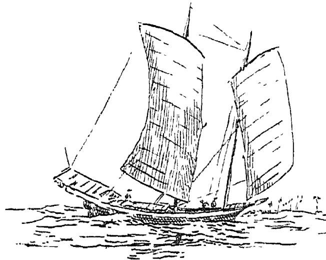
2 TOP-MAST AND GAFF



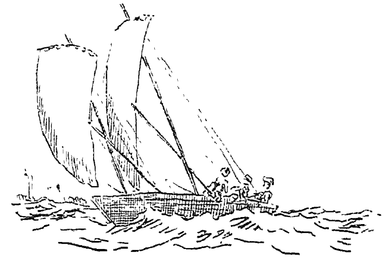
3. MALAY TYPE, SINGORA



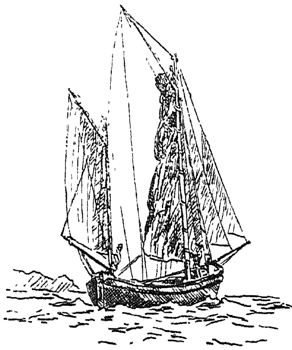
4. TRANSOME-STERNED PENJAJAP, RUNNING INTO SINGORA



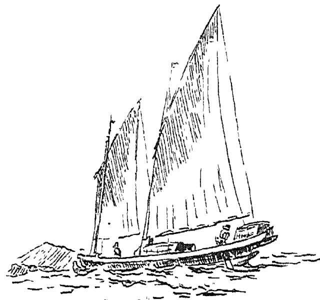
5. FAIR WIND OFF PATANI.



6. FISHING BOAT REACHING: SINGORA.



7. SINGAPORE LIGHTER, TRAILING MAINSAIL



8. LAKE BOAT SINGORA

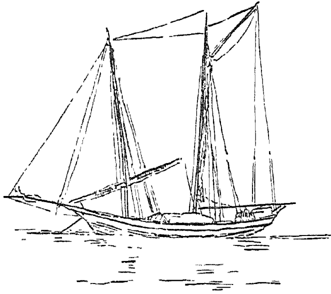


9 RUA YAYAP, CLOSE HAULED, SINGORA HARBOUR

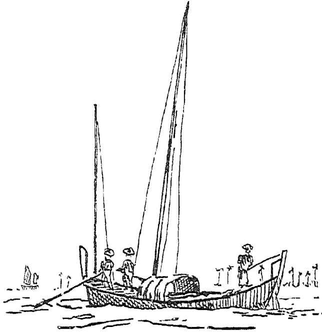
H. WARINGTON SMYTH, DEL

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

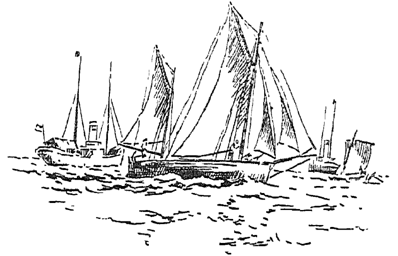
Plate II



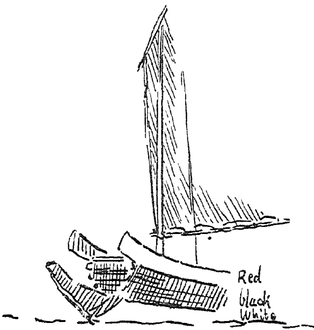
10. AT ANCHOR, FROM A SKETCH OFF LAKAWN



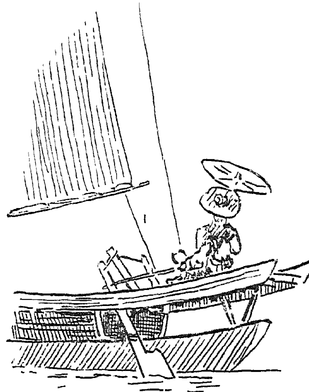
11. KELANTAN TYPE OF SEA CANOE



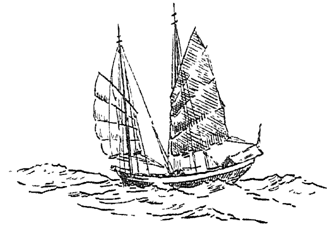
12. IN SINGAPORE ROADS



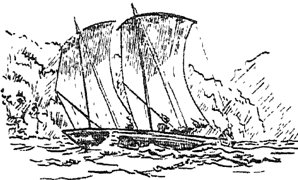
13. BOW, BUILT UP DUG OUT



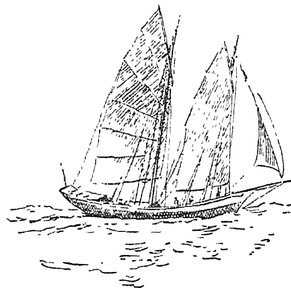
14. STERN, BUILT UP DUG OUT



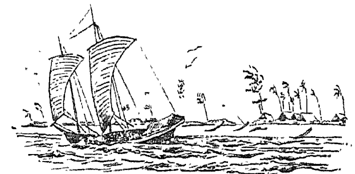
15. FROM A SKETCH IN THE GULF OF SIAM, WITH FAIR MONSOON



16. FISHING CANOE, SINGORA



17. MALAY TRADER WITH CHINESE LUGS, CLOSE HAULED, EAST COAST

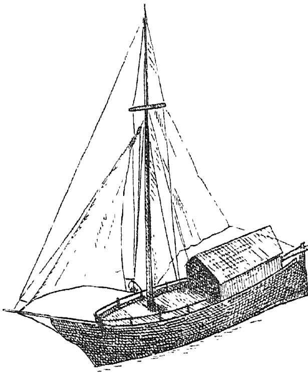


18 PENJAJAP OFF TANG RANAUT

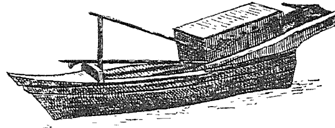
H. WARINGTON SMYTH. DEL.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

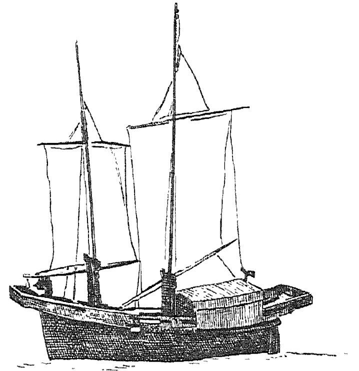
Plate III.



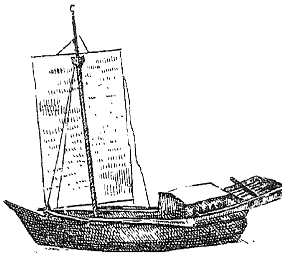
I. GUBANG BUGIS



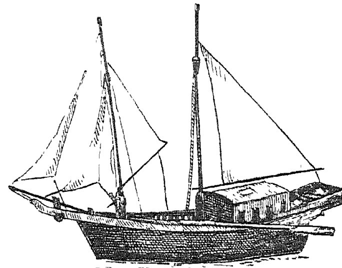
4 KETIAP PENGALLAK



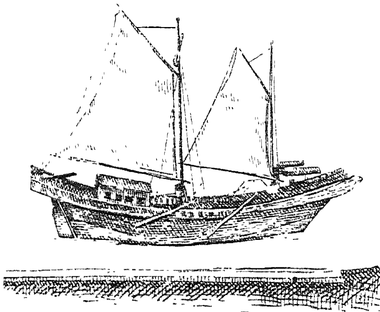
3 KETIAP AYAM



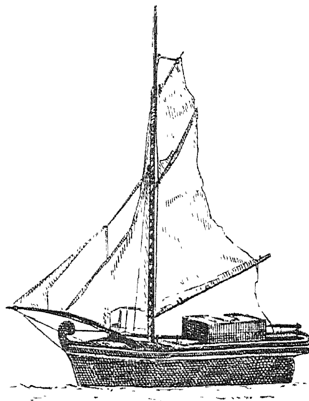
2 KETIAP



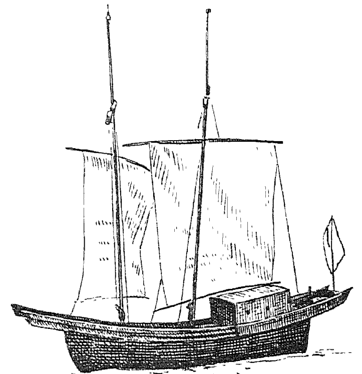
5 LANCHA



6. LANCHANG TO ARU



7 PINIS



8 S'KUCHI

W. W. SKEAT, PHOTO.

W GRIGGS. PHOTO-LITH.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL WOODS USED IN MALAY BOAT-BUILDING.

Malay Name.	Botanical Name.	Names of Boats in which they are used.
1. Chengal or chengai ...	....	Bedar, Jong Batubara.
2. Giam	Shorea sp. (in Sumatra), Balanocarpus sp. ? (in Malay Peninsula).	Ketiap, Pelang, Payang, Top, Gurap, Jalak, Pedewak, Banting Acheh.
3. Jati...	(Teak) Tectona grandis ...	Jong, Kichi, Skonar, Katar, Chemplong, Penchalang Bugis.
4. Kelidang or K'ledang (sel.)	Artocarpus lancifolius ...	Nadir, Skuchi, Salah-Salah.
5. Meranti	Hopea meranti	Kakap.
6. Merawan	Hopea mengarawan	Bandong.
7. Merbau	Afzelia palembanica	Gelemat (Bermat?).
8. Penak	Balanocarpus maximus ..	Pinis (?).
9. Saraya or Seraya Chempedak ayer.	Shorea	Pemudik, Kolek.

Among the many other woods used in Malay boat-building may be mentioned the several species of *medang* (*tetranthera*), and *mentangor* (*calophyllum*), used especially for masts and spars, &c.; also perhaps the Indian *daun* (*sâl* or *shorea*); *k'ranji* (*leguminosæ* and *dipterocarpeæ*); and *kosak* or *kusak* (*dipterocarpeæ*); *penaga* (*calophyllum inophyllum*) is used especially for "boats'-knees" (*siku-siku*); *perepat* (*sonneratia alba* ?); *puleh* (*calophyllum inophyllum*) for big boats, especially stem and bow pieces, not planks; *bentangor bunga* for masts (*calophyllum pulcherrimum*); *glam-bark* (*melaleuca leucodendron*) and *damar*, instead of oakum and pitch.

GLOSSARY.

Andang-andang. — The "yard."

Anjing-anjing. — *Lit.*, the "dogs"; tack-ring for sail fixed in *chabang guling* (*q.v.*).

Angkul-angkul. — Metal ring for setting up stays to, or belaying tack of sail (both fore and aft). When these rings are of wood, they are called *anjing-anjing*, *q.v.*; *e.g.* also the other use of the word *angkul-angkul* (in *kolek*).

Angkul-angkul. — The ornamental "bit" across the stem of the sea-canoe (*kolek*) only, with "crab's eyes" lashed in position; *v. angkul-angkul* (*supra*).

Apit lempang. — Lower strake.

Balas. — (*v. tolak bara*).

Bantal. — *Lit.*, pillow; *i. e.*, "rest" or "support."

Batang (*dayong*) or *gandar.* — The shaft of an oar.

Batu sauh. — *Lit.*, "anchor-stone," *i.e.*, weight lashed to shank of Malay anchor as a "sinker."

'Bam (*kamudi*). — Rudderhead.

Bĕdar. — An elongated and flattened beak, broadening towards the tip (not unlike the bill of an *ornithorhyncus*). *V.* also list of boat names.

Bekas pengumpil. — Crutch for helmsman's steering oar or paddle.

Bekas tombak sayang. — Cringle in the luff taking spar-bow-line.

Bengku-bengku (kajang). — Crutches or solid forks for supporting awning (*kajang*), stepped in "joints" (internodes) of bamboo: native (Malay) awning rests for supporting *sides* of awning only.

Beranda. — Gallery or deckhouse; *lit.*, "verandah" (perhaps from the Portuguese).

Berombong. — Mast-tabernacle.

Birei. — "Side" of a boat (*i.e.*, a thin, sharp boat-side as distinct from a boat-side with broad gunwale, for which latter *v. leper-leper*).

Bom (Dutch). — The "boom."

Buah berambang. — The truck (*lit.*, *berembang* fruit, so-called from an onion-shapened fruit which grows on a big tree in the tidal mangrove swamps). In Jav. *berembang* = onion. The fruit is acid and may be eaten.

Buaya-buaya. — *Lit.*, the "crocodile." The posts at bow and stern of some Malay boats, which are nailed to the *linggi* (*q.v.*).

Chabang guling. — Horizontal forked bow-and-stern gunwale-pieces.

Cherok jegong. — Locker under bow-sheets. (Klinkert says: For stowing cable or sails, ropes, &c.).

Cherok jegong. — Bow and stern-lockers.

Chupu-chupu (tiang). — Mast-steps and partners.

Dandan. — Projecting or bow or stern galleries, as in many old and some modern sailing vessels.

Dap'ras or *daperas.* — A rope "fender" for protecting the side of a ship.

Daun dayong. — *Lit.*, "Oar-leaf"; *i.e.*, oar-blade.

Daun pengayuh. — Paddle-blade.

Dayong. — Oar.

Gading-gading. — The ribs (*lit.*, ivories or elephant-tusks) of a built-up boat.

Gai p'lang jib. — Bowsprit-stays.

Gaing. — Klinkert says: Beak-like piece formed by the tapering of both stem and stern of a ship above the keel.

Gandar sauh. — Shank of anchor.

Gelemat. — (horizontal) forked strengthening-piece inside stem (of a river-boat or *ketiap* only).

Gula (also *algula*). — Grommets or oarloops (made of rattan, for oars).

Jamban. — The "jakes." (*Dinding jamban*, the side of the "jakes"); *v. jerambah.*

Jaring-jaring. — *Lit.*, nettings or network (*i.e.*, the gratings of the flooring of a *sampan*, &c.).

Jempu-jempu. — Ensign-staff step.

Jongor. — Jib-boom (spar on end of bow-sprit).

Jerambah. — The open-work floor of a *dandan* or out-rigged stern gallery, consisting of narrow fore-and-aft battens, with open spaces between them, and used as a "jakes," &c. (Klinkert says: Place where plates are washed and people bathe, the (cook's) gallery on board, &c.).

Jerambah. — Out-rigged bow gallery.

Jerubong. — Klinkert says: Projecting roof above the deck, made by covering in with matting the cargo which cannot otherwise be stowed.

Kajang serong. — *Lit.*, cross-*kajang* or awning.

Kamar (or *bilek*). — A cabin (fr. Port. *kamar*).

Kamudi. — Rudder. (1) *k. sepak* or the kicking rudder (the native steering-paddle). (2) *k. chawat*, the "close-shipped" or European rudder (*lit.*, "loin-cloth" rudder, because it is fitted to the stern-post).

Kandar (dayong). — *v. gandar* (or *batang*).

Kapi. — A double sheave-block.

K'lodau sauh (or *kaladau*). — Cable-bits, extending across bows, on which cable is wound.

Kelikir. — Robbins for bending sail to yard.

Kelikir (dayong). — Big rattan loop lashed to *sangga* (*q.v.*), for carrying oars, like European fisherman's lumber iron.

Ketam kamudi. — *Lit.*, Rudder crab. An ornamental plank taking rudder upright in the sea-canoe (*kolek*) only.

Kota mara. — Transverse deck bulkheads at stem and stern.

Kuku. — *Lit.*, "claw" or "talon" — anchor fluke.

Kurong. — Deck-house. *k. bajau*, the deck-house of a pirate (*gubang laut*), which consisted of two separate fore and aft shelters facing each other at the stern.

Lantei. — Flooring (of a *sampan*, &c.); frequently a wooden grating or grid.

Layar, or *layer*. — A sail. (*a*) native, of the leaf of the screw-palm, or the *kadut*, &c.; called *l. batang*. (*b*) foreign, *e.g.*, the cloth-sail.

—— *puchok jala.* — *Lit.*, "peak of casing-net" sail; *i.e.*, what should call "shoulder-of-mutton" sail.

—— *bara gawir suai* (? extra sail "between the masts").

—— *bara gawir suai.* — Staysail.

—— *bara gusi.* — Mainsail.

—— *gap topsier.* — Gaff topsail or topsail.

—— *trengkit.* — Fore-sail.

—— *trengkit gedeling.* — Fore topsail.

—— *trengkit topsier.* — Fore topsail (over gaff ?)

Leper-leper. — Flat top of gunwale.

Liang kumbang. — *Lit.*, "borer-bee holes," limber holes, *i.e.*, spaces left underneath the ribs for the water to pass by (to reach the bailing-well).

Linggi. — Stem and stern-pieces of some Malay fishing-boats.

Linggi or *kepala 'luan.* — Stem-piece (*kepala 'luan* — bow-head). [*Linggi* also means stern-piece, but for this the corresponding synonym is *kepala buritan*, or stern-head.]

Linggisan (dayong) or *linggis*. — False gunwale-piece, taking the grommets.

Lunas. — Keel or keelson (European).

Magun. — By some said (rather vaguely) to be a "small hut above the *kajang*"; by others, "a small shelter formed by an additional *kajang* in the stern" (at the back of the main awning).

Mata kakap. — *Lit.*, "scout-hole," or more *lit.* "scout's eye"; *i.e.*, the plughole.

Mata ketam. — *Lit.*, "crab's eyes"; *v. angkul-angkul*. (These *mata ketam* are short sticks with knobs on them, thus resembling crab's eyes on stalks; they are fitted into the *angkul-angkul*).

Naga-naga. — Central fore-and-aft piece let into deck between thwarts, over bailing-well; *v.* also *naga-naga, infra.*

Naga-naga. — *Lit.*, the "dragon"; bottom floorboard or stringer; horizontal fore-and-aft timber nailed to the keel, along the inside of the boat; *v.* also *naga-naga, supra.*

Pakau. — (1) Strengthening piece, as in case of *pakau rubing*; (2) cross-piece, like the bar of a bucket or bailer, which is used as a handle for making rope fast to, &c.

Pakau kajang. — Split cane. Strengthening piece for edge of awning or *kajang*.

Paku chabang 'luan. — Metal fastenings holding strakes to bow rib. (*Paku* = nail.) *Lit.*, "nails of bow-fork."

Paku gading-gading. — Metal fastenings holding strakes to rib abreast mast. (*Lit.*, "rib-nils.")

Pangger. — The cross timbers taking the flooring of a *sampan*, &c.

Pantok. — Short weather-boards on the quarters in a river boat or *ketiap*.

Papan guntong or *guntong* (only). — Top-strake.

Papan kamudi. — Steersman's out-rigged seat.

Papan lupi' or *lupik* (or *lopi*). — Stern-sheet floor-piece for steersman (in the *kolek* or sea-canoe).

Papan tembatu. — Fore-and-aft battens of out-rigged gallery.

Papan ketiak. — *Lit.*, "arm-pit planks," *i.e.*, horizontal out-rigged wash-boards on each bow.

Papan lapek sauh. — Bow-sheets (on which anchor is stowed).

Pasak tuli. — *Lit.*, "deaf"-pegs, *i. e.*, wooden pegs making fast ends of strakes to stem.

Pelkah. — The hatch.

Pemetar or *pemutar* (also *tangan*) *kamudi*. — The tiller [*lit.*, the turning-piece or rudder-arm (*tangan*)].

Penchachi. — A pin or lever (short spar), used only to help in rolling up the leafsail, which is much harder to roll than a sail of cloth upon the boom, whether for reefing or furling.

Pendua apit lempang. — Middle (*lit.*, 2nd) strake.

Pengayuh. — Paddle.

Pengapit Rubing. — Lowest slat (or split cane), made fast to gunwale and ribs, to hold in place the bottom of the *rubing* (*q.v.*).

Perambut takal changking. — Stropping of peak-halyard block.

Perapatan. — The jointure or joining-places of the strakes. Probably also originally a wooden caulking-piece, such as is well known elsewhere. Klinkert does not mention this, but gives *perapat*: Peg upon which, or hole in which, the oar-handles are stuck (?)

Peruan. — Yards, *i. e.*, *andang-andang* (*q.v.*).

Perimpin. — The luff-rope (rope edging of foreport or "luff" of the sail).

Petak. — The hold.

Petak ikan. — The fish-hold.

Pisang-pisang. — *Lit.*, the plantain or banana, *i. e.*, the galver-strake or rubbing-strake.

'Pit. — Described as a spar or timber above the mainsail, apparently another name for the gaff or yard (possibly a confusion with English peak).

Rubing. — False gunwale, or wash-strake, made of palm-leaf and fixed on to the gunwale of Malay fishing-boats, &c.

Sampan slit. — A dug-out with in-board wash-strake.

Sangga (*galah*). — Solid forked lumber-piece for carrying quanting-poles, &c.

Sauh. — Anchor.

Sengkar. — A thwart.

Sengkar b'lakang. — Stern-sheet thwart.

Sengkar timba ruang. — Bailing-well thwarts.

Sengkar tiang (or *tiyang*). — The mast thwart.

Senta. — According to Klinkert, the fore and aft timbers on which the deck timbers ("deck baulks") come to be laid.

Senta (or *rembat*). — Klinkert says: *Rimbat*, the false gunwale-piece taking the grommet (*linggisan*, *q. v.*, but *v. senta supra*).

Serempu. — Dug out keel-piece, previous to building upon, or, more strictly, "keel and bottom-piece."

Siar (or *sier*). — Sail (Eng. ?).

Siku-siku. — The "knees," according to Klinkert. *Lit.*, it means the "elbows."

S'kat kamudi. — Aft thwart.

S'kat 'luan. — The bow thwart.

Subang babi. — *Lit.*, pig's ear-rings (from its shape), *i. e.*, false stem-taking ends of false gunwale (*rubing*).

Sulor-bayong. — Ornamental wooden scroll finial in stern sheets of sea-canoe (*kolek*).

Tajok. — Native forked rests (or crutches) for supporting the ends of the Malay awning or *kajang*.

Tajok lelei (*v. supra*). — Elongated rib with knee at stern, taking the end of the *rubing* or surf-board.

Takal. — A single sheave block.

Tali anak. — The lashing which holds cable to shank.

—— *anjar.* — Peak halyard (standing part).

—— *anggo'.* — *Lit.*, nodding or pitching rope — the name given to the bob-stay of the *jongor* (jib-boom, *q. v.*).

—— *bara gai.* — "Rope used with boom of stern-mast." Main tack.

—— *bubutan.* — Runners or running back-stays.

—— *bustai.* — (Eng.) "bob-stay."

Tali changking. — Peak halyard (hauling part).

—— *dugang.* — Man-rope, enabling crew to lean out-board to windward when carrying press of sail.

—— *k'lat.* — Sheet.

—— *klendara.* — Yard *parral*, holding yard to mast.

—— *labrang.* — Synonym for *timberang* ; shroud, or main halyard.

—— *lalei.* — Vang, controlling the end of the yard.

—— *prahu.* — *Lit.*, boat-rope (the " painter").

—— *Sauh.* — The cable (*lit.*, anchor-rope).

—— *temberang* (or *tĕmbĕrang*). — Shrouds ; main-rigging.

—— *trengkit gai.* — Rope used with boom of foremast (fore-tack).

Teletei. — The slats of the *rubing* (wash or surf-board).

Tembatu. — Fore and aft battens of out-rigged bow gallery.

Tembuku. — Flat wooden block in which the thole is stepped.

Tiang (or *tiyang*) *agong.* — The mainmast.

Tiang (or *tiyang*) *gapil.* — The mizzen.

Tiang kamudi (or *tiyang k.*). — The rudder-upright, holding by a grommet the rudder head. This is in craft where the rudder is used on the quarter, generally on the lee side.

Tiang (or *tiyang*) *tupang.* — The foremast. Klinkert says: This mast (the foremast) is called *t. tupang* from the fact that it stands so close to the crutch (*tupang*) on which the awning (*kajang*) rests.

Timba. — Bailing bucket or " bailer."

Timba ruang (or *ruwang*). — The bailing-well.

Tenda. — Short weather-boards on the quarters in a *nadir*.

Tolak bara. — Ballast (also *balas* = Eng. " ballast ").

Tombak sayang. — *Lit.*, "Hugging lance" (or "shaft"). Spar-bow-line fitting into a cringle in the luff.

Topang kajang. — Awning crutch (when made in two pieces, taking the ends of the awning or *kajang*).

Tul. — (Eng.) thowl or thole : (Dutch) *dol.*

Tupei-tupei. — A " cleat" (piece of wood fastened to a mast, thwart, or gunwale, for belaying ropes : distinct from belaying-pins, which go through a thwart or gunwale).

Ular-ular. — *Lit.*, the " snake " or " serpent." (1) a State or Royal pendant or streamer. (2) See the scroll-work at the side of (out-rigged) galleries.

Ulu pengayuh. — Paddle-handle.

Ulu (*dayong*). — The " loom " of an oar (*lit.*, oarhead, or hilt).

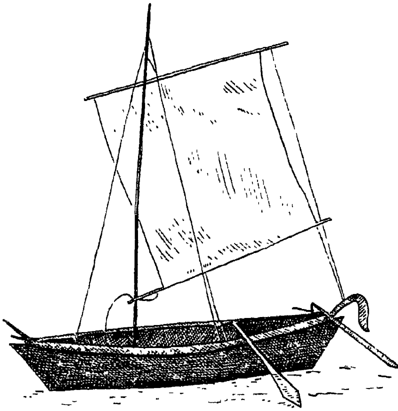
NOTES BY W. W. SKEAT.

I.

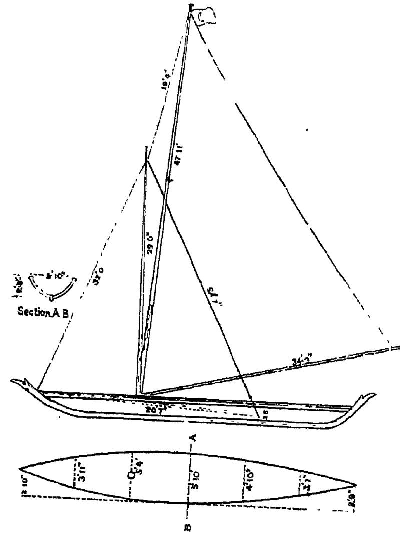
Plate IV., fig. 1, is taken from the photograph of a model *kolek*, or Malay sea-canoe, now in the Cambridge Museum. This particular type is that of the *kolek*, as known on the Selangor (*i.e.*, west) coast of the Malay Peninsula. It obviously differs in several respects from the racing canoe (also called *kolek*) of Singapore, and somewhat curiously approaches, in fact, in build and

MALAY BOATS.
(*Additions*)

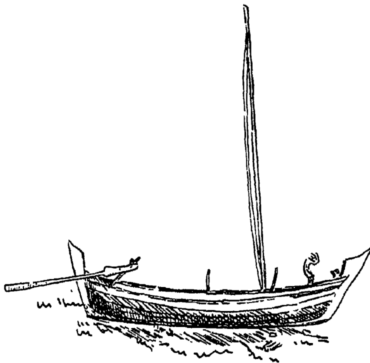
Plate IV



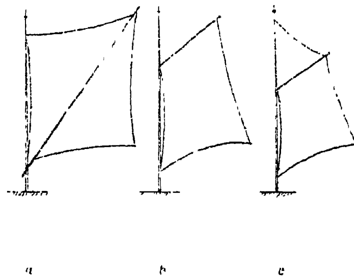
1. MALAY KOLEK OR SEA-CANOE, SELANGOR OR WEST-COAST TYPE



2. MALAY KOLEK OR SEA-CANOE, SINGAPORE RACING TYPE



3 MALAY KOLEK OR SEA-CANOE, SINGORA, EAST-COAST TYPE



4. THREE TYPES OF SAIL

(a) SPRIT-SAIL, SET UP BY ITS SPREET; LAYER SABANG

(b) FORE-AND-AFT GAFF-SAIL: LAYER GUSI.

(c) DO DO. WITH TOP-SAIL ADDED; LAYER GUSI WITH LAYER PAKAI-GAP OR TAP-SIR.

H. WARINGTON SMYTH AND W. W SKEAT, DEL AND PHOTO. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

general appearance, the *cheemaun*, or birch-bark canoe of Canada. The curious cylindrical "bit" which is lashed in position across the stem of this type of sea-canoe (*kolek*), and furnished with what are called "crab's eyes" (*meta ketam*) in Malay, is worth noting. It is probably the highly conventionalised form of some more or less typical bow furniture, the fisherman's line being allowed to hang overboard between the "eyes," which then help to keep it in position. This boat is always steered by a paddle.

Plate IV., fig. 2, represents the *punggei*, a *kolek*, or Malay sea-canoe (Singapore racing type), the property of one of the local Rajas, reproduced by the kind permission of the editor of the *Yachtsman*. It will be seen that the criticism of its build, &c., made by Mr. Warington Smyth in his paper are fully borne out. Nevertheless, it is this type of Malay boat, of whose speed so many remarkable stories have been told, which has earned for the Malays the very high reputation for seamanship that, among native (non-Europeanised) races, they undoubtedly possess. The truth seems to be that these crafts are, beyond any doubt, exceedingly slippy, and can show a very clean pair of heels when running more or less before the wind, but are of quite inferior speed under any other circumstances. A centre-board would, no doubt, as Mr. Warington Smyth suggests, improve them immensely.

Plate IV., fig. 3, Malay *kolek* or sea-canoe, — east-coast type. The *kolek* of the east coast (Kelantan and Patani) is a third, and a very different type, not unlike a small *payang*.

The following is the translation of a valuable explanatory note received from a Malay correspondent since the publication of Mr. Smyth's paper, the note being accompanied by the diagrams in Plate IV., fig. 4, the first of which (*a*) represents the *layer sabang* or "spritsail," set up by its "spreet" (as Mr. W. Smyth surmised); the second (*b*) being the sail called *layer gusi*, or "fore-and-aft gaff sail"; and the third (*c*) representing the *gusi* sail with "gaff topsail" (*gap tap-sir*) in addition. "The *payang* formerly carried forty men, but this was when it was used for piratical purposes, and that was why it carried so large a crew. At the present day it carries one master (*juragan*), one boatswain (*jerbatu*; *lit.*, 'master of the anchor'), one helmsman (*jermudi*), ten seamen (*klasi*), and a cook (*tukang masak*), in all about fifteen men: a crew of forty men would mean a pirate. The *gurap* ('grab') is certainly as much as three hundred feet long, *i.e.*, as big as a small 'fire-boat' (or 'steamer'). The *salah-salah* is quite as much as two hundred feet long; in some cases it is as long as the *gurap*."

To the foregoing note may be added the following name which is not included in the list: *prahu kepala kelalang*, or "'mantis-head' boat." This boat is described by Clifford and Swettenham as a long, narrow boat, the deck of which is below water-level, with plank sides, and awning or *kajang* of *atap* (palm-leaves). It is said to be much used in Kelantan, on the east coast of the Peninsula. The name of this boat was doubtless given on account of its rounded figure-head, which is not unlike the head of the insect referred to. To the list of canoes should be added the *prahu sagor*, which is a kind of "dug-out."

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In consequence of pressure of time I was unable to revise the second Table of Boat Measurements, and hence in many cases the Malay equivalents for weights and measures were retained, instead of giving the English ones. The following are the English equivalents of the Malay terms: — *depa* = Eng. "fathom" (6 ft.); *kaki* = Eng. "foot" (12 in.); *pikul* = $133\frac{1}{3}$ *lb.* av.; *koyan* = 40 *pikul* = $5{,}333\frac{1}{3}$ *lb.* av. These latter measures are abbreviated in the text to *pik.* and *koy.* respectively.

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THE SYMBOLISM OF THE SAVITRI-VRATA.

BY B. A. GUPTE, F.Z.S.

THE **Sâvitrî-vrata** is a fast kept by Hindu women on the last three days, or the last day of the bright half of the Jyêshṭhâ (June) to avert widowhood.

In order that the reader may appreciate **the Nature-myth of Sâvitrî,** which underlies the symbolism and the ceremonies proper to the occasion, I will quote the Paurânic story : — She was the daughter of the king Aśvapati. When she had reached a marriageable age, her father asked her to go in search of a husband and make her choice herself. She returned and announced to her father that she had chosen Satyavat, the son of an old king, who, after being dethroned, was then living in the jungle with his wife. At this time Nârada, the all-knowing saint who happened to be present, told her and her father that it would be choosing grief and misery, because Satyavat was fated to die within a year. But the high-minded maiden could on no account be persuaded to change her mind. They were, therefore, married. Sâvitrî discarded her princely jewels and dresses, and followed her husband in the coarse raiment of the hermit. During the last three days of his life she vowed to fast. On the fated day, as her husband had gone out to collect fagots or to fell trees, she accompanied him. Fatigued by his work, Satyavat rested his head upon his wife's lap and fell asleep. At this point there are variants in the story. Some authors say that a branch of the tree fell on his head, while others proclaim that he was bitten by a snake. Anyhow the fact remains that he rested his head on the lap of his wife, — Mother Earth, as will be shown further on. At that moment Yama, as the Marâthâs call him, or Jama as the Bengalis say, snatched his soul out of his body in the presence of his devoted wife and moved towards the South. Sâvitrî closely followed the God of Death, and as she was a Sati, even the hard-hearted Yama dared not interfere with her. At last, Love conquered Death, and at her earnest solicitation, Yama restored life to the prostrate body of her Lord, and blessed her with gifts. Among them were — the restoration of the lost eye-sight, youth, and crown of her father-in-law, and the birth of a hundred sons to the now happy pair.

Sâvitrî is therefore regarded as the highest type of conjugal fidelity, and her example is held out to every daughter of high-class India for imitation. Here the *Purâṇa* ends, but Ethnology does not discard all mythological records as mere stories. Carlyle tells us that behind literature there is a great deal of the history of the evolution of religion handed down by tradition. Traditions are still recorded in India by symbols or in hieroglyphic or pictographic writings, and with my wife's help I have been able to get a copy of some traditional drawings lately made with sandal-wood paste on a wall. I have not interfered with her original production (Plate attached), as I prefer it to any of the artistic embellishments of modern artists, who would introduce the ghost-like shadow of death in servile imitation of Watt's celebrated paintings of Love and Death and murder or mutilate the chaste symbolism of the past, *vide* modern chromolithographs sold in the *bâzârs.*

The first impression produced by **the picture** is that it is a **marriage scene. The priest** (fig. 36) and the **group of musicians** (figs. 37, 38, 39) tell us that. But let us look at the Sun (fig. 1) and the Moon (fig. 5). They are the two eyes of the Mahâpuruśa or the Great Person, the common source of life, the highest manifestations of fructifying force. Emerson tells us that it is the vivifying morning sun, which, rising, awakens the sleeping world and gives life to men and plants. The Sun[1] and the Moon signify beatific life, and in their conjunction were emblems of blessedness. On the elaborate Shield of Achilles, Homer is careful to describe

[1] Note by Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S. The Sun and the Moon almost invariably occur on Sati-pillars in Bundelkhand, and are usually interpreted as symbols of chastity, thus implying the everlasting union of the faithful wife with her husband.

a representation of the Moon in full, together with the disc of the Sun. In Egypt the Sun is Osiris, the Good Being, the vivifying eye of Hor. In the harvest-scenes of the Mexican gods in the *Codex Tarono*, the lives of the seeds are shown to exist to immortal fruitage in the country of the Sun, and in that Blessed Isle, the garden of Ialon, even the soul of the man awaits the touch of the solar fire to kindle again and bloom into the familiar and coveted form of man. It is a boon which the Egyptian seeks in his appeal to Osiris that the Sun should shine upon his sarcophagus. The Persian symbol of the divinity resembles one drawn in India. Emerson adds that they are considered to be anthropomorphic beings, and are in both the countries represented with human faces. In India, the Moon is called Ośâdhipati or Lord of the Vegetable Kingdom, and the brother of the Sun. In Egypt again, the Moon is the presiding genius of the Thunder Bird, the giver of rain. In Chaldea, as well as in Mexico, the Moon is not always distinguishable from the earth goddess, Coltine.

Figs. 2, 3, and 4 are **hanging lamps.** May it be that they represent stars or constellations? Fig. 3 is called *akâśa-dîvâ*, sky-lamp, and is exhibited on a pole at the time of the Dîvâlî Festival, to guide, according to the Marâṭhâs, the gods who are expected to grace the festival with their presence. In Bengal they are supposed to guide the departed souls of the people.

Fig. 6 is the *ârtî*, or one of the **floating frames** for lamps which are launched on the Ganges in Benares and other places, reflecting in the limpid water a scene all ablaze. *Ârtî*, in some shape or other, is necessary in all *pûjâs*. The other articles required for a *pûjâ*, as well as for a marriage ceremony, are also in evidence. Fig. 16 is the cylindrical **box for keeping kuṅkuṅ,** the red powder applied by married or unmarried (excepting widows) Hindu women to their foreheads. Fig. 17 is **the box** which contains a preparation of bees'-wax, the **adhesive medium** for the red powder. Fig. 18 is the *tabak* or **tray** for holding flowers, moistened rice, and sandal-wood paste. Fig. 19 is the *panchpâlê*, or **five-partite box,** for keeping turmeric powder, *kuṅkuṅ*, scented *abhîr*, brown *gulâl*, and red *sendûr*. Fig. 20 is the *tâmbyâ* or **lôtâ** to hold water and to represent Varuṇa, the God of Rain. Fig. 21 illustrates the **water-cup** and the **sacrificial spoon:** Fig. 24 is the **comb:** Fig. 25 the **looking-glass.** These are the toilette requisites of a bride, and are not symbols, except in so far as they indicate the happy married state of the main figure.

Fig. 23 is, however, an exceptional group of fine coils, with a double significance. In this place they represent the **bamboo-trays,** in which a bride's requisites are put together and distributed among married women. But when considered with the winnowing-basket trays, shaped like a horse-shoe, similarly used during the Gaurî or Harvest Festival, they lead one to think of the coil — the symbol of the celestial serpent — the emblem of the awakened forces of the Spring, as will be seen further on. Fig. 7 is the **serpent** or *nâg*, represented in Hindu mythology by the Sêśâ, or thousand-headed cobra, who supports the Earth, and by Vâsuki, the snake that coils itself round Śiva. In Egypt, it symbolize lightning. The North Indians attribute to this symbol the power of giving life in their shamanistic rites, and the medicine-man uses it to secure resurrection and preservation. The Mexican sun-snakes were marked with disks on their heads, and, says Emerson, would appear to refer to the awakened forces of Spring after the hybernating Winter: (*vide* specimens in the Ethnological Museum of Berlin.) The Indian rattle-snake is supposed to hold a *mani* or jewel in his head, which he puts out at night to guide himself with its bright light. This head-jewel or *mani* is sometimes drawn above the head thus: . The serpent hair of the Gorgon-head amulet of Athene's shield is a representation of the aërial serpent, seen to leap from the skies in forked lightning. The coils on the locks of the gods of Assyria and Chaldea, the waving locks of the Egyptian god Bes, and the serpent-locks of Ato-to-harto, the Indian demi-god, are all intended as signs of celestial approaches and domination. An idol in

the Ethnographic Museum at Berlin has all the lineaments of its face composed of serpents, and is supposed to be a graphic, though barbaric, image of Immortal Reawakening Life, the God-head of Nature. The hybernating snake awakens with the approaching Summer. When the heat of the Sun descends in vast waves upon the Earth, and vegetation springs up, the serpent throws off his old garments and comes forth in burnished splendour, the symbol of bright Athene's celestial array. Thus then the serpentine coil suggests the joys of the vernal epoch of resurrection. Demeter, the goddess of maize, was once adorned with serpentine locks. It was she whom the Greek believed to be in attendance within the tomb with the maize in her hand.

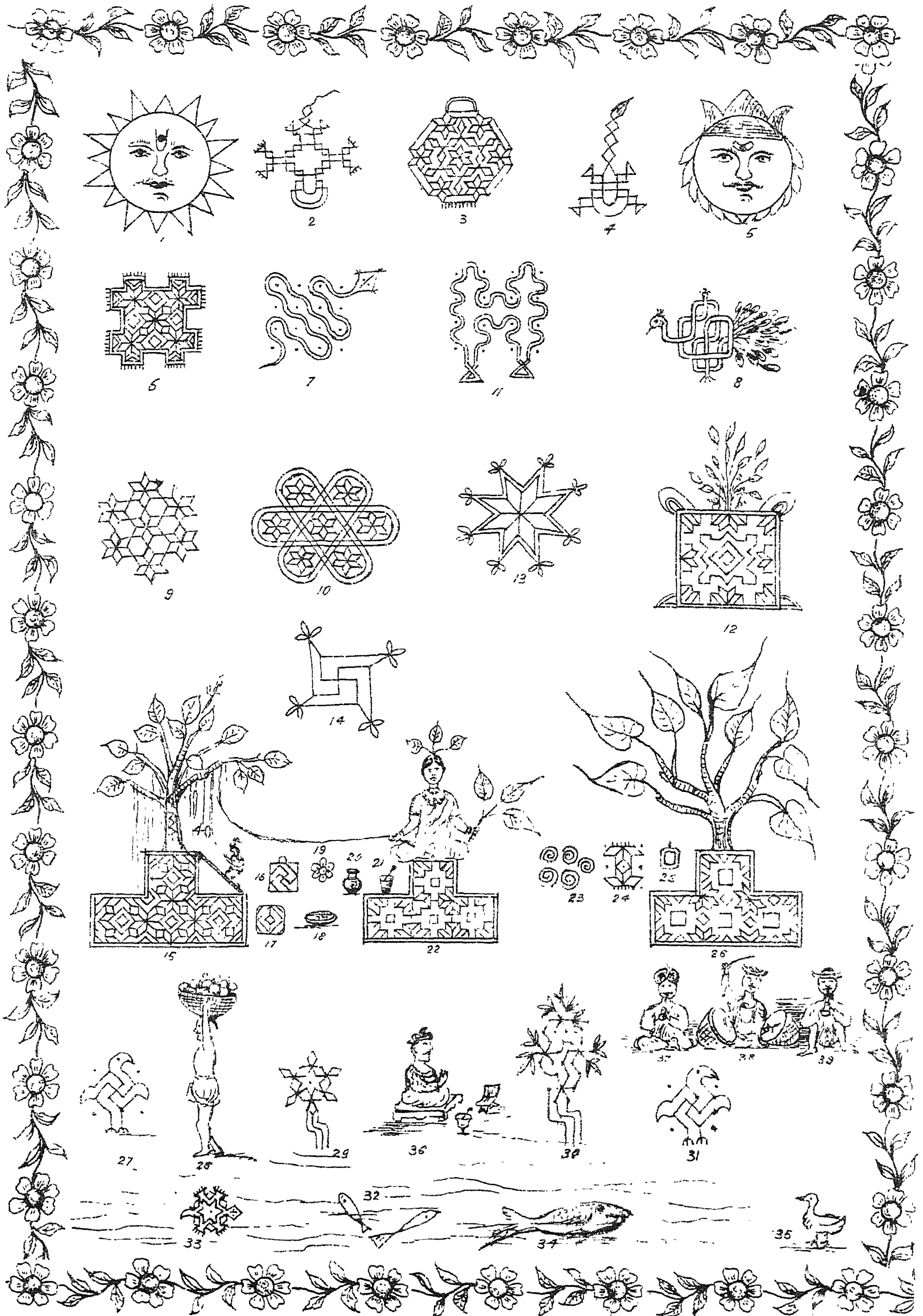
Fig. 8 is a **peacock,** closely associated, like the stormy petrel, with the approach of the monsoon. At that time the peacock puts on his annual new plumage. Sanskrit literature is full of references to the joy which the approach of a cloud produces in the peacock. Fig. 9 is called **jâlindraphûl,** which may mean fret-work, but the lotus-design deserves notice. Fig. 10 is called *chendu*, a **ball.** I am unable to explain what it means and why it comes in here. Fig. 11, *sêśâcha-palang* or **'bed of the thousand-headed cobra.'** Vishṇu sleeps on it, but the name Vishṇu literally means 'he who pervades the universe.' Fig. 12 is the sacred **tulśî** plant, the consort of Vishṇu, itself an emblem of resurrection as well as chastity. Fig. 13 is a *kamal* or **lotus,** the seat of Brahmâ, the Creator, and of Lakshmî, the Goddess of Wealth. Fig. 14 is the **fylfot**[2] **cross,** the Svastik, the symbol of the four quarters of the globe, as well as of the winds and the emblem of good-luck. Fig. 15 is the **Ficus indica,** the Indian fig-tree, with associations like the Golden Bough of the West. It never dies, its aërial roots support its new branches and it goes on growing for ages, as the historical *kabîr baṛ* has been. Fig. 22 is called **Vata-Sâvitri** after this king of the forest. It represents the chief deity:— **Mother Earth,** the daughter of the Sun. She holds a twig of the *Ficus religiosa* in one hand, and the aërial root of the *Ficus indica* in the other, and has growing over her head an offshoot of the *vaṭa*. She is the bride, whose marriage is celebrated every year, with the revived Fructifying Force personified in **Satyavân** or **Satyavat,** who is seen climbing the eternal, evergreen fig-tree (fig. 40) in the presence of, and side by side with, a snake, the emblem of resurrection. Figs. 27 and 31 are **sparrows,** the harbingers of a crop. Fig. 28 is a **mango-hawker,** the mango being the first-fruit of June. Fig. 29 is the **mango-tree.** Its leaves are strung into wreaths to make festoons for marriage-bowers: its inflorescence is sacred to Madan, the God of Love; its fruit is offered to gods. Fig. 30 is the **bêl** (*Ægle marmelos*). Its trifoliate leaf is sacred to Śiva, the emblem of procreative power, as seen in the phallus. Figs. 32, 33, 34, and 35 are the usual associates of a **river.** All primitive colonies were established on the banks of the rivers. Fig. 36 is **the priest** reading his text, and figs. 37, 38, and 39 represent a **group of musicians,** so essential to a marriage ceremony.

One important feature remains to be noticed: **the altar** on which the two fig-trees and the central figure are depicted: (see figs. 15, 22, 26). The square altar represents the Earth in Egyptian hieroglyphics, the stepped altar indicates the verb 'to be' or 'to make.'[3] The Egyptian Isis bears upon her head a stepped altar or throne and kneels deploring the death of Osiris, in a sculpture in the British Museum.[4] The Greeks used stepped altars, and to the lesser gods they built altars of two steps, as is the case in this pictograph.

[2] The ring-topped cross or *crux ansata* of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Chaldea, the guarded cross, the gammadion or svastika, of Scandinavia, Central Europe, the Caucasus, India, Tibet, China, and Japan, is held to be lucky. — Sir James Campbell, in his *Notes on Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, p. 53.

[3] *MS. Mexicaine Bibliotheque Nationale Paris, Codex Telleriano.*

[4] *Champolion, Gr. Egyptienne*, p. 454.



Rumábái Gupte, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho

From all these symbols and from the time at which the **Sâvitri-fast** is observed, the conclusion forced on us is that it is a **Nature-myth.** Dr. Tylor[5] tells us that the close and deep analogies between the life of Nature and the life of man have been for ages dwelt upon, and poets and philosophers have, in simile or in argument, told us of light and darkness, of calm and tempest, of birth, growth, change, decay, dissolution, renewal. The natural phenomena of the seasons due to the relation of the Earth with the Sun have given rise to many myths. The Sun is Sâvitur[6] in Sanskrit, and Sâvitrî means the daughter of the Sun, just as Jânakî and Bhimakî mean the daughters of Janaka and Bhimaka respectively. Sâvitrî is also the name of the wife of Brahmâ, the Creator (Nature), and the heroine of the legend is supposed to be her *avatâra* or incarnation. The Sâvitrî-vrata[7] is therefore the annual celebration of Mother Earth's marriage with Nature, the Creative Power, Satyavat (*lit.*, truth incarnate), or Nature just reviving after the first few showers of the monsoon. It is the marriage (not rape) of Persiphone. It is Odysseus returning to his mourning, constant, Penelope.

A few points from the Sanskrit text called *Sâvitri-pûja* in the *Skanda Purâna* deserve notice. The original Sâvitrî of the story is called the wife of Brahmâ, the Creator. When she appeared before "the king" she held *aksha sûtra* in one hand, and a water-jug in the other. *Aksha sûtra* means terrestrial latitude, from *aksha*, to reach or to pervade, and it may mean the root of a tree when it reaches the earth and spreads itself. The king is called Dyumatsêna, but *dyu* is sky and *dyumat* is brilliant. Satyavat or Satyavân, the husband of Sâvitrî, who has mythologically been called his son, is also called Chitrâśva, which means a wonderful horse-player, which is the name of Aruṇa, the Charioteer of the Sun, who manages the seven-faced horses of the Sun, and these wonderful horses represent the Sapt-rishis or the Constellation of the Northern Pole with the Polar star. Further on, there occurs expression ग्लानिश्च महतीजा, *glânischa mahatijâ*, a swoon. Can it be the state of hybernation? The God of Death is called वैवस्वत यम, Southern Yama. May it not mean the Southern blast of wind which destroys tender shoots?

One more interesting quotation, though not directly connected with this myth, gives strong corroborative evidence of the belief in the little man **(soul)** in the body of the living big man, described by Fraser in his *Golden Bough*, thus : अंगुष्ठ मात्रं पुरुषं निष्कर्षं यमो बलात् ॥ १० ॥ *i. e.*, Yama forcibly took out an image of a man of the size of the thumb from the mortal frame of Satyavat. This quotation serves to confirm the conclusions ethnologists have arrived at regarding primitive belief about "life as distinct from the body."

NOTES ON SOME FRONTIER SHRINES.

BY LAL SHAH, BANNU.

I.

SHRINES OF THE KURRAM WAZIRIS.

1. — The Ziârats of Pîr Sâbiq and Pîr Râmdîn.

THESE two shrines lie close to each other at the junction of the Thal and Biland Khêl boundary, about four miles from the latter village, and are held in high veneration by the Biland Khêls, Thalwâls, Khattaks and Kâbul Khêl Wazîrîs, who pay annual visits to them and make vows for the increase of their cattle, wealth, and sons. In former days, cows and sheep were slaughtered as offerings here, but no sacrifices are now made. Hindûs also resort to them,

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5 *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 318.

6 "*Tat Savitûr Varenyam*," &c. *Hindu Sandhyâ.*

7 Sâvitrî is Gâyatrî, and Gâyatrî or Cow is the form in which Mother Earth appeared before Indra, whenever in distress through drought.

but Shî'as never visit them, although the saints were Hussainî Sayyids. The descendants of Pîr Sâbiq and Pîr Râmdîn are known as the *pîrs*, or religious guides, of the Biland Khêls and comprise no less than fifty families. They own one-fifth of the Biland Khêl possessions, and are a powerful community.

The Kâbul Khêl and other Wazîrîs, when proceeding to the Shawâl and other places in summer, leave their grain, hay, and household property within the precincts of these shrines and find them intact on their return in winter. The shrines are covered over with domes shaped like canopies, and are consequently called the *duâ-gumbat ziârat*, or shrines with two domes.

The story about the miraculous power of the saints is as follows :— The Biland Khêls, being in want of water for the irrigation of their lands, begged Pîr Sâbiq and Pîr Râmdîn to dig them a canal from the Kurram river, and this the saints undertook to do. Though they had no money, they commenced excavation, and when in the evening the labourers came to them for wages, they directed them to go to a certain rock, where they were paid. Nobody could tell how they came by the money. One day, while excavating, the labourers found their way blocked by a huge stone, which they could neither remove nor blow up. The saints thereupon ordered them to leave it alone and retired. In the morning, when the labourers returned to work they found that the rock, which had to them appeared an insurmountable obstacle, had been riven asunder by the saints, who had made a passage for the water to flow through. Two years after the completion of this canal, the saints died. The Biland Khêls, who are their chief disciples, attribute their prosperity to their patronage and the proximity of the two shrines. To cut trees in the vicinity is looked upon as sacrilege.

2. — Râmdîn Ziârat.

This shrine lies midway between Biland Khêl Village and the shrines of Pîrs Sâbiq and Râmdîn. This Râmdîn was a descendant of Pîr Sâbiq, and should not be confounded with the Pîr Râmdîn who was Pîr Sâbiq's contemporary. He was a great Arabic and Persian scholar, and endowed with saintly powers before he came of age. When a child of four, as he was seated one day on a low wall, repeating verses from the *Qurân* and meditating on their import, he happened in his abstraction to kick the wall with his heels, which began to move, and had gone seven or eight paces before the saint became aware of what had happened and stopped it. The wall can be seen even to this day.

One day he went to a hill, sat down under a *pleman* tree and began to repeat verses from the sacred book. The shade of the tree pleased him so much that he determined to plant one like it near his own house. Having finished his reading, he walked home and was surprised to find the tree following him. He turned round and ordered it to stop. The tree is now known as the *rawân pleman* or 'walking *pleman*' and is held in high esteen by the surrounding tribes. Its twigs, when worn round the neck, are said to cure jaundice. A stone enclosure about fifty yards in diameter surrounds it, and to this the Kâbul Khêl Wazîrîs bring diseased cattle there. The moment they taste the earth of the enclosure they are cured.

3. — Sar Prêkaṛai Faqîr.

The Shrine of the Beheaded Saint.

This shrine lies about four miles from Biland Khêl Village. The saint is said to have been a cowherd, and one day, while grazing his herds on a hill-top, he was attacked by a gang of Mallî Khêl Tûrîs, who killed him and carried off his cattle. Tradition says that the severed

head of the saint pursued the raiders for nearly a mile, and that when they turned and saw it they fled in dismay, leaving the cattle behind. The cattle were thus recovered. There are now two shrines, one at the place where the saint's body fell, and the other where his head was found. As he was a great lover of cattle, all those desirous of increasing their herds visit his shrine, fix small pegs in the ground and tie bits of rope to them, as a hint that they want as many cattle as there are pegs; and the belief is that their efforts are not in vain. The saint's descendants, who go by the name of Mandûrî Sayyids, are found in Kurram and the Bannû District. They are supposed to possess the power of curing people bitten by mad dogs. Their curse is much dreaded by the people, and nobody ventures to injure their property. In the tribal *jîrgas*, whenever one party wishes to bring the opposite side to a permanent settlement or termination of a feud, it invariably secures the attendance of a Mandûrî Sayyid at the *jîrga*, as no one will venture to violate or contravene an agreement drawn up in his presence. People whose property is insecure in their houses take it to the precincts of this shrine in order to secure its safety, and no thief will venture to touch it. A jackal is said to have once entered the compound of the shrine with intent to steal, but it was miraculously caught in a trap and killed.

4. — Ziârat Sarwardîn.

This shrine is situated about hundred yards from the shrine of Râmdîn (No. 2). This saint also was a Sayyid. His descendants, who live in the surrounding villages, are said to have been much oppressed by the high-handedness of the Thalwâls (inhabitants of Thal), who maltreated them and forcibly diverted their water. One day descendants of Sarwardîn, exasperated by the excesses of the Thalwâls, went to their ancestor's shrine and prayed against them, and it so happened that one of the men, who was actually engaged at the time in injuring them, died within twenty-four hours. Another man, who had stolen some grass from the field of a descendant of this saint, saw in a dream that he was stabbed by a horseman and when he awoke he went mad, ran about like a wild animal and died soon after. The descendants of this saint are also respected and dreaded by the people, though not to the same extent as those of the Sar Prêkaṛai saint.

5. — Nâsimu'llâh Ziârat.

This shrine is about three hundred paces from Biland Khêl Village. The saint belonged to the Qâz Khêl family and lived a life of great austerity. He very seldom spoke, always remained bareheaded, and passed his days and nights, both summer and winter, in water. He left to his posterity a green mantle and a green cloak. The popular belief is that these clothes, when drenched in water, have the power of bringing down rain from the sky. His descendants look upon them as a sacred and valuable legacy and would not part with them for anything.

6. — Khalîfa Nika Ziârat.

This shrine lies about a mile from the Village of Biland Khêl. The saint, who goes by the name of Khalîfa, was a beloved disciple of Hâji Bahâdur Sâhib, whose shrine is at Kohât, and he is said to have been allowed by his spiritual guide to lift kettles of boiling water on his bare head. There is a belief that if a man receive a piece of cloth from this saint's descendants and dip his hand along with it in boiling water, it will come out unscathed. This shrine is visited both by men and women and vows made for the birth of sons and increase of wealth. The Kâbul Khêl and Khôjal Khêl Wazîrîs make frequent visits to it. A stone taken from the *ziârat* and passed over the body is looked upon as a potent charm against evil-spirits.

7. — Khand Ziârat.

This shrine is close to the village of the Karmandî Khêl Wazîrîs and is highly venerated by them and by the Mayâmîs. Khand was a Mandûrî Sayyid, and the popular belief among the Karmandî Khêls is that the vicinity of the saint is a strong safeguard against the prevalence of cholera, fever, and small-pox. The Karmandî Khêls, on proceeding to their summer settlements in the Shawâl hills, leave their household property in the precincts of this shrine and find it untouched on their return in the following winter.

8. — Saif 'Alî Ziârat.

This shrine stands six miles from Spînwâm. The saint was a Kâbul Khêl Wazîrî. His descendants, who are known as Îsâ Khêl Kâbul Khêls, are much respected by the people. A man, who stole a bundle of hay from the precincts of this shrine, became blind and his house was burnt down the same night. The saint's descendants are held in repute by the Wazîrîs of the Karmandî Khêl section, and when the rains hold off they are fed by the people by way of offering, the belief being that a downpour will immediately follow. They are also empowered to give charms to the people, which they say have a wonderful effect in curing various diseases.

9. — Ghundakai Ziârat.

The shrine stands on high ground and is known as the shrine of an Ashâb, or Companion of the Prophet. In its precincts, the people stock their crops, after they are cut, and they are then safe from the hands of an incendiary.

II.

SHRINES OF THE MADDA KHEL AND OTHER WAZIRIS OF THE TOCHI VALLEY AND OF THE AHMADZAI WAZIRIS AND OTHERS OF WANA.

1. — Mâman Ziârat.

This shrine lies in a village, called after it the Ziârat Qil'a, which stands within a bugle sound of Shêrannâ. The saint is a descendant of the famous Dangar Pîr, whose shrine is in the Gyân country in Khôst, Afghânistân. Almost all the tribes of the Tôchî Valley, *viz.*, the Maddâ Khêls, Khizzar Khêls, Dangar Khêls, Tannîs, and Daurîs, visit it, and to its presence they ascribe their prosperity, security, and very existence. The tribes living close to the shrine visit it almost every Friday. Those living farther away resort to it at the Îd and Muharram. It is guarded by Wazîrî *muzâwars* (guardians) who are entitled to one *ozha*[1] of grain per house from each crop. They also receive a share of the alms of pilgrims, who make offerings and slaughter sheep, goats, and cows at the shrine. Vows are made here for an increase in wealth and the birth of sons. The Spêrkais, Walî Khêls, Tôrî Khêls, and Maddâ Khêls when going to Shawâl, and the Kâbul Khêls when returning to Marghâ, on their way to Kurram, deposit in the precincts of this shrine all such property as is not required for immediate use. The belief is that it is immediately transformed into a snake if touched by a strange hand. A murderer wishing to make peace with his enemies resorts to the shrine for seven consecutive Fridays and thereby succeeds in his object. During his lifetime, the saint is said to have asked one of his *shêkhs* (disciples), called Dâlê, to cook a *kôk*[2] two maunds in weight, and the

[1] About 20 *sêrs.*

[2] A *kôk* is a Wazîrî loaf, round like a ball, and cooked on the embers by placing a hot stone in the centre.

story goes that the *shêkh* succeeded in so preparing it, that when it was weighed it was found correct. The saint is said to have blessed Dâlê for his deftness, and the following proverb is associated with his name: "*Dâlê dang daikôkê dang dai*, Dâlê is tall and his *kôk* is also tall." The large boulders seen near Dagar Qil'a are said to have been detached from the hill by the miraculous power of this saint. On one occasion he sent his *shêkh* to Pâôlai, a gardener, to fetch fruit, but the latter refused to give him anything. On this the *shêkh* called out "fall, fall," and the fruit began to fall one after another. The gardener was frightened and gave him as many as he could carry. Lunatics, who cannot otherwise be cured, are tied up by the side of this shrine and recover in a week. It is said that unholy persons cannot pass a quiet night within the precincts of the *ziârat*. The descendants of Mâmau are known by the name of *pîrôn*.

2. — Bâbâ Ziârat.

This shrine stands near Dandê Village and is visited by Maddâ Khêls, Tôrî Khêls, Dauris and other tribes of the valley, who make offerings of live animals. The flesh is distributed among the poor and needy Wazîrîs, who hang about the place at such times. The descendants of this saint are called *faqîrôn* and are looked upon with respect by the people.

3. — Mara Panga Shahîd (Martyr).

This shrine is situated on the slopes of the Char Khêl Range and is held in high esteem by the Machâs, Ismâîl Khêls, Nazar Khêls, Khizzar Khêls, Taunîs, Jônî Khêls, and Bakhshî Khêls, who visit it in the hot weather *en route* to their summer quarters. A goat or sheep is slaughtered for every flock that passes by this *ziârat*. All those visiting it go on a Friday morning, and after throwing some wood-chips round about the tomb, fall asleep and in their dream see their desires fulfilled. On waking they pray to the soul of the saint, slaughter a sheep or goat, and distribute its flesh among the poor. All who have once slaughtered a sheep or goat at this shrine become the saint's disciples, and it becomes incumbent upon them to slaughter a sheep every year by way of offering to the shrine. *Ghî*, querns, beams and mats are deposited within the precincts of this shrine by the nomad tribes. Flags are also hung here, and a bit of stuff taken from them and tied about the neck is looked upon as a safeguard against all diseases.

4. — Chang Mangal Ziârat.

This is situated close to Achar, a village about twelve miles west of Dattâ Khêl. The saint was a Mangal and passed a pious life in this vicinity. He has no descendants here. The shrine is visited both by Maddâ Khêls and Achars. A thread, equal to the length of this tomb, worn round the neck is said to be a specific for fever and jaundice.

5. — Dangar Pîr Ziârat.

This is a most important shrine, situated in Gyân and periodically visited by almost all the tribes of the Tôchî, Khôst, Zadrân, and Urgûn. The saint was a Sayyid and an ancestor of Mamân. His descendants are called Dangar Khêls and are found at Ghazlâmî and other villages of the Tôchî Valley. They are called *pîrs* by the Tôchî tribes and are highly venerated by them. Their displeasure is much dreaded, especially by those who become *murîds*, or disciples of Dangar Pîr. The name Dangar, which means 'lean,' was given to the saint on account of his physical condition. His home is traced to Egypt, of which country he is said to have been king. He is afterwards said to have laid down his sceptre for a saintly staff and to have travelled to this country. In his travels he was accompanied by Misô or

Musa (now known as Musâ Nikkâ) and Mamân (now called Mamân Pîr). People take special care never to offend the descendants of Saint Dangar, for it is said that whenever anybody does so, the saint in his rage miraculously flings blades of iron at him, and destroys him and his family. These iron blades are called *zaghbirs* by the people.

6. — Mâman Pîr Ziârat.

This shrine is about two hundred yards from Dangar's shrine. In the autumn a joint fair is held by the Gyâns at the shrines of Mâman Pîr and Dangar Pîr, at which a sheep is slaughtered by every family attending it. Mâman Pîr belonged to the Abbaside dynasty, and the following saying shows how much, according to popular belief, he was loved by God : —

ما من عباسي — خداي درسي به بين داالكه غوپه تندي حسي

"God is as enamoured of Mâman the Abbaside, as a cow is of her new-born calf."

7. — Musâ Nikkâ Ziârat.

This shrine stands on the right bank of the Shakin Algad in Birmal on the Wânâ-Urgûn border. Musâ Nikkâ claims to be the ancestor of all the Wazîrîs, whether in Wânâ, Birmal or the Tôchî. The Ahmadzâî Wazîrîs and others on their way to Birmal in summer leave their superfluous property in the precincts of this shrine and on their return in autumn find it intact. The belief is that any one stealing property thus deposited is immediately struck blind.

The Musâ Ziârat is visited by the Ahmadzâîs and Mahsûds of Wânâ, the Saifalîs and Paipallîs of Birmal and the Maddâ Khêls and others of the Tôchî. Many stories are told of the miraculous powers of this saint, as, for instance : — One day the saint's brother Isâ was grazing his flock in the hills. There was no water in the neighbourhood. Isâ and his flock both became parched with thirst. Just then Musâ came to his brother's help and with his stick made a small hole in the ground, covered it with his mantle, and began to pray. After a while he told his brother Isâ to remove the mantle. The tradition says that a spring of clear water began to ooze from the hole, at which Isâ and his flock quenched their thirst. Musâ then closed the hole and the spring dried up. The site of this spring is in the Warmâna Nâlâ, close to which are seen two large heaps of stone called the *chillas* of Musâ and Isâ. Within the walls of this shrine are three trees, which are believed to be endowed with different miraculous qualities. To embrace the first will give a man a wife; to climb the second will give him a horse ; and to swing from the third will give him a son. Close to the Musâ Nikkâ Ziârat are two others, known respectively as Shin Starga Ziârat and Baghar Ziârat. All three shrines are visited on one and the same day and joint sacrifices made.

8. — Michan Bâbâ Ziârat.

This shrine stands about eight miles east of Wânâ. The descendants of this saint are not found in Wânâ, but it is probable that the scattered families of Michan Khêls, found in the Bannû District and elsewhere, are his descendants. The shrine is visited by the Zallî Khêls and Mahsûds and vows made for the birth of sons.

III.

MINOR SHRINES OCCASIONALLY VISITED BY THE AHMADZAI WAZIRIS AND OTHERS.

1. — Umar Aga.

A Daftani saint, who has a shrine at Dhana, about twelve miles north-west of Wânâ.

2. — Khôjakî Ziârat.

This is situated at Maura. The saint was a Sayyid and the shrine is visited by the nomad Wazîrîs.

3. — Madâr Bâbâ Ziârat.

This is about fifteen miles west of Wânâ and has a well close to it, where Wazîrîs encamp every year.

4. — Mâmin Ziârat or Patân Ziârat.

This is situated on a hill near Madâr Ziârat.

MISCELLANEA.

THE ALLEGED CUSTOM OF NAMING A HINDU AFTER HIS GRANDFATHER.

Dr. Vogel recently favoured me with a criticism in the following terms:—

"In your account" (*E. Hist.*, p. 254) "of the Guptas, you refer to a Hindu custom to name a child after its grandfather. Are there really enough instances, except that of Chandragupta, to justify the use of that term? Here, in Chamba, I have been told that it is considered inauspicious to name a child after any of its ancestors." The same difficulty may present itself to other readers, and I shall therefore try to show that my assertion of the alleged custom in ancient times was not made without warrant. It was, however, made rather on the authority of Sir Alexander Cunningham, who published the proposition more than once, than upon a rigorous induction. But, although this is the case, the examples which can be cited without much search, are, I think, sufficient to justify me in following Cunningham's authority.

The case alluded to by Dr. Vogel is, of course, the leading one, that of Chandragupta I. and Chandragupta II. of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty in the fourth century A. D., who undoubtedly were related respectively as grandfather and grandson. The same dynasty offers a nearly exact parallel in the two Kumāraguptas, who were related as great-grandfather and great-grandson. It is quite clear that the Gupta kings did not agree with the Chamba people in thinking it unlucky to name a child after an ancestor.

In the genealogy of Harshavardhana's ancestors we find Râjyavardhana I. and II. similarly related as great-grandfather and great-grandson. In the Valabhī lists the names Dharasena and Dhruvasena each occur three or four times, Dharasena IV. being separated from Dharasena III. only by Dhruvasena II. So in the Vâkâtaka Mahârâjas we have Pravarasena I. and II. with three generations intervening; and Rudrasena II. and III. with only one between, namely, Pravarasena II. In the Gurjjara line of Bharōch we have Dadda I. and II., separated by Jayabhaṭa I. In the Chalukya dynasty of Bâdâmi, the celebrated Pulakeśin, or Pulikeśin II., was grandson of his namesake, Pulakeśin I. All these examples may be seen together in Dr. Hoernle's Synchronistic Table in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVIII., Part I., 1889.

The Pallava genealogies (*E. Hist., India*, p. 353) offer other instances in the recurrence of the names Mahendravarman, Parameśvaravarman, and Skandavarman, where the homonymous chiefs were all related severally as grandfather and grandson.

The above list will suffice, perhaps, without further search, to establish the existence of the alleged custom among the ruling families of ancient India both in the north and south.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

Hazelwood, Cheltenham,
6th December 1905.

THANESAR.

The derivation and spelling of the name of Thânêsar, the famous city in the Ambâlâ (Umballa) District, Pañjâb, N. lat. 29° 58′, E. long. 76° 52′, being open to doubt, and the actual practice varying, it may be worth while to note the variations in spelling, and the reasons for them. Dr. Vogel recently wrote to me to enquire why I gave the Sanskrit equivalent of the name (*E. Hist. India*, p. 275) as 'Sthānvīsvara.' That form, without diacritical marks, was given because Bāṇa in the *Harsha-charita*, ch. III.

(Cowell and Thomas, transl. p. 81) celebrates the praises of 'a certain district called Sthāṇvīçvara.' This form, स्थाण्वीश्वर, implies the derivation from स्थाणु and ईश्वर, and is explained by the observation of Cunningham, who has recorded that one of the holy spots near Thânêsar is 'the *Sthânu-tirath*, where Vena Raja dedicated a shrine to Siva, under the name of Sthânu.' He gives the legend (*Reports*, II., 217).

But Cunningham himself (*ibid.* p. 212) believed the modern name to be derived from the Sanskrit 'Sthâneswara,' that is to say स्थानेश्वर, a compound of *sthâna*, with the dental *n*, and *īśvara*. The modern spelling will vary accordingly as the name is derived from *sthâṇu* or *sthâna*. Notwithstanding Bāṇa's sanction to the form *sthâṇvīśvara*, Cowell and Thomas, in their Preface (p. xi.), simply write 'Thānesar.' Bühler (*Ep. Ind.* IV. 208) adopts the spelling 'Ṭhaṇêśar,' with the cerebral ṭh and ṇ and the palatal *ś*. Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscr.*, Index, *s. v.* 'Harsha') writes 'Ṭhâṇêsar,' with the dental *s*. Modern Hindī spelling is so lax and capricious that every variation in the way of writing the consonants in the name probably could be justified by local examples. Scientific European writers are, I think, fully warranted in writing either Thânesar, or Thânêsar, with the minimum of diacritical marks.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

Hazelwood, Cheltenham,
6th December 1905.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE CARE OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS. By G. BALDWIN BROWN, M.A., Watson Gordon professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh. Cambridge (University Press), 1905.

THE Care of Monuments — Die Denkmalpflege, as the Germans call it — has, during the latter half of the nineteenth century and especially during the last twenty-five years or so, developed into an important subject of public consideration and even of Government administration in most European countries. It has its annual Congresses, its legal enactments, its private Societies, its periodicals, and official publications, its inspectors and conservators, and Government commissions of experts. The thought and influences that have created this interest and its resulting activity have also called forth a literature already extensive and rapidly growing, which has largely enlisted the attention and sympathies of men of business and in general of the educated public, and is by no means restricted to the antiquary and the scholar. Popular interest is the basis on which the care of national monuments should properly be founded, and it is of the highest importance to awaken among all classes of the population this personal concern. They are "heirlooms from the past and appeal to the piety and patriotism of the present"; and "as the decay or destruction of any one of them involves an increase of value in those that endure, so the care of them will become every year a matter of more and more urgent duty." This appeal of the writer is to the Englishman, but it may well be accepted both by the Hindu and the Anglo-Indian. In India, as yet, there is no such public interest because there has been no intelligent study of the importance of its remarkably instructive monuments. Properly regarded they are national assets, and the intelligent preservation of them might well be recognized by every educated individual in the country. For long, however, our rulers did but little for their care and too frequently did that little wrongly or in a half-hearted way: it cost money, and that could not be spared from other objects. Recently the policy has swung in certain ways to the other extreme. But their survey, inventorization and preservation are now apparently to be set aside on behalf of "restoration." And, as Professor Baldwin Brown pertinently remarks in the volume under notice, a "comparatively lavish expenditure on monuments is not always wholly to the credit of a country, for much of the money is possibly spent on works of so-called restoration, many of which had better have been left unattempted. Restoration for the sake of restoration is the worst possible way of spending money voted for the care of ancient monuments."

The valuable work of Professor Baldwin Brown under notice consists of two parts: the first discusses the principles and practice of Monument administration; the second and larger describes Monument administration as conducted in the various European countries, with a chapter on India, Egypt, Algeria, and Tunis. The first part deserves the careful study of every one at all interested in the subject. To many it will be both new and highly instructive. The author has

given us, in small compass, a volume that condenses a clear account of the principal activities in this field that have of late been prevalent in Europe. As in his other works, he writes with judicial self-restraint—stating the relevant facts, where diversity of opinion may prevail, from which the reader may form his own judgment. The main purpose of the book is thus to enable those interested "to form an opinion for themselves on the proper way in which ancient monuments should be dealt with."

The question of Restoration *versus* Preservation or Conservation is treated briefly (pp. 46—56) and in consideration that in Europe ancient monuments (churches, &c.) sometimes need enlargement for modern requirements, when "the alternative is no longer between protection and restoration, but between restoration" and practical abandonment for modern purposes. This, however, is what rarely if ever occurs in India. Without taking a side on the question, the author explains that "Restoration or addition, which at best must mean the placing of new work in juxtaposition with old, necessarily involves a certain æsthetic loss, while this loss may become a most serious and even fatal one when, as too often has happened, the old work is itself tampered with to bring it into accord with the new." This he illustrates by the case of a mediæval church, to which it may be necessary to re-erect a ruined portion or to add a new aisle. "The case however is different when the ruined structure serves no actual purpose in the life of to-day, and when restoration, if undertaken, would be, so to say, forced on the building merely for restoration's sake. An attempt has been recently made to bring this distinction out more clearly by dividing ancient monuments into two classes, *dead monuments, i.e.,* those belonging to a past civilization or serving obsolete purposes, and *living monuments, i.e.,* those which continue to serve the purposes for which they were originally intended. The idea is a sound one in so far as it emphasizes the fact that buildings must be treated with due regard to the place they hold in modern life." But there are ruined monuments that no longer serve any utilitarian or practical use and where restoration is uncalled for. Such was the ancient church of Iona. Yet "the hand of the restorer was laid on a fabric that so far as it remained was of great interest and beauty" and only required "to be properly supervised and then left alone with its romantic memories about it. The restored building has no useful purpose that it can serve. The restoration is for restoration's sake and is in every way to be deplored."

Are we in no danger of such "deplorable" restorations in India, or do not the Progress reports of the last few years already indicate cases of the kind where "the mechanical neatness of a new 'job'" was not required? When a monument, whether in Europe or India, is "put into a state of 'decorative repair' which has robbed it of almost all its æsthetic charm," every one must agree with the author that it "becomes a place to avoid rather than to seek, and a monumental example of the evils of restoration for restoration's sake."

Last century many regarded the exact copying of older work as the orthodox theory of restoration. But this was dissented from by thoughtful antiquaries, and it was subjected to unsparing criticism. "The assault was led," says Professor Baldwin Brown, "by Mr. Ruskin, whose 'Lamp of Memory' in the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) contains in its latter pages an eloquent protest against the whole idea of 'faithful restoration' then in vogue. William Morris followed upon the same side, and in the tracts issued by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, founded by Morris and others in 1877, as well as in the French periodical *L'Ami des Monuments*, we have clear and accessible statements of the anti-restoration argument."

"Condensing this into the narrowest possible limits, it may be reduced to the two propositions; first, that the theoretically faithful reproduction of old work is impossible; and, second, that even if it were possible, it would not be desirable. It is impracticable because in the nature of things old work cannot be reproduced. This is true both as regards its form and its spirit. Materials, processes, appliances, tools, the training and the habits of workmen, are in modern times unlike what they were of old, and still more dissimilar is the present relation of designer and craftsman to that prevailing in mediæval days, with the result that the whole spirit of the work of the two periods must necessarily be different. 'It must be remembered that the mediæval builders were themselves artists, and the mere skill of tooling shewn on an ancient stone gives us pleasure. Any art which is found in the modern work is the art of the designer and not of the workman. The two periods differ so widely in conditions and methods, that it is impossible that they should both produce similar work. A man who knows exactly what he wants to make, works in a much freer way and will meet with better success than the man who is only copying

something he does not fully understand, and who consequently cannot put into his work the human quality which gives such an interest and charm to all spontaneous work.'

"Again, were such exact reproduction in itself possible, it would be inadvisable, because by imposing this conscientious, nay, slavish, copying upon designer and craftsman alike, we should be starving their creative faculty, and condemning them to forego their artistic birthright, their prerogative of freedom. Furthermore, the result when achieved would to the ordinary spectator have the effect of a deceit or forgery. No doubt the sensitive eye could always detect these great though subtle differences between old work and new; but the intelligent though inexpert student of architecture might often be led astray in the matter of dating. The danger of this has presented itself to the minds of those who have worked out the orthodox theory. The resolutions of the Dresden Congress forbade the use of artificial colouring-matter to assimilate the hue of new stonework to that of the old, and an elaborate system has been devised for indicating by conventional marks or inscriptions those parts of a building which are modern additions or restorations. There is something ridiculous in the idea of labouring anxiously to make one thing exactly like another, and then labelling them with equal care to show that they are different."

At the Dresden Congress of 1900, protests against the pedantry and futility of the old orthodox theory were not wanting, and, as the author remarks, "it was significant that Dr. Clemen, who, as chief conservator of monuments for the Rhineland, has more fine buildings under his care than any other man in Europe, admitted that 'as a rule all representatives of the care of monuments in Germany now agree in this, that restoration work properly so called must everywhere be confined within narrower and narrower limits,' so that the Germans are coming to occupy the same position in this matter as the English anti-restorationists and the French Friends of monuments."

The section on 'classement,' inventorization and official publications is well deserving of attention and has its applications to India, but the reader must be referred to the book itself for the details.

The history of monumental administration in the various European countries, contained in the second part of the book, presents a succinct and clear account of the various official enactments, each chapter being headed by a bibliography and note of the sources of information relative to the country under consideration. These chapters we cannot stay to analyse.

With reference to India (pp. 230—238) Professor Baldwin Brown sums up the position in these sentences:— "The story of archæological work under British rule in India is in the main what a student of our national idiosyncrasies would have expected. Efforts have been spasmodic, and have depended largely on the personal initiative of individual administrators. There has been little continuity in policy, because the objects to be aimed at have not been clearly defined, and the centre of interest has shifted backwards and forwards between the rival aims of research and conservation." This condition of things has been largely due to the want of any settled authority, as in European countries and in the French and Dutch possessions of Camboja and Java. In these the Commissions of experts advise and control the direction of the surveys and of works of preservation, and so ensure continuity of policy and wise guidance. But in India, the Secretary of the Department under which the survey is placed can hardly be expected to interfere judiciously, and, if the Viceroy takes a share in the direction, all has to give way to his wishes whilst he rules — that is for a few years, — and then the responsibility lapses into the hands of the chief officer, who may follow his own bent and direct his staff to co-operate in his own particular line of operations. Expert advice or guidance is entirely wanting, and restorations are carried out by his subordinates and the officers of the Public Works Department who have only been trained for work of a very different kind. In such circumstances, what can be expected but results that every competent student must deplore in the future? The best that can be looked for is the 'decorative restoration' of monumental structures by the insertion of careful imitations of details from others of similar style. But the original builders were artists who never imitated details, and these 'slavish reproductions,' as the Professor says, 'have only the effect of a deceit or forgery.' No thanks can be in store from the future writers on Indian art and architecture for the perpetrators of such false and foolish restorations.

The author, having traced in the briefest manner the history of the Archæological Survey of India to the present date, concludes with a clear and concise analysis of the 'Indian Monument Act' of 1904, explaining its action and its relationship to similar laws in operation in European countries.

—J. B.

SELF-IMMOLATION WHICH IS NOT SATI.

BY S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR, M.A.

IT is an undoubted fact in India, that **self-immolation** was practised from time immemorial, in one shape or another, the motive having been sometimes spiritual, but often entirely personal. The universally known practice called **sati,** where a woman burnt herself on the pyre of her husband, was only one form of it.

Whether the practice was Draviḍian or Aryan in origin, we have instances of it occurring pretty frequently in **South India; the earliest known,** of an historical charactẹr, being the death of the **wife of Bhûta Pâṇḍya,** an early celebrity in Tamil Literature. One **poem ascribed to her** is to be found in the collection known as the *Puṛanânûṛu.* That self-immolation was **not confined to women** who had become widowed, but was common even among men, sometimes great warriors or learned Brâhmans, is amply borne out by the great epics of India and the lesser ones alike. Arjuna was about to slay himself more than once, but the supreme example is that of Bharata, the younger brother of Râma, who was saved by the arrival of Hanumân with the happy message of Râma, just at the moment of entering the sacrificial-fire. It is of **self-immọlation** within historical times that I shall concern myself here.

There is a numerous class of archæological monuments in South India, known as **Vîrakkal** and **Mâstikkal.** The latter term represents *Mahâsati-kal, i. e.*, a stone erected in memory of one who performed a *mahâsati*, or act of self-immolation by a woman on the pyre of her husband. The former is a stone erected in memory of a man who displayed valour, either on the field of battle or by some other act of personal courage.

The erection of memorial stones in honour of a fallen hero is as old as the days of the *Kuṛaḷ*, *i. e.*, at least as early as the initial centuries of the Christian Era, and there are innumerable examples scattered through the Mysore Province. There are, nevertheless, others recording cases of self-immolation, which were the result of a vow, and in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Karnâṭakâ* brought out by Mr. Rice, a number of inscriptions on these memorial stones have been brought to light. Most of them record acts performed in pursuance of vows rather of a civil than of a religious nature.

That religion did indeed sanction self-immolation is borne out by the belief that such acts always forced open the gates of heaven to receive the performers, in spite of the cynical proverb that " no one ought to pull out his tongue to die on an *ekâdaśî* day,"[1] and of the popular notion that the suicide cannot go to heaven except by spending the rest of his allotted earthly span as a wandering devil, hovering about his usual habitat. Notwithstanding these beliefs, we have numerons instances of **Jaịns** performing the act of **sallêkhana,** *i. e.*, death brought on by starvation. The **Châḷukya** emperor **Âhavamalla Sômêsvara,** when attacked with a malignant fever, " went to Svarga " by plunging into the Tungabhadrâ after a regular confession of faith in Siva. In the *sallêkhana* ceremony, men and women alike took part and devoted themselves to contemplation of the divinity for days without food or water, and we have numbers of instances in the Sravaṇa Beḷagoḷa *Records.*

I now give a number of **instances of men** putting an end to themselves without any direct motive of religion, although faith, such as it was, did underlie most of the acts.

Two inscriptions found in the **Arkalgûd Tâluq** in the Hassan District record instances of friends having thrown themselves into the fire out of sorrow for their late masters, the **Ganga kings Nîtimârgga and Satya Vâkya,** respectively. A third case to the point is given in an **inscription in Kadur,** dated about **1180 A. D.** The Governor of Âsandinâḍ died, or.

[1] The eleventh day after full or new moon, regarded as a particularly good day for one to die on.

as the inscription has it, "laid siege to Indra's Amarâvatî." On this Bammayya Nâyaka, the slave of Sankamalê, "shewed the way to Svarga." The next instance, Maśaṇayya's younger brother Boppaṇṇa, "making good his word for the occasion," went to heaven on the death of **Tailappa, the ruler of Banâvase, &c., in 1030 A. D.** What the occasion was and why he took this vow is not vouchsafed to us. Perhaps it was a vow that the minister's brother took to show his attachment to his sovereign. Such vows, once made, were apparently not merely expected to be carried out, but sometimes the votary was asked to make good his word, as in the following instance. In the fifth year of **Tribhuvanamalla Vîra Somêsvara,** *i. e.* **1185 A. D.,** his senior queen Lachchaḷa Dêvî went to heaven. Bôka, an officer of the king, had previously taken a vow — "I will die with the Dêvî." "On his master calling him, saying, 'you are the brave man who with resolution have spoken of taking off your head,' with no light courage, Bôka gave his head, while the world applauded, saying, 'He did so at the very instant.' The word spoken with full resolve is not to be broken."

The next instance I have to exhibit records a vow, taken even without a personal motive, as in the preceding cases. A certain Tuḷuva, Chaṇḍiya, took a vow "not to let his finger-nails grow," apparently, if the Banavâse Fort should be disposed of in a manner he did not approve of. It so happened that **Baḷḷavarasa** and **Satyâśraya Dêva** jointly made a grant of the fort and a temple endowment in the twelve-thousand country. Upon this the Tuḷuva, Chaṇḍiya, "cutting off the finger which he had given at the Permâḷu temple and climbing the Bhêruṇḍêsvara Pillar leaped upon the point of a spear and gained the world of gods."

Here is another vow made from an entirely different motive. Votive offerings of the nature of that following are made now-a-days also, but by the person who is the direct recipient of the favour sought. This case is, however, peculiar from the fact that the vow was taken, not by the party directly concerned, but by a friend. **In 1123 A. D.** while **Vikramâditya VI.** was emperor, and his governor of Banavâse was Ramayya, the Mahâsâmanta (great lord) Bopparasa and his wife Siriyâ Dêvî, surrounded by all the subjects, were in the temple at the rice-fields, the cowherd, Mâraṇa's son Dêki Nâyaka, made a vow, saying :— 'If the king obtain a son, I will give my head to swing on the pole for the God of Koṇḍaśabhâvi . . . . . .' This is nothing more, so far as the details of the deed are concerned, than the hook-swinging of modern times, but, as has been pointed out above, the vow is taken by an attendant and not by the principal party.

All these instances show clearly that, when there was enough attachment to persons, or even to ideas, the people of India did not display much respect for life, but showed themselves ready to offer "even the most precious thing on earth, as though it were a careless trifle." The supreme instance of such throwing away of the most precious thing was the suicide, purely from personal affection, of the general of **Vîra Beḷḷâḷa,** Kuvara Lakshmaṇa (or Kumâra Lakshma) with his wife Suggalâ Dêvî and the army which was attached to him (at least of a select part of it). Kuvara Lakshma was both minister and general of Vîra Beḷḷâḷa and cherished by him as his son. "Between servant and king there was no difference ; the glory and marks of royalty were equal in both." "His wealth and his life Kuvara Lakshma devoted for the gifts and victories of Vîra Beḷḷâḷa Dêva, and conquered the world for him as far as the Southern ocean." His wife was Suggalâ Dêvî, who also wore a *toḍar* (a hollow anklet, with pebbles or precious stones inside) like the husband, as a mark of her unswerving devotion to her lord. He had a company of a thousand warriors, vowed to live and die with him. He set up a *vîra sâsana* (which is recorded on a pillar near the Hoysalêśvara temple at Haḷêbîd), on which are placed images of himself and Garuḍa, indicating the latter alone as his equal in devotion to his master. "While all the world was praising him as the founder of the greatness and increase of King Beḷḷâḷa and the cause of his prosperity, the Daṇḍêsa Lakshma, together with his wife, mounted upon the splendid stone pillar, covered with the poetical *vîra*

sâsana, proclaiming his devotion to his master : and on the pillar they became united with Lakshmi and with Garuḍa." The inscription is left incomplete, but the sculptures on the pillar, being all figures of men with swords, cutting off their own arms and legs, and even their own heads, indicate unmistakably what had been done. This example was followed by others, and acts of such wholesale immolation are on record on the occasion of the death of each of the warlike successors of Vîra Beḷḷâḷa.

Useless waste of life as this appears to us, and entirely needless to demonstrate faithful attachment, it still shews a depth of devotion and a sacrifice of that most precious legacy, life in this world, which ought to evoke the admiration of all, however misguided was the zeal in a cause hardly deserving the sacrifice.

THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL) IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.

1654—1670.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

Preface.

THIS MS., the full title of which is given below, is catalogued as Sloane, 811, in the collection at the British Museum. It was first brought to my notice by Mr William Foster, at whose suggestion I examined it, and, finding it of great interest, I have had it copied and worked up by Miss L. M. Anstey. No attempt at elaborate editing has been made, but, where possible, names and places have been identified and short notes added to elucidate the text. In this work I have had the valuable assistance of Mr William Irvine, who has not only read the whole of Part I. of the MS. and translated many of the vernacular puzzles, but has also cleared up many points and has given me notes from the work he is now engaged upon:— a translation of the *Storia do Mogor* of Nicolão Manucci. I am also indebted to Mr A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E., to Mr Foster, and to Miss Anstey herself for help in preparing the work for the press.

The MS. contains 128 folio pages, written in a somewhat illiterate 17th century hand. The first half of the volume consists of a series of disjointed narratives connected with India and Persia, but without cohesion either as to date or place. The latter half, commencing after Campbell's arrival at Ispahan in 1668, is a chronicle of events, and a Journey to Jerusalem is added in the form of a complete diary.

With the exception that each page of the MS., up to the end of the second portion is initialled R. B., there is no mention of Richard Bell until February, 1669, when Campbell joined him at Aleppo; nor is there any evidence to show that Bell participated in the many marvellous adventures recounted by "J. C." Also, the part of the MS. entitled "Travels into Prester Johns Country" ends in August, 1669, at p. 86 and is dated "at Roome" 2 Jan. 1670, and witnessed by "Richard Bell and Joseph Kent."

The natural assumption is that Bell wrote down, from dictation, John Campbell's wonderful stories, which record facts strangely distorted in the telling. Indeed, some of Campbell's statements explain why "Travellers' Tales" have become a by-word and a synonym for pure invention. That the MS. is known as Bell's, rather than Campbell's, is probably due to the fact that Bell transcribed the whole, that he was the author of the last 42 pages, and that he was the elder of the two men. His mention of Campbell as "my son Cambell" seems to suggest that the relationship between them was son-in-law and father-in-law.

It is clear, from the way in which they are set down, that the events described by "J. C." were recorded long after their real or imagined occurrence. There is no attempt at chronological order,

and anachronisms are frequent. Indeed, were it not for the evidence of a reliable traveller like Manucci, who mentions many of the persons alluded to by Campbell and reasonably describes events of which Campbell gives a distorted account, it might have been difficult to attach any credence whatever to the first two portions of the narrative. Still, with the assistance of Mr. Irvine's valuable notes, the task of sifting the wheat from the chaff becomes comparatively easy. Moreover, the records of the English in India at this period, 1654—1670, are so scanty that any account by an eye-witness is worthy of reproduction, especially when, as in this case, quaint and out-of-the-way information is interspersed with wondrous stories of magical occurrences.

The MS. has been copied exactly as it stands, retaining all the contractions, capital letters and original spelling. The punctuation has been modernised for the sake of clearness.

Up to the time of going to press, no independent facts relating either to Richard Bell or John Campbell have come to light. Should such be found during the publication of the MS., they will be given in biographical form at the end, as will also any additional facts that may be discovered respecting persons or places mentioned in the narrative.

Richard Bell's Journal and Travels to the East Indies and the Moguls Country in the Year 1654.

An Account or Journal of the Travels of Richard Bell in the Moguls Country in India & his Residence in the Court of Sajahan [Shāh Jahān] the Empr & father to Oran Zeeb [Aurangzēb], to both which he was Gunfounder Several Yeers, from 1654 to 1668, as also an accompt of Jo: Cambol [John Campbell] & others at that time residing in that Country.

As also another Journal of the said Richard Bells Travels to Prester Johns Country & Persia &c.

As also an acct of his Travels from Lisbon to Jerusalem & other places &c. 1669 & the year 1670.

[I. — Narrative of John Campbell.]

From Collumba [Colombo] we Saled to Madderass Lepotan [Madraspatam,[1] *i. e.*, Madras] & soe for Surratt in East India, the Mogulls Contrey, from which place I was assigned to goe to John a Badd [Jahānābād, *i. e.*, Delhi], the Mogulls Court, Saiahan [Shāh Jahān] then Emperor, to be his Gunn founder.

It was his pleasure after he had made tryall of me to send me to Carnatt [the Carnatic], wch was in warrs wth a Kinge cald Swagie [Sivaji], Wheere I remaned Two yeares in the warrs, we takeinge Twenty eight Castles from ye Gentues [Hindus].

This Kinge after he had made his peace wth the Emperer, the Emperer commanded him to Court, & sent him word if he came he would forgive him all past. Kinge Swagie, by ye perswation of Radger Gessor [Rāja Jai Singh], a Gentue Kinge and then Gennerall of the Emperors Army in that quarter, came, & his sonn wth Ten thousand horse to John a Badd The Cheife Citty of India and Court of ye Emperer, beinge fifteene Miles English in compasse or more; this was in 1654.[2]

The Emperer, iudging he had Swagie safe, provided to send him over the River Attick [Aṭak] wch parts his Contrey & ye pattans [Pathāns] and when he had him theire he could never returne without his plesure back. This River Attick is Nine Leagues Over, all fresh watter, the lenth not knowne. It hath only two passages wch ye Mogull hath Castles[3] both on his owne side and ye pattans, yt of ye pattans he purchased of them wth great pollisy, by wch he keeps them in Awe & preserves his passage throw theire Contrey into Pertia as after is declared.

[1] Later on in the MS. the writer speaks of Madderasleptan (as one word).

[2] Sivajī's arrival at, and escape from, Dehli took place in the year 1663, during the reign of the Emperor Aurangēb.

[3] Sakkar, Bakhar, and Rohri.

King Swagie, vnderstandinge ye Emperors designe, for many Gentues are at Court & greate Commands they have, Cast about how to escape away. Soe Addrest himselfe to ye Emperor & desired of him he would give him his passe to send for mony to pay of his men & disband them: ye Emperor gave it him, ye wh passe he made vse of to Convey all his men into theire owne Contrey, in wch way was two Great Rivers, & wth Such expedition that ye Emperor haveing notis of his goeinge, could not prevent it. His sonn was left in ye Mogulls Court & his vnkle.[4]

The Emperor Commanded ye vnkle to be brought & beheaded & after[wards] ye Sonn of K: Swagie. But ye Casanna [*khazāna*,[5] treasury] beinge full of people, Lords & officers of ye Emperer, & ye Boy standinge neare me wth many Gentues, they Bid me indeavor his preservation. Soe I tooke of his vpper garmt & took my Manns & putt on him; soe presently Conveyed him to my owne howse. Serch was made all over the Court & Citty of John a bad & places neare it for this yonge Kinge, But I beinge ye Emperers Sarvt & in his favor they had noe suspition of me. Soe did not serch my howse, By wch means I had oppertunity to Contrive his escape & did accordingly effect it,[6] ffor wch service comeinge to King Swagies Court, I had great many respects showne me, ye Queene falling at my foote and kist it, telling me I was hir child, for yt I had saved ye Joy of hir life. Many gifts I had, But one a Dymond as Bigg as a pidgions Egg wth ye King of Englands Armes Cutt in it: Many Dymond Marchts from ffrance Holland and other Contreys had beene sent into India to purchas it, but money could not procure what love did.[7]

1668-9.

Saiahaun [Shāh Jahān], Emperor, in this yeare was aged about 130, One hundred and thirty yeares;[8] Meer Jumla his Councell and ye wisest man Industian [in Hindustān] or India had then Dyed.[9] This Saiahaun had 4 fower sonns, Eldest 1 Mallabucks [Murād Bakhsh], 2 Shaw Souia [Shāh Shujā], 3 Dorrish sha cour [Dārā Shikoh], 4 Oram Zebb [Aurangzēb].[10]

Saiahaun being old, p̃tly by reason of his age & more espetially as its Gennally sd, to see what his sonns would doe, absented or came not to sit on his royall throne for two days,[11] ffor wch absence the Cort & nobles gave out he was deade, ffor its the Custome for ye Emperer every day to appeare publiquely on his throne or he is adiudged to be deade.[12]

On this, ye Emperors Eldest sonn, Mallabucks [Murād Bakhsh],[13] & who ye Emperor did desire should succeed him, tooke Armes. The other 3, in the seuall parts of ye Empire they weere in, did the same each for himselfe.

Its the Custome of that Monarchy not to set vp the Eldest, but he is Emperor whose sword is strongest & Conquers the rest.

This Mallabucks [Murād Bakhsh] invested wth the strength of the Empire about the Court as his father designed, raised an Army of 150000 horse, 150 greate Gunns and 20000 Ollyphants, And

4 By Sivaji's 'vnkle' Nathūjī is probably meant. The whole story is, however, so full of mistakes that it is probable the writer is retailing the current inaccurate tales of the day about the great personages of the country.

5 The writer appears to be confusing *khazāna*, treasury, with *Am-khās*, the name for the place of public audience, which, later on, he calls the "Am Cass." See Constable's *Bernier*, pp. 259, 360.

6 Can this story apply to Nathūjī's son? Sivajī and his son are said to have escaped together, in baskets, from Delhi.

7 *Tavernier* ed. 1676, Vol. I. p. 484, had, in his possession, "une bague de diamant où sont gravées les armes du Roy d'Angleterre," which he showed to the Persian King in December 1664. I am indebted to Mr. William Irvine for this note.

8 Shāh Jahān died on the 22nd Jan. 1666, in the 8th year of the reign of the emperor Aurangzēb, aged 76 lunar years.

9 Mīr Jumla died in 1663.

10 This order is wrong. Dārā Shikoh was the eldest and Murād Bakhsh the youngest of the four.

11 The illness of Shāh Jahān, which led to the insurrection of his four sons, occurred in Sept. 1657.

12 This statement is borne out by contemporary writers.

13 These remarks refer to Dārā Shikoh, whom the write has confused with Murād Bakhsh.

has ye Casanna [*khazāna*], wch is the tresure, of 6 of the princypall Citties to himselfe, ffor there are 24 great Cittys in the Empire, in each of wch is lodged a tresure of vast Riches.

Mallabucks [Murād Bakhsh] commanded his second brother out of Bengall to come to him. Shaw Souia [Shāh Shujā'], his broth, sent him word he would waite On him, Sayinge you raigne soe high now, you may haue a fall, I haue as much right to the crowne as you.

Shaw Souia [Shāh Shujā'] came 2 Months after vppon his Brothr Mallabucks [Murād Bakhsh] wth an Army of 20000 horse 200 greate Gunns. They pitched betwixt Agroy and Goleere [Agra and Gwalior]; 2 days and 2 nights they fyred theire great Gunns at one an other. Att last Mallabucks broke Shaw Souia his army wth his Ollyphants & routed him soe as he could not recreate, But fled to Recan [Arakan].[14]

In the meane tyme comes Dorrishacour [Dārā Shikoh][15] ye 3d sonn and Oram Zebb [Aurangzēb] ye youngest wth 2 greate Armys ioyned, but for theire seuerall interests.

Oram Zebb [Aurangzēb] had, lik Jonathan, stole away the hearts of the people, he livinge among them as a fowkeer [*faqīr*] as a begger, for though he had to attend him 12000 horse as a prince, yet did not he, Lady, or his Children eate or weare ought but what theire hand worke brought from ye Bazars or shops for 7 yeares before ye Warrs.[16]

Dorrishaw: cour [Dārā Shikoh], seinge his youngest Broth soe stronge, Said to Mallabucks [Murād Bakhsh] ye Eldest Bro:, I iudge it fitt we ioyne our Armys, for its my intent you be Emperror.

Mallabucks [Murād Bakhsh] invited him to his tent and in his tent feasted him & made him drunke, & when a sleepe put him in Chaines and sent him p̃soner on an Ollyfant to Goleere [Gwalior]. And by this meanes got Dorrishawcours [Dārā Shikoh's] army to Joyne wth him.[17]

They ioyned, vp comes Oram Zebb, ye yongest Brothr, wth an Army of 300000 horse, 150 Ollyfants, 200 grt Guns. His strength did princepally lie in the Rashpouts [*rājpūts*]; he had 4 Kings, great Radg[as], to his assistance, he marrying into theire Cast.[18]

I John Cambell was then wth Mallabucks, But Mr Roch, Mr Robt. Smith & Mr Jno. White[19] was wth Oram Zebb. Wee fought 4 days wth or great Gunns, But Oram Zebb routed vs.

In ye meane tyme breakes out Dorrishawcour out Golleere & Rased an Army & plundered all ye Casannays or tresurys wheere ever he caime.[20]

Oram Zebb, when he conquerred Mallabucks & tooke him, caused him to be put to death by an Ollyfant.[21]

Dorrishacour, vext at this his Brothers death, drew his army towards Oram Zebb & sent him a challenge. Oram Zebb returned him answer, I will first goe see my father and after I will fight.

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14 Shāh Shujā's flight to Arakan did not occur until after his defeat by Aurangzēb in 1660.

15 This remark refers to Murād Bakhsh.

16 This story may have arisen from the fact that, before his accession, Aurangzēb gave away in alms a portion of his allowance for food and clothing.

17 These statements constitute a curious mixing up of the actual facts. It was Aurangzēb who connived at making Murād Bakhsh intoxicated, in July 1658, and who then imprisoned him.

18 The author is confusing Aurangzēb with Akbar and Jahāngīr, who both had Hindu wives.

19 Mr. Irvine tells me that these three men are mentioned by Manucci as being in India at this period. For details respecting Roch, see later on.

20 It was Murād Bakhsh who was imprisoned in Gwalior by Aurangzēb. His attempt to escape was discovered and frustrated. He was murdered in 1662 and buried within the fort of Gwalior.

21 Dārā Shikoh, after his betrayal into the hands of Aurangzēb, was paraded through the streets of Delhi, on a wretched elephant.

Both armies came to John-a-badd,[22] But Saiahan, ye father, then in ye Castle verry strong, would admitt of neither of his sonns into it, but wth his great Gunns fyred at them, willing to see who was conquerrer. Oram Zebb still lay before the castle & for 9 days space great Gunns & Mortars plaid agast him from ye Castle.

Dorrishacour was on thother side of ye river cald Corno [a local branch of the Jamna], wch is 3 English miles over & comes from Bengall, & is 12 mo Jurney for a man to goe betwixt Jno a Bad & Bengall by ye river.

Oram Zebb wth drew his seige from his father to fight Dorrishacour his Brother & ye 10th day made a bridge wth botes 12 leagues below ye Citty to get over his guns and Army; 3 days it was ere he got over his Army.[23]

Then they ioyned battell in 3 Battallios. Dorrishacour was at first to hard for vs, But a Lord of his, wth 30000 horsse, advized him to light of his Ollyfant & get on his horsse, whose advice he followed. He was no sooner of his Ollyfant but his soldiers cried, he is kild, On wch ye Lord runn to Oram Zebb wth 30000 horsse; ye rest run away, wch was ye losse of ye feild to Dorrishacour.[24]

The arrowes wch weer shott yt day on both sides and gathered vpp burnt 15000 Gentues.

Dorrishacour beinge taken p̃soner, his Brother Oram Zebb sent him into Agray Castle,[25] & after, wth his son,[26] beheaded them. After this, wee drew vp to Johnabadd and lay 4 days before ye Castle ere Saiahan, his father, would surrender.[27] When his father surrendred, he tooke him & put him in Irons & Continewed him soe for 4 yeares yt it kild him.

I lived wth Oram Zebb 6 yeares after he tooke his father p̃soner wch was till ye yeare 1666.[28]

Noe sooner had Oram Zebb setled things about John-a-badd, but comes vp Shaw Souia his 2d Brother wth a great army, A releife of the Pattans [? Rohillas]; Oram Zebb sent his sonn Sultan Azam [29] to feight his vnkle & Conquerd him & tooke him p̃soner, And after let him scape for his life. A great Lord in his army, seing him let his vncle goe, tooke ye prince & sent him to his father giving accot of his Crime. Oram Zebb put his sonn p̃soner in Goleere,[30] but cut of ye Lds heade, saying he yt had ye boldness to lay hands on his prince would not feare in tyme to doe as much to him. Sultan Azam, a hopefull prince, hath beene p̃soner 7 yeares, but now, in ye yeare 1668 he is vnder ye care of an English physition to purge out ye Opium & pest[31] wch was in this tyme given him to stupefie his senses. All ye Lords are ingaged to his father Oram Zebb as hostages he, when at liberty, shall not rebell.

This Shaw Souia after routed, fled againe to Recan [Arakan], leaveinge ye Pattans Contrey;[33] ye Recans & Gentues treated him well. This Recan is distant from Bengall 300 leagues by Sea;

22 Shāh Shujā' marched with a powerful army towards Jahānābād (Delhi) in 1658 and was defeated by Aurangzēb.

23 There is no foundation for this story.

24 The author is here correct and is *not* confusing the names of the princes as he does above.

25 This is incorrect. It was Shāh Jahān who was confined in Agra Castle. Dārāh Shikoh was imprisoned at old Delhi and there beheaded, in 1659.

26 Sipahr Shikoh, Dara's son, was sent, a prisoner, to Gwalior, but ultimately released.

27 The fortress of Agra was taken by Aurangzēb's son in June, 1658.

28 If this statement is correct, the date should be 1664.

29 Muhammad A'zam was Aurangzēb's third son. It was Muhammad Sultān, the eldest son, who, with Mīr Jumla, was sent against Shāh Shujā'. The prince was won over to his uncle's side, and married Shujā's daughter. He, however, repented of his desertion, escaped from Shāh Shujā's camp and returned to Court.

30 Muhammad Sultān was said to have been confined either in the fort of Mīr-garh, or Salīm-garh. See Elliot, *History of India*, VII. 251.

31 *i. e., pōst*, poppy-head. A drink prepared from poppies was given to state prisoners as a slow poison. See Constable's *Bernier*, *f. n.* p. 107.

32 He means (?) the country of the Rohillas, *i. e.* Oudh.

But he died in aññ 1666,[33] Leaveinge two sonns, wch the Gentues assisted wth an army, And one Mr Thomas Pratt,[34] an English man, wth 14 more, And went to Sultan Mahomett, who was the eldest son of Shaw Souia, Assisted wth 20 Briggantines, wch the above mentioned Mr Pratt commands, and is come into Bengall & taken most of the places theire, in August 1668.

Candahor, a stronge Citty in Pertia on ye South South east borders of it, bounded wth ye Pattans contrey on ye Nor Nor east side of ye River Attick [Indus]. Those Pattans are Sarvants to ye Mogull; the other Pattans on ye Sou Sou est are trebutarys to the Mogull by 2 Castles he hath,[35] wch he bought of them, one on each side of this river Attick, & theirs noe other passages into ye Pattans or out of it, or into Pertia but by them, or into the more North parts of the world. These Pattans are a great Nation, but by reason the Magull bys all theire horsses, wch is all ye Goods they have to raise money by, they keepe freindship wth him. All ye Magulls Contrey was formerly ye Pattans.

This Candahor is the inlett for all travellers & Carravans wth all rich Marchandize into Pertia, Turke, and soe for Chrissendome, & brings vast Customes to ye King of Pertia, for theirs noe way into ye Northen parts of it from Maltan & other India parts by land Except you come by way of Sindey, wch is 6 mo Jurney wth ye Coffelaw [*kāfila*, caravan] aboute.

The Mogull, takeing councell wth ye Christians, beinge Ambitious to take this towne, Advanct a great army wch was p̃paring 12 mo, And past the River Attick & beseiged it 3 mo, aññ 1666,[36] Batterred ye Walls soe as a Cart might passe, Theires 4 Walls, one wthout an other, And the Towne fortifyed as stronge as most in the world. Twice wee beseiged it thus; But its not to be taken by forsse. We had it betraid to vs, but after we drew of or army, the Kinge of Pertia brought his army & starved out ye Magulls forces in ye towne: for it lies a great way from ye Mogulls releife, And 6 mo in the yeare theirs noe travellinge for ye great Snowes & raines, & ye Centinells at the passes are mewed vp by the Wether till ye winter is over, And ye Contrey for 40 Leagues of it on ye pattans side hath neither gras, corne, Cattell or stick of wood.

The Magull, Oram Zebb, in aññ 1665 sent an Embassador[37] to Shaw Bash [Shah 'Abbās], Kinge of Pertia; ye pertian Kinge, beinge merry, caused ye Mogulls Embassadors berd to be Cutt of, wth other affronts to him & his maister; And askt him wt was his Maister that he cald himselfe Empr of ye world & Conqueror, Saying he had only murdered his owne fammyly by wch he gained ye Crowne; he had neither conquerd Turke or Christian.[38]

Mdd [Memorandum]. When the Kinge of Pertia sent for the Magulls Embassadr, he refused to come, so he sent horssemen & bound him & brought him before him.

But next morning when ye wyne was out, he sent for ye Embassadr & told him he was not sorry for what he had done, Neverthelesse he would send his Maister a p̃sent, wch he did, 90 Brane horsses wth rich furniture to admiration, A sword or Cattar [*kattār*] wrought wth gold & sett wth dymonds & pretious stones.

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33 Shāh Shujā' disappeared in 1660 and was commonly supposed to have met with his death in that year, but various stories are told as to his end.

34 Thomas Pratt planned an attack on Bengal, but was, so Mr. Irvine informs me, suspected of treachery by the King of Arakan, and met his death at the hands of that monarch. For details about Pratt, see end of this section.

35 Sakkar, Bakhar, and Rohrī on the Indus in Sindh.

36 Kandahar was taken from the Persians by Akbar in 1594, re-taken from Jahāngīr by Shāh 'Abbās in 1622, and again delivered to Shāh Jahān by the treachery of the Governor, Ali Mardān Khān. Twenty-six years later, the Persians once more took possession of the place. In 1649 Aurangzēb made an unsuccessful attempt to re-take the city, and another in 1652, when, after a siege of two months and eight days, he was compelled to abandon his design. According to Bernier, he refused to storm the breach made by the cannon of the Europeans, because the enterprise had originated with Dārā. If the author is referring to this siege of 1652, he is hopelessly wrong in his dates. See also *Tavernier*, ed. 1684, Vol. I., Persian Travels, p. 268.

37 Tarbīyat Khān was sent to Ispahan from the Court of Delhi in 1666.

38 See Dow, *History of Hindostan*, Vol. III. p. 341 f., for an account of this incident.

I was p̃sent when they were p̃sented to ye Magull, who Cōmanded ye sword to be broken & stampt to poother & burnt, And sent ye horsses to seuerall Christian doores where theire heads were Cutt of & they burnt wth all theire Ornaments, And the Ashes of them & theire furniture throwne into ye River.[39]

Shaw Bash Dyed, [26th August 1666], Soe ye Magull wthdrew his army sayinge he would not disturbe a Child in his sorrowes for his father, nor should other princes say he took advantages not honorble.[40]

Mdd The Magull, at his first comeinge to ye Crowne, tooke all base advantages, but now setled & fixt in ye Empire, he is a mighty honnorado.

In the yeare 1669, the Magull marcht wth a great Army towards Candahor wth three yeares pertions [? rations], & swore by his beard hee would never leave it, till he had taken it, wch vndoubtedly he will, And then he hath an inlett into Pertia, for there is noe other way by reason of the Mountans, Nor ought to hinder his march to Ispawhawne save the Pertian Army, wch now is devided into 3 three parts, vizt One against the Turke at Bossara [Basrah], the 2d second against a Collony of Hutterritts,[41] a kind of Christians consisting of about 10000, And this prince, tho small, vexes him by Sea for he hath but a verry small Isleland, And Gennerally his wife, Children and all his people aboard his Vessells, wch are small & runs vnder ye pertian vessells. And his way is to land his people on ye Pertion shore & take away whole Townes of people & plunder & Carrie them aboard his shipps, & if they can redeeme themselues, he accepts of ransome & ye goods he carries to his Isleland, wch ye Pertian cannot come at for ye reason aboue, his vessells being small & ye pertians great, gets vnder them and sinks them by some art they haue.

Att the tyme I was at Ispawhawne, this Chiefe of ye Hutteretts sent 4 of his Chiefe men to Shaw Sollymon, now Kinge of Pertia, as Embassador, to desire he would give them a peece of land and be theire p̃tecter and they would doe him homage. But ye Kinge beheaded them all 4 :, wch makes them doe all the mischeife they can in his Contrey, wch is great, on those townes wch lie on the Sea Coast. Att one tyme they tooke & kild 1500.

Johnabadd, 1668.

In the yeare 1609 or there abouts, Jogeern [Jahāngīr], Emperrer of Industion,[42] had to his Councell in Chiefe Allan Cown[43] who got vnder ye Emperr greate Riches, ye emperor warringe wth ye Gentues & conquerd them wth theire pedegogs [*pagodās*], and before his Death caused it to be buried in his howse Cald Old Dilley [Delhi] in John a Badd. After his death, the then Emperor made greate serch, knoweing he had vast Riches, But not fyndinge it, It hath ca[u]sed continuall serch to this day, 1670, There haueinge beene, since Jogeeres tyme, Saiahan Emperō & Now Oram Zebb.

Mdd yt Jogeere [Jahāngīr], by punnishinge some of Alla Caws Generation, mad a discovery, yt he gott Six Ollyfants Load of Tresure, wch was esteemed worth 3000000 Thirty hundred thowsand pounds sterling money, wch hath Caused a Jealosy [suspicion] to this day great tresure is yet in that howse.

Mdd Thatt Allam Cawne, second to Jogeere Emperor, in Año 1507 [? 1607], was imployed by ye Emperor in his warrs wth ye Gentues who weere many petty Nations. Great riches they had, The Dymond Mines and other Jewells beinge found in theire Contreys, And ye great pride of ye Gentues is to adorne theire pagodays, theire gods & places where the[y] put them, some beinge a Cow,

[39] Compare Bernier's account of the reception of the present: Constable's ed. pp. 146—151.

[40] This statement is supported by contemporary writers.

[41] The writer refers to the trouble which was given to Shāh 'Abbās and Sulimān by the Kedarite Arab pirates of Al-Kadar on the Eastern side of the Persian Gulf and on the Shatt-al-Arab mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. These are referred to by Chardin, *Coronation of Solyman III.*, 1691, p. 1. It is not likely that there were any Christians amongst them, though there might have been Muhammadan schismatics.

[42] Jahāngīr ascended the throne in Oct. 1605.

[43] ? a mistake for Asaf Khān.

some beinge a sheepe & ye like they worshipt. This Allam Cawne plundered all, conqueringe them, & by yt meanes horded vast and vnknowne riches, wch he hid from ye Emperor, they Consistinge in Images and Jewells of incredable vallew; And to hide or conceale this his greate welth from ye Emperor and suspition of the people, he Borrowed & tooke vp on interrest vast sum̃es and Dyed indebted soe.

Alla-Cawns sonns, p̃ferd by Jogeere to Command in his Army, But since by Saiahan and Now Oram Zebb Emperors to make discoverey, hath brought them to poverty. Theirs Only One in beinge, ye Lord Jeffer Cawna,[44] a Collonell of horsse, who beinge in Nessessity for money, caime to Mr Tho: Roch, Mr Robt Smith, Mr John White And I, John Cambell, & told vs if wee would lent him such a som̃e of money, he would pawne to vs such a howse, a greate pennyworth. Wee lent him the money, On wch an old Brammonist, sarvt to his grandfather, told vs if we would serch, theire was to be found great riches in that howse, Sayinge yu are Xpians and may doe it, We can not, but indanger or lives & fam̃ilies. The Emperer will not call yu to soe strict accot as he will doe vs if ought but well happen.

We agreed to give ye Lord and him two shares and each of vs one; Soe we went to worke, haveing laborers, And had dugg Nine fathom deepe, for Alla Cawn had built howse vppon howse over ye place he buried ye money and tresure in.

This howse is as bigg as Whitehall & Scotch yard [Scotland Yard][45] and verry stronge, built Castle wise. The laborers in digging, som̃e weere struck dead, vizt 2:; others lamd, leggs and armes broke; & others hurried out; Soe yt all other laborers weere discurraged.

Oram Zebb, now Emperer, heareing we weere digginge, sent to know ye reason. We returnd him answer for stones to build a howse, wch Mr Roch, vnder Culler, then was buildinge; for 6 mo we continewed digging, but found noethinge. Soe I, John Cambell, required my money againe. Said the Lord Jeffery Cawn, such things are heere: And I will consult some coniurers, and if you finde them not you shall haue your money againe. He did consult and brought three of those Coniurers to vs. On wch wee came to gether and showed them how farr wee had diggd, which was wthin Nine inches of a pott of brass as bigg as a bushell. Said ye coniuers, take vp such a stone, wch don, ye pott appeared. Said they, medle not wth it now, but lett it a lone till morninge. Wee knew not what was in it, but iudgeing it ye prize, or p̃te of what wee sought for, That night we weere verry merry. But in the midst of our mirth comes into ye Midle of ye Court, wch was large, a great many laborors with Mattock, Spade and other Implemts, All of siluer, And in an instant cast vp a banke of earth higher then the rest, & erected On it a Cannope of State.

Others came And spred Carpetts. This Cannopie of State was borne by Nine seemeinge Men. The Staves of Siluer. We had Candles and lamps, but they Great wax torches.

Mdd One pott, when we caime to itt, was turnd into Charcoale to or thinkinge, but we weere forbidden to medle wth it and next tyme the same pott was gold; it had been taken away & brought againe.

An hower after the Cannope was erected & Carpetts spred, being about 12 Clock at night, comes a great Devell in shape of Man in a Chaire state borne vppon mens shoulders and a summerre [*sumbreiro*, umbrella] over his head, supported wth gold staves, in great state and many attendants after him. He sits downe vnder ye place of state; most of ye rest stand by him. We all sadly amazed, I, Jno Cambell, sounded [swooned] but recovered p̃sently. I had, as ye other 3 xpians, my bible and seriously fell to readinge.

[44] Jafar Khān, son-in-law of the *wazīr* Asaf Khān, was appointed prime minister by Aurangzēb in 1662 and died in 1670.

[45] From Stow we learn that "a large plot of ground enclosed with brick is called Scotland, where great buildings have been for receipt of the kings of Scotland."

The Devell said, lay by yor Evengell, but we continewed. The Ld Cawn sat in ye Midle of vs. Out comes a Devell and hawled him from vs 4 or 5 tymes his lenth. Mr White steps out & lay hold of him and demanded for why they did that.

In comes a huge ill shapt Monster and said, will not this fellow yo Ld. Cawn let vs a lone, but must show yu this tresure ; he shall never haue it, and vannisht.

Then did ye greate Devell command him to be brought in Irons, the coniurers haveing first don somewhat.

This ill shapt Devell had remoued ye tresure, but said, set me at liberty & I will bring it againe.

This ill shapt monster had been slaue to ye Ld Caws grandfather who buried ye tresure & se it buried ; Soe ye Lds Grandfather kild him to p̃vent discoverey, wch this devell gave vs ye full relation of.

He brought it againe. And ye next day went a slave of Mr Roches & informd yo Empr Oram Zebb what she had seene, for all the howse saw plã [plainly] what was don. This brought vs all into great troble, But wth great bribes we accquitted our selves. They weere given to ye Ministers of state, And wthall purchased vs liberty for future to doe what we pleased in the howse.

I, John Cambell, goeing home to my owne howse, a horsman mett me in ye way & told me, yu must goe noe more to Old Dilley [Delhi] ; But what yor share is yu shall haue.

That night Mr Roch & ye Ld. Cawn was throwne ouer the wall out of the howse & a little brewsed.

Mr White Questioned ye great Devell who he was. He sd, I am Mortezalle [*i. e.*, 'Ali, also known as Murtaza 'Ali], sonn in Law to Mahomett, & governs this part of ye world ; wth that he rose and wth all ye rest vannisht, but left ye ground rased on wch stood ye Cannopy state.

Mr White & ye Coniurers weere taken in a sound [swoon]. When they came to their selfs, theire was som̃e thing they Dugg for laid at theire heads, vizt., An Image of gold wth 3 pretious Chaines to it, ye Image as Bigg as a sheepe. This was kept privat 3 mo.

Dureinge the tyme Mortezalle sat in state, wch was 3 or 4 howers, he askt Mr Roch, what haue yu to doe heere. Mr Roch replied, I haue given money for this place. Sd ye Devell, let it a lone & we will give yu yor money againe & 3 tymes more. Mr Roch & Mr White[46] replied, we will haue all or none. Sd ye Devell, you may thank Esaÿ [Isã] wch is Christ, & yor vengell [Evangel], wch is ye bible. Wee cannot hinder you from it now, you beinge Xpians, But yu shall pay deere for it, if yu will haue it, wch proved trew, as before is mentioned by ye slaves information to Oram Zebb.

Take, sd ye Devell, yor vengell from that Gollum [*ghulām*], meaneinge ye Ld. Cawn, for we caused him keepe a bible in his hand, (Gollum signifies slave), And we shall be sure of him, for Certainly they woud [have] carried him a way alive, for they declared they had power over him, but that he kept Close to ye Bible wth some directions we gaue him.

Sd ye Devell, yu are sarvts & of seuerall professions, why doe yu not follow yor p̃fessions : what haue yu to doe to Cast Guns heere ; get yu to yor owne Contrey.

Then caime one from ye great Devell wch Mr Roch was talking wth, and struck vp his heeles, wch put him into a sound [swoon], and as he fell, he cried, god help me. Sd ye Devell, god is neere.

When Mr Roch cald ye ill shap Devell, Devell, he replied, I am noe Devell, iut Cotte [*jhūṭ kahtā*], yu lie, for I was murdered for this money, And if yu will take away yor Cattabb [*kitāb*, book], wch is ye bible, from this Gollum [*ghulām*], ye Ld Jefferey Cawn, yu shall haue yr desire.

46 Mr. Irvine tells me that Manucci mentions in Delhi an "English renegade named João Witt who had married a Muhammadan woman." If João Witt and John White are identical, the incident here described must have happened before White renounced his religion.

The Devell in ye nights haled & puld & brused ye Ld Jeff: Cawn and soe frighted him he durst not be from ye xpians, who p̃valed wth him to lie wth ye bible on his brest & while he did soe, ye Devells had no power of him.

I, John Cambell, warned not to come at Old Dilly more, had a tent sett vp wthout the gate, wheere my friends & those Consernd met together. At 3 Clock in an afternoon, appeares ye great Devell without attendance and said, since yu will haue ye tresure I charge yu give Cawn none of it. We said he must share.

If it be soe, said ye Devell, he shall never inioy good hower wth it, nor did he, till he was baptized, but pined away.

Mr Smith, after 6 howers discorse wth ye Devell, commanded him away. Ye Devell went 3 tymes and caime againe. The 3d tyme he enquired of me, John Cambell, why I did not goe into ye howse. I replied not. Sd ye Devell, I know yu weere forwarnd. Mr Smith replied, Brough [*barāō*], wch is begon, I command ye, in ye name of Christ begon. I, Jno Cambell, still reasoned ye scripture wth ye Devell, but not capable to vndertake as Mr Smith was, I left it to him, After wch ye Devell vanisht away, but Mr Smith for 3 mo afterwards kept his bed, we doubtinge his life all the tyme. He recoverd at last, but every other night was tempted yt he would take away ye bible from ye Ld Cawn, But we defyed ye Devell.

Then said ye Devell, I haue Armies & Riches and am an Emperor & Emperror of Emperrers & can p̃fer yu, & vanisht.

After this, we being in the feild wth Oram Zebb, Empr, his army, we saw a Multitude of Men, wch we tooke for the Enemie Kinge Swagies [Sivaji's] army. But it was ye Devell or Mortezally wth his Armie, for we weere 130 Leagues from ye enemy, as we trewly vnderstood after, but by these weere led too & froo for about 2 mo & mett wth noe enemy, tho we sought them.

This Ld Jeffery Cawn, then in ye Army & a Stout Soldier, Commanded 4000: fower thowsand horsse could never get ye Devells army out of his sight, Told ye Minister who saw it as well as he, and we alsoe ye rest of ye Christians saw it, That the Christians faith was good & he would willingly Die for it, ye honor of the vengell. Mr Smith ye minister told him, theires noe forse to be vsed to yu, yu haue seene what wee doe.

Its written, Sd ye Ld, in or lawes that when Mahommett died, some of his greate Councell askt how they should be saved. Or proffett told them by water. Pray, sd ye Ld, what is that water. Mr Smith replied, it was ye water of Baptisme. The Ld replied, I understand not what that is; we wash much. Sd ye Minister, wth Mr White, That washinge did not saue or p̃sserve him in those troubles yu are come throw. This Ld replied, keepe my secretts friends. And if yu will baptize me in ye way yu are in I am willinge to receive it.

A feast was made at my howse, J: Cambell, and ye Lord Jeffery Cawn Baptized;[47] Mr White was Godfather. Never after this did anie of ye spirritts or Devells troble him, Though, as before said, he till then washed in his bodey; Every day at ye tyme of or prayer would he come by stelth, leaveing behind his sarvts.

After this, Mr Roch & this Ld was sent for to p̃son [prison] by the Casa [*qāzī*], who is supreeme in Ecclesiasticall Crimes, On p̃tence they 2 weere propagatinge ye Christian Religion: and after ye Casa had Examoned them, they weere Commanded before the Emperor Oram Zebb, The Ld wth a greate Chaine about his neck. The Emperor demanded what relation he had to ye Christians. The Casa had told ye Emperor what had past.

47 Mr. Irvine tells me that there is probably some foundation for this story, as Manucci has a good deal to say about Ja'far Khān and his kindness to, and intimacy with, Christians. Manucci does not say that he actually became a Christian, but he adds that "he drank his drop of liquor."

The Ld Cawn replied, noe marrackle ever Mahomett or his Lawes did, like ye evengell wch he had made proofe of. Sd the Casa yu wilbe a Coffer [*kāfir*, unbeliever], wch is Heathen. Sd ye Ld, then I must give Accompt to Hodah [*Khudā*], vizt. God. Att last they weere both Cleered.

Mdd Mortazelle, in ye discorse before, told them he lived not by bread, or his Army, or weere vizable at all tymes, But Sd theirs a day we must appeare.

These Spirritts or Devells haue noe paine; they Delight much in Gardens, in Jewells & Gold, And when they weere forst to lett ye Ld Cawn haue ye Tresure he Diggd for, they Caused ye Brammonist [Brahman] to make an agreemt, wth Consent of his p̃tners, to repaire the ruins they made in Digging in the howse in Old Dilly, And to make a faire Garden wthin Such a tyme, or elce he should never enioy quiet; this is p̃forminge Att this day, año 1668.

As for ye tresure got, it was greate, & more is lookt for.

This Mortazelle Sd, we haue power to destroy all but those wch belonge to Esaÿ[48] & ye Evengell, vizt. Christ, & ye Gospell or scriptures. We medle wth none of yu; why do yu give ye vengell to anie of or people to hinder or revenge on them. Mr White Answered, we are bound by Esaÿ yu tell vs of, to doe it, and ye word of God is open & free to all men yt will receive it. Wth that he grew in a fewrey, but at last becaime calme, And said, we haue noe more liberty then God gives vs. As Esaÿ is yor profett, Soe haue wee beene p̃fetts to these men, wch makes vs now goe like wanderinge spirritts. Sd Mr White, when you weere on earth vizable, why did you not mind those things. Wee, said ye Devell, haue hopes of rest for or now wanderinge, Hatter Gouna [*bihtar gūnā*], because wee may mend. All this while wee stood wth or Bibles in our hands. Sd ye Devell, put away yor Evengell. Mr White replied, noe, its our Belefe. Sd ye spirritt, its good for you you haue it, but still we are bound to tempt you. Sd Mr White, Dower Sitan [*dur, Shaitān*], wch is, avoyd Satan. I am Sd he, noe Devell. Then showed all the Sarvts themselves in terrable shapes, some Lyons, some tygers and seũall Monsters, But we weere not abitt amazed. Oh hum deighta to'mor'ror' ra dust hey [*ab ham dēkhtā tumhārā rāh durust hai*], Sd ye Devell, Now I see yor way is right. Wth that he & his Crew vannisht.

Two howers after comes in a great Sarpent, ye Cullr of gold; ye Minister & wee went to prayer; ye Sarpent tooke on his belly a turne or two on ye Carpett & vannisht.

That night Mr White fell sick & voñitted blood and went vp & downe stampinge & could not speake for 3 howers. It pleased god he went to ye bible and desired yo Minister to turne to [49] and led his hand to it, for we weere all then affrighted. When ye Minister had red 4 lines, Mr White spooke & Sd, O Lord What haue I don, I will never more discorse wth Spirrits.

For 3 days after this he was sick, but to him nor anie of vs did ye Devell appeare ever after.

They then went to ye Ld Cawn who owned ye howse & said, go & give ye Christains that booke thou hast, And we will give the wt riches thou demandest of vs. The Ld replied I fynd theire way trewth and yu all deceivers, And if I should do it yu would teare me to peeces. He, ye Ld, caime next day & told vs what had hapned.

Mr White Sd, if he appeares againe, give him this answer to resolve yu whether hee can doe more for yu then the vengell hath don. This was the last thinge after ye Ld was baptized yt hapned, vizt.

The Devell caime to ye Ld, & ye Ld gave him ye Question above mentiond. The Devell replied, for Riches and welth I will assure the enough; what follows I cannot tell.

The Ld replied, I have got riches & will more in spight of yu by yo helpe of that I beleive in.

[48] It is possible from the form which the author has adopted for the Arabic 'Isā, that he is mixing up the name Isā, Christ, with 'Isāī, Christian.

[49] Hiatus in original.

The Ld speakeinge this, ye Devell vannisht away, And the Lord was taken deade, And was stript and washt, and was about to be wound and laid forth as to his buryall. We, the Christians, were sent for to old Dilley howse to come to his buryall, his freinds knoweing we weere intimate. We caime, And of A Suddan he Started vp & sd, O hodah Iss a' ra' sou' la' law' [*O Khudā, 'Isā ar-rasūlu'llāh,* O God, Christ is the prophet of God], wch is in English, O god who hath saued me by ye providence of Jesus Christ. One of his sarvants, beinge a Moore, went to ye Casa & sd, his Ld was turned Coffer. He, ye Ld, was sent for; we ye Engs durst not be seene in it. The Ld, haueing good parts, disputed a litle wth leaue of the Cas & desired him look into Moses law & told him their was one God, And sd we are bound by Mahomett our profett to pray for all other profetts but espetially Ela Ela Issa' ru' sou' la' law [*Allah, Allah, 'Isā ar-rasūlu'llah*] wch is interpreted before. Sd ye Ld, when I was taken sick, God & Issa ['Isā, *i. e.*, Christ] caime in my heart first. Sd ye Casa, this was in former tymes, But Issa is not yet come. We know, sd ye Ld to the Casa, he is a great profett. Sd ye Casa, doe yu not acknowledge Mahommett greater. Ho-dah a' mer' a' cull' ham so se' de'ra' buttella [*Khudā mērā āṅkh khulā ham ko sidhā rah batlāyā*], yt is, God open my eies and direct me ye right way, I cannot dispute wth yu being Casa, wch is as High preist.

Said the Casa, ham Dalgeere hey [*ham dilgīr hai*], I am sorrie yu will goe to hell. Sd ye Ld, Ho-dah Jan te [*Khudā jānē* or *jāntē*], God knowes whether I shall or noe. Brough [*barāō*], Sd ye Casa, begon. The next day ye Casa related this to ye Emperer. The Emperer cald ye Casa & ye Lds his Counsell to debate it. The Casa said, he is gilty of death, because he disputs against the Law of Mahommett. Sd ye Emperer, lets know by whome this p̃swation of his caime. They sent to ye Padrees, imp̃oned them, thretned some, others had Strips to Confesse, but they knew nothinge of it, noe more they did. Then Sd ye Emperer, Bi r'ga han'den [*Birā Jahannam*], Goe & be hanged. Je hob Mussellman[50] a Good Moore will never make a Christian nor a Christian a good Moore. Esub ho' da' ca' hut hey [*Yeh sab Khudā ke hath hai*] Sd ye Emp̃or, wch is All this is in gods hand And Cleered him. But after this we durst not meete but if he caime to vs at night, he staid privat wth vs all next day and away at night, Soe we the same if we went to his howse.

(To be continued.)

FOLKTALES FROM NORTHERN INDIA.

Collected by William Crooke.

I.

A Tale of Human Sacrifice.[1]

THERE was once a Râjâ who had a very wise Wazîr. One day the Râjâ went to hunt, and they encountered a tiger. The Râjâ wounded the beast, but in the fight which followed it so happened that the tiger bit off one of the fingers of the Râjâ. When he returned all the courtiers condoled with him on his misfortune, but the Wazîr said: "Whatever Bhagwân does he does for our good." When he heard this, the Râjâ flew into a passion, and turned the Wazîr out of his Court.

As the Râjâ suffered much pain from the wound, he determined to go for a ride in the jungle. He rode on a long way and became separated from his escort, and as night came on he went for shelter into a temple of Devî. He sat by the door, but continued to hold his horse by the rein. Now in this temple there was a gang of thieves, who had got possession of some valuable goods. And they had vowed that if they were successful they would sacrifice a man to the goddess. But they had forgotten to bring a victim, and just as the Râjâ came up they

[50] Probably the commencement of some formula *Khūb Musalmān*, &c.

[1] Told by Râmeswara Datta, Ojha, of Lilapur, Partâbgaṛh District, Oudh.

were discussing what they should do. Suddenly the lightning flashed and they saw the Râjâ at the door of the temple. So they seized him and were just about to sacrifice him, when one of them said: "Let us examine him to see if perchance he have not lost any part of his body. If so, he will not serve our purpose, as it is unlawful to offer a victim who is defective in any way."

When they examined the Râjâ they found that he had lost one of his fingers; so they let him go.

The Râjâ came back to his palace, and when his courtiers were assembled, he said: "Let the Wazîr be summoned to the presence." When he arrived the Râjâ told him what had happened and said: "Now I know that whatever Bhagwân does is for our good, and it was my fault that I drove such a wise man as you from my Court."

The Wazîr answered: "Bhagwân had in this good in store for me also." The Râjâ asked: "What good had He in store for you?" The Wazîr replied: "Had I not been expelled from the presence, surely you would have taken me with you. I would not have failed to accompany you to the temple, and the thieves in that case would certainly have sacrificed me in your stead as I had no bodily defect."

The Râjâ was pleased with the sagacity of his Wazîr and advanced him to great honour.

II.

How the Faqîr lost his ear.[2]

There was once a Râjâ who excelled in the science of archery; many archers contended with him, but he used to defeat them all, and whenever he defeated a rival he would make him his slave. Daily he used to go to the river bank and test his skill by shooting at the fishes in the water. One day he went there as usual, and as he was shooting his arrows at the fish a man in the garb of a Faqîr approached him and continued watching him for some time. At last the Faqîr said: "This habit of yours is not good. You had better give it up." Then the Faqîr went to bathe in the water close by, and when the Râjâ observed him attentively he saw that he had lost one of his ears. So he asked the Faqîr to go with him to his palace, and there he entertained him. But he was puzzled to discover how the Faqîr had lost his ear, and he enquired the cause; but when he asked him, the Faqîr was wroth and remained silent. At last one day the Râjâ insisted that the Faqîr should tell his tale, and, though unwilling as he was to speak, at length he replied: —

"O Mahârâjâ! I was once like you famous for my skill as an archer, and so skilled was I that I despised the whole world. One day I was wandering about and came to the house of a wealthy merchant. His wife, one of the most beautiful women of the age, was sitting at the door, and when I saw her my heart was inflamed with love and I implored her to yield to my wishes. But she refused with indignation and said: 'I am not such as you suppose. I love my husband alone. You had better leave the house, or when my husband comes, I will tell him and he will slay you with his arrow.'" I was so lost in love to her that I remained sitting there, and by and by her husband came back, and when he heard from his wife what had passed he said: 'I hear that you pride yourself as an archer. When I have eaten my food I will test your power.' So he sat down and ate, and when his meal was done he said: 'Take your bow and a hundred arrows and do your best to shoot me.' I took my bow and arrows and shot at him, hoping that I might slay him and then win the love of the lady. But he guarded himself so skilfully with his shield that I failed to hit the mark, and when all my arrows were spent he said: 'Take my bow and fix an arrow to it.' I took the bow; but do what I would, it was beyond my power to string it, and then I fell at his feet and prayed his pardon. But with two fingers he took me by the ear and put me outside his door, and such

[2] Told by Mohan Lâl, student of the school at Ghâzipûr, Fatehpûr District.

was the strength of his fingers that my ear remained in his grasp. Such was my shame that I gave up the practice of archery and became a Faqîr."

When the Râjâ heard the tale of the Faqîr he was ashamed, and broke his bow and never shot an arrow for the rest of his life.

III.

How the Sâdhû was taught faith in the Scriptures.[3]

There was once a Sâdhû who was one day reading the Śâstras, and he came across a verse which taught that even ascetics are enamoured of the beauty of women. He would not believe that this could be true, so Bhagwân determined to teach him not to distrust the Scriptures. One night he sent a lovely maiden to the hermitage of the saint, and she knocked and said: "I am the daughter of a merchant and I desire shelter for the night as I have lost my way." The Sâdhû at first refused to admit her, but when she implored him, he let her in, and when he had given her food he shut her up in an inner room, and locking the door gave her the key from beneath, and said: "An evil demon sometimes at night assumes my form. Should he come to the door and desire admittance, open not to him."

So they both lay down to rest, and in the night the maiden woke and began to sing songs of love until the Sâdhû heard her, and he became inflamed with love of her. So he arose and knocked at the door, and when she got up and looked through a chink, and seeing the form of the Sâdhû, she remembered his words and would not open to him. He called her and said: "Open to me! I am thine host, the Sâdhû." But she said: "Do I not know the evil devices of the wicked ones?" So she kept the door shut, and the Sâdhû got up on the roof and tried to enter through the tiles. But his foot was caught by the rafters, and he could move neither one way nor the other. Thus he remained till the morning broke, when his brethren seeing his state came and released him. When they asked him what had happened, he told them the whole case. "This," said they, "will be a lesson to you not to doubt the truth of Holy Writ."

IV.

The Virtue of Charity.[4]

There was once a Râjâ who possessed enormous wealth, but was such a miser that he never gave anything in charity. On the contrary, his son was so generous that every day he used to weigh himself against gold and distribute it to the poor. One day Bhagwân himself came to see him in disguise of a Brâhmaṇ. He commenced reciting the sacred books at the gate of the palace, and when the prince came to listen he ordered him to call his father, the Râjâ. The Râjâ came and Bhagwân demanded alms. The Râjâ promised to give him money; but when he came home and entered his treasure house he cried, "How can I give away the wealth which I have collected with such difficulty?" So he drove Bhagwân from the city.

Then Bhagwân ordered the prince to shut up his father in prison as a madman and take the kingdom. So he began to distribute his wealth in charity till nought remained, and he was brought to poverty. Bhagwân again visited him in the form of a Sâdhû. He was then living in a miserable straw hut, and when he saw the holy man he went in and ordered the Rânî to bake all the flour they had into cakes for their guest. While the meal was being cooked, the Sâdhû asked the Râjâ to come and bathe with him. As they plunged into the water the Râjâ was turned into an embryo and re-born as the Mahârâjâ of Benares. For twelve years he lived in the utmost splendour and then died. When they threw his ashes into the Ganges he at once regained his form as the Râjâ on the Ghâṭ, where he had been bathing with Bhagwân.

[3] Told by Paṇḍit Jatadhar, Brâhmaṇ, and recorded by Srî Râm, Brâhmaṇ of Jondharî, Agra District.
[4] Told by Paṇḍit Lâlman, Brâhmaṇ of Agra.

Then he knew that the Sâdhû was the deity, and falling at his feet worshipped him. Bhagwân asked him to choose what boon he pleased. But the Râjâ said: "All I desire is that my father, mother, and myself may be admitted to thy heaven." So a heavenly chariot appeared and all three were transported to paradise.

V.

The Coolie and the Jinn.[5]

There was once a poor coolie who was coming home to his dinner. On the path before him he saw two snakes fighting, and the larger snake was just about to kill and devour the smaller one, when the coolie struck it with his mattock, and the small snake crept into some brushwood and disappeared. When he had eaten his food, the coolie went to pray in the mosque, and as he was leaving, a beautiful youth accosted him and said: "Pray wait a little, as my father is coming to call on you." "Who am I that any person should call on me?" replied the coolie. Just then a magnificent-looking old man came up and saluted the coolie. "Who am I," he asked, "the meanest of the mean, that any one should salute me?" Said the old man: "You have conferred the greatest possible favour upon me. I am the king of the Jinn, and this youth is my son. I have a mortal foe, one of the Jinn. He turned my son into a snake and was about to slay him when you saved his life. Now I intend to reward you, so lie awake to-night and keep the matter secret." The coolie went home and told his wife. All she said was, "Some one is making a fool of you."

But the coolie stayed awake, and just at midnight he heard something fall in the courtyard of his house, and when he went out to see what it was, he found that it was a purse of gold, and several more fell at his feet. He woke his wife and showed her the treasure. She said: "If anyone sees you with so much money they will say you stole it. Better bury all the purses but one. " The coolie obeyed her, and with the money in one purse he bought cows and oxen, and when his neighbours asked him about it he said: "I have raised a loan from a Mahâjan." So he prospered, and by and by he dug up the rest of the money and became a very wealthy man, and to the day of his death he never told any one of the luck which had befallen him.

VI.

The Hunter and the Deer.[6]

A hunter went out one day into the forest and saw a pair of deer grazing. He planned, how to kill them. So he set fire to the grass on one side, on another he posted his hound, on the third laid a snare, and on the fourth stood himself with his spear in his hand. When the deer tried to escape, the male fell into the snare, but the hind escaped. When she saw that her mate had been captured she came back, and standing before the hunter she said: "I know that thy food is flesh, and so has it been ordered by Bhagwân. But my mate whom thou hast caught is lean, while I am fat. Kill me in his stead and let him go alive. Perchance thou hast never heard the saying: —

"*Nij akâj kari jo manukh sajain jag par kâj,*
Jagat lâbh kari vash bimal, surpur sajain samâj."

"Those who at a sacrifice to themselves do good to others, win true glory in this world, and when dead, can arrange the seats for their company in the city of the gods."

When the hunter heard these words he was filled with compassion, released the deer, and gave up hunting for the remainder of his life.

5 Told by Mahbûb Ilâhî, Musalmân, and recorded by Zafar-ullah of Sikandra, Aligarh District.

6 Told by Bachau Kasera, of Mirzapur.

VII.

Allah Bakhsh the Demon, and the Saint Abdul Qâdir Jilâni.

When the Saint Abdul Qâdir Jilâni was staying at Pîrân Kalyar, near Rûrkî, in the Sahâranpûr District, Allah Bakhsh, the noted demon, who frequented that neighbourhood, attacked, or, as the phrase runs, "mounted on the head" of the wife of the man at whose house the saint's bread used to be cooked. The man, when he found that his wife was under the influence of the demon, took her to the saint.

The saint said to the demon: "What do you mean by coming to the place where my bread is baked?"

The demon answered: "I will not come again as long as your honour stays here."

The saint again asked: "Why do you not come on my head?"

The demon replied: "I have nothing to do with the Maqbûl Ilâhi or the accepted of God."

Again the saint asked: "Why do you not come on the heads of the women of the household of the righteous?" "They," replied the demon, "are under the protection of the Almighty, and I cannot touch them."

So the demon departed in fear and never returned as long as the saint remained in that neighbourhood.

VIII.

A Woman's Wiles.[7]

There was in the city of Kanchanpûr a banker who had a daughter named Jay Srî, and when she grew up she was married to Jay Mohan, the son of the Râjâ. She lived with her father after her marriage, and had a lover of her own. One day her husband came to see her, and she professed the deepest love for him: but at night when he was asleep she left him and went to visit her lover. On the way a party of thieves saw her and followed her. When she went into the house she saw that her lover lay dead from the bite of a snake. She lay down beside him and began to weep and lament him.

Now there was a demon in a tree close by, and when he saw her he was overcome by her beauty and he entered into the corpse of her paramour. When she saw him, as she thought, revived, she was delighted, and they stayed together till near dawn. As she was leaving, the demon seized her and cut off her nose.

She came home covered with blood and lay down beside her husband, and when it was daylight she called out to her father and said: "My husband has cut off my nose."

So the prince was seized and condemned to death, and as they were carrying him to execution, one of the thieves saw him, and when he heard what had happened began to weep. They took him to the Râjâ, and when the tale was told they went and found the woman's lover dead and covered with blood. The prince was released and his wicked wife was put to death with torture.

The Two Blind Men.[8]

Two blind men were sitting together, one of whom was blind from his birth, the other had become blind after he had grown up. The second asked the first if he would eat rice-milk if he got some. The other asked what sort of thing rice-milk was. His friend said: "It is white." The other asked: "What is white?" "It is like the heron." "What is the heron

[7] Told by Bâl Govind, Brâhmaṇ of Tarînpûr, Sîtapûr.

[8] Told by Nannhê, tailor, and recorded by Rahmat-ullah, teacher of the school at Baksiya, Budaun District.

like?" Then the second man held the hand of the first and made him touch the rice-milk. The other, when he touched it, said: "You rascal! Why are you asking me to eat this filthy stuff? I will never touch it."

IX.

The Fate of the Thieves.[9]

Once upon a time the four Ages of the World met, and Tretâ Yuga asked Krita Yuga what the law in his time was. Krita Yuga replied: "In my time it was the law that if his subjects behaved sinfully the Râjâ was punished." Tretâ Yuga answered: "It was a cruel law to punish the Râjâ for the sins of his subjects."

The Dwâpara Yuga asked Tretâ Yuga what the law in his time was. Tretâ Yuga answered: "In my time it was the law that if the people sinned the landholders were punished." Dwâpara Yuga replied: "This indeed was a very cruel law."

Then Kali Yuga asked Dwâpara what the law in his time was. Dwâpara Yuga answered: "In my time it was the law that if a junior member of a family committed sin, the head of the family suffered for it." Kali Yuga answered: "This indeed was an unjust law."

So the three Ages asked Kali Yuga: "And in your time what is the law?" He replied: "In my time the law is that he who sins suffers himself." "How can this be?" they asked.

Then Kali Yuga went into the jungle and laid there a great brick of gold. Just as he did so, two goldsmiths passed by, and when they saw the brick of gold they snatched it up at once and hid it in their luggage. Then one of them said: "Brother, if you will I will go to some village and buy food." His friend agreed, and the goldsmith hastened to his house and told his wife that when he was going through the jungle with his friend he had found a brick of gold. She said: "I will cook some sweetmeats and put poison in them, which you can give to your comrade. Then all the gold will be yours." He agreed, and when the sweetmeats were ready, he took them and hastened to the place where he had left his comrade with the gold.

He also had been planning how to outwit his comrade. So when he saw him coming up with the sweetmeats he said: "Let us bathe before we eat." The two then went to a neighbouring well to bathe, and as his comrade stood at the edge, his friend pushed him in. Then he came back to where his friend had placed the sweetmeats, and having eaten some he died.

"This," said Kali Yuga, "is the way in which in my time punishment falls on the sinner."

X.

The Tale of the Two Thieves.[10]

There was once a noted thief who took his nephew, the son of his sister, and began to train him in the art of thievery.

One day the thief stole a pigeon, and bringing it home told his nephew to cook it and have it ready by the time he came back. The boy set about roasting the bird, and when it was ready he ate the liver.

When the thief returned he missed the liver and asked the boy where it was. "Pigeons," said the boy, "you ought to know never have livers." The thief knew that the boy was deceiving him, but he said nothing and waited a chance of taking his revenge.

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[9] Told by Paṇḍit Brindaban Misr, teacher of the school of Nûr Maḥâl, Agra District, N.-W. P.

[10] Told by Khûbî Râm, Kâyasth of Sainya, Agra District, N.-W. P.

Some time after the pair went out together and broke into a Ṭhâkur's cow-house. The elder thief loosed the Ṭhâkur's buffalo and drove it outside. Then he seized his nephew, tied him up with the rope of the buffalo, and went his way.

In the morning the Ṭhâkur came into his cow-house, found his buffalo gone, and the boy tied up in its place. "Who tied you here?" he asked. "The man who stole the buffalo," replied the boy. "And who stole the buffalo?" "The man who tied me up here." And though they cross-questioned him till they were tired they could get no more out of him than this.

At last the headman of the village said: "As this fellow will not confess, let us take him to the temple of Bhavânî and offer his head to the goddess. Perhaps, she will then tell us who stole the buffalo."

So they took him to the temple, and were just about to cut off his head to offer to the goddess, when his uncle, the thief, came up on a horse and asked what they were about. They told him the whole story, and he said: "Let me take the boy aside and examine him. Perchance, I may be able to find out the truth."

So the thief took his nephew a little way aside and said: "Now, what became of the pigeon's liver. If you refuse to tell me I will leave you at the mercy of these clod-hoppers." "Uncle," the lad replied, "surely you are old enough to know that pigeons don't have livers." "In truth you have the makings of a master-thief in you," the uncle said. "Jump up on the horse behind me and let us get out of this."

And this was the last the villagers saw of the thieves or the buffalo.

XI.

The Rânî and her Lover united in death.[11]

Once upon a time there was a banker in a certain city who used daily to go out hunting. One day, as he was going to the forest, he saw a Râjâ who had just married, and was taking his Rânî to his palace. The party had halted in a garden to eat, and just as the lady came out of her litter the banker saw her and fell in love with her. By and by the party started and the banker stood looking after the lady. When she had gone some distance he climbed a tree and continued looking after her, and as she went still further he stood on the highest bough to catch a last glimpse of her, and then in his grief he fell down on his horse which was tied up below and both died immediately.

When the banker did not return that evening his father was anxious about him, and sent men to search for him. After a time they came to the garden and found him dead, lying on his horse. They came home and told the sad news to his father, who was overwhelmed with grief. He directed his servants to burn the body of his son and to erect on the spot a temple of Mahâdeva and a rest-house for travellers (Dharmśâla).

Close to the garden lived a Faqîr, who witnessed all these events, and when the temple was built he lived in the Dharmśâla and received alms from travellers.

A year or so after, the Rânî, for whose sake the banker had lost his life, came to that place, on her way to her father's house, and halted in the garden. She saw the new temple and the Dharmśâla, and, remembering that they were not built when she was last at the place, asked the Faqîr how they came to be erected. He replied: "These buildings have been erected to commemorate the youth whose ashes lie here." She asked the Faqîr how he lost his life, and when she heard the tale, she was filled with love for the youth. So she went to the grave and cried, "O Bhagwân! If my love for the youth who lies here be true, may the earth open that I may be with him!"

[11] Told by Adhâr Sonâr of Dadurâ, Fatehpur District, N.-W. P.

Bhagwân heard her prayer. The earth opened, and she joined her lover in the grave. On this the earth closed again. After a time her servants came to search for her, and when they could not find her they made enquiries of the Faqîr. He said: "This much I know. Just now she was standing here when the earth opened its mouth, and she was engulfed in the grave with her lover. Such is the power of true love!"

XII.

The Modest Weaver.[12]

Once upon a time there was a very lovely princess: as she was sitting at her window she saw a weaver lad passing by with his water vessel[13] in his hand. She fell in love with him and sent her servants to fetch him. When he came in he began to weep and said: "Alas! for my water-pot? Alas! for my water-pot!"

"Why are you lamenting your water-pot!" She asked: "I want you to marry me and then you can have thousands of water-pots like this."

But he went on weeping and said: "I know, princess, that if I marry you I can have vessels of gold and silver. But this pot I have used for years, and it has seen me at my ablutions. This is why I am lamenting it."

The princess thought to herself: "If this weaver's son is so modest why should I hold my honour so cheap?" So she rewarded him handsomely and let him take his old water-pot and go home.

XIII.

The Riddles of the King.[14]

Once upon a time there was a king whose wont it was to roam in the streets of his capital to find out the condition of his subjects. One day, as he was out, he came to a well where three young married women were talking about their husbands.

One of them said: "My husband is a professional thief. Some day he will be put to death or imprisoned. And so I am worn away with anxiety."

The second said: "My husband is always swimming across the river, and I fear that some day an alligator will devour him."

The third said: "My husband is quite a boy and is no good to me."

Then the girls went their way, and the king saw a woman gaily dressed with all her jewels, going along the road. He followed her and saw her come to the river, which she began to swim across. As she was in the midst of the water an alligator seized her by the leg, but she struck at the beast and it let her go. As she reached the other bank, she came face to face with a tiger, which she killed with one blow and went on. Then she met her lover who was waiting for her, and after a time she swam back again.

The king went another way and came to a jungle. There he saw a tigress who was being delivered of cubs. Just then three or four elephants came up and rushed at her. But one of the cubs, which had just been born, struck an elephant on the head, killed and began to devour him. The other elephants were afraid and ran away.

Next day the king saw the same woman who had swum across the river going over again and driving a buffalo with her. When she reached the other bank the buffalo ran away and she called her brother, whose name was Har Deo, to help her to catch it.

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12 Told by Akbar Shâh Mânghi of Manbasa, Dudhi, Mirzapur — one of the aboriginal races: recorded by Paṇḍit Râmgharîb Chaubê.

13 The word used is *badhanâ*, the *lotâ* with a spout used by Muhammadans for ablution.

14 Told by Shiu Nandan Râê of Sûrajpur, and recorded by Shaikh Dîdâr 'Alî of Bibîpur, Azamgarh District, N.-W. P.

Then the king came back to his palace and summoned his ministers. He said: "Explain to me the meaning of these three sentences, or if you fail your lives are forfeited." These were the sentences:

"*Yê tînoṅ pachhtâyêṅ* (These three suffer remorse)."
Pukârê Har Deo (Calls out 'Har Deo')."
Hâthî paṇjâ ghâo (The elephant wounded by a claw)."

The ministers were in sore perplexity and none could explain the meaning. Seeing the Wazîr in grief, his daughter asked the reason, and when he told her the difficulty, she told him to go and tell the king as follows: —

1. "*Wâr pâr kî khetî ân pâr dhan chorî jâyan;*
Jogî jog byâh na kariyê, ye tînoṅ pachhtâyeṅ.

2. *Nadî panwarkê bâgh mârê, jal men kâ jânê bhewâ;*
Bhaiṅs kâ paṛuâ man na âwê, tab pukârê Har Deo.

3. *Sringhin aur Padmin inkî kahi na jâê,*
Bhuiân girê wa nahan nahîṅ, ja meṅ hâthî, paṅjê ghâwâ."

In other words:

"1. This one farms beyond the river; this robs the goods of others: this one's marriage was not with her equal — all three will live to repent.

2. She swam across the river and killed the tiger. She knows the secrets of the water, but still she cannot control a buffalo-calf, so she has to call on Har Deo for help.

3. The tale of the tigress and the elephants cannot be told. The cub but just born, whose nails had not grown, was able to slay the elephant."

The Wazîr told these answers to the king, who was so pleased that he asked by whose wit they had been discovered. When he heard that it was the wise daughter of the Wazîr, he made her his queen.

(To be continued.)

SOME TELUGU NURSERY SONGS AND CATCHES.

BY M. N. VENKATASWAMI, M.R.A.S., M.F.L.S.

No. I.

A Lullaby.

Text.	*Translation.*
O, o, âyî! Godumha ravaraika, Golusungarâlu, Godullu nidâna, Âdu Nâgabûshi.	*O, o, âyî!* Furrowed mark on thumb, Chain attached to rings, Under shady walls, Plays Nâgabûshi.
O, o, âyî! Mudhu mudhikâya, Muthiala kûlla, Mudhâda laipuduru Mi maina mamalu.	*O, o, âyî!* Lovely *mudhi*-fruit, Cap of pearls, Awakened to be kissed By mother's brothers.

Text.	*Translation.*
O, o, âyî !	*O, o, âyî !*
Palla mudhikâya,	Milky *mudhi*-fruit,
Pagadâla kûḷḷa,	Cap of coral,
Pallu dhâga laipuduru	Awakened to drink milk
Mi maina mâmalu.	By mother's brothers.
O, o, âyî !	*O, o, âyî !*
Mudhikâyalu mudhu	Lovely is *mudhi*-fruit.
Matullo mudhu	Lovely is the lisper.
Mâmala sankâna	In the lap of mother's brothers,
Nâgabûshaṇum mudhu !	Lovely is Nâgabûshi !

No. II.

A Nursery Game.

Text.	*Translation.*
Koko Lanka,	*Koko Lanka.*
Kôdaval Lanka.	Lanka of the scythe.
Lanka dhisina.	Conqueror of Lanka.
Râmudu paita.	Râma's city.
Muthia biyam.	Pearl rice.
Mûlaka châr.	Broomstick water.
Kâlu gajja.	Ankle bell.
Kanka num.	*Kaṇka ṇum.*
Aiko sukka.	Morning star.
Yennâ mudha.	Pat of Butter.
Mamadi mogha.	Mango-bud
Mullai châr.	Jasmine water.

Notes.

A child sits with its legs stretched out in front of itself, over which the mother or sister, or some female relative, passes her right hand to and fro, repeating the above words, which are now more or less nonsense, though no doubt they once had a meaning connected with the story of Râṃa and his conquest of Lanka or Ceylon.

Kanka num is a copper ring, which, with betel leaves and turmeric powder, is fastened to the wrist during the marriage ceremony.

No. III.

A Nursery Rhyme.

Text.	*Translation.*
Nârâyaṇa, Nârâyaṇa, nakka toka,	Nârâyaṇa, Nârâyaṇa, fox's tail,
Nunnaila vunchi nâvuddhenkapoka ?	Why did you keep me without carrying me away ?
Putanâla gumpa kâda dhinchi râka,	Setting me down at a parched-gram basket,
Manchinîla bâikâda mûnchi râka.	Dipping me in a sweet water well.

Note.

Nârâyaṇa, Nârâyaṇa is a form of invocation to Râma.

No. IV.

A Nursery Rhyme.

Text.	*Translation.*
Tammudu, tammudu taîttu.	Younger-brother, younger-brother is an amulet.
Tammudu pendlamu murikithû.	Younger-brother's wife is disagreeable.
Murikithû tîsukonî,	Disagreeable is taken and
Mûlalo pettutai,	Put in the corner and
Nakkaitûka poyai.	Carried off by a fox.
Nârâyaṇa !	Nârâyaṇa !

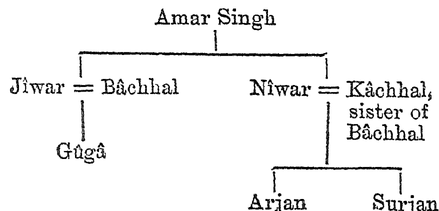
MISCELLANEA.

A DISPUTED SUCCESSION: CHAMBA STATE, PANJAB.

On the death of Râjâ Srî Singh of Chamba in 1870, in the absence of a direct heir, Miâṇ Suchêt Singh, the younger of his two surviving brothers, laid claim to the *gaddî*, basing his claim on the fact that he was the late Râjâ's uterine brother. In accordance with the *sanad* of 1848, however, the elder of the two brothers, Miâṇ Gôpâl Singh, was declared the rightful heir.

It would be interesting to know on what this claim was grounded. There is a very strong feeling among all the castes and tribes of the Pañjâb that uterine consanguinity confers no rights to any share in the inheritance.[1] A son by a woman's former husband is termed *pichh-lagg*;[2] and is at most entitled to maintenance.

In the legends of Gûgâ, however, a somewhat similar idea appears to underlie one of the main incidents of the myth. Gûgâ has two cousins, the sons of his mother's sister, who claim that they are entitled to share in his inheritance on the ground that they are the adopted sons of his mother. There are several variants of this incident in the legends, but the changes appear to be rung on the following table of descent:—



Kâchhal's husband is never mentioned in most versions of the legend, but in one version a husband has been found for her in the person of Nîwar, brother of Jîwar, so that these two brothers are married to two sisters.

In the ordinary versions, however, it is assumed, rather than expressly stated, that Kâchhal is Bâchhal's co-wife, *i. e.*, also married to Jîwar.

Nevertheless, in all versions, the claim of Arjan and Surjan to the share in Gûga's inheritance, Jîwar's kingdom or property, appears to be based on their relationship to Gûga as the sons of Kâchhal, or the adopted sons of Bâchhal, and not on their position as the sons, actual or putative, of Jîwar or Nîwar.

In the version of the myth published as the *Song of Gûgâ*, in the *Legends of the Pañjâb*,[3] we find Arjan and Surjan claiming Bâchhal as their adoptive mother, while Gûgâ persists in calling them 'sons of my mother's sister.'

Similarly in the Bijnor version[4] we find Arjan and Surjan basing their claim to a share in the inheritance in the fact that their mother and Bâchhal were sisters.

Conflicting and vague as the variants of the Gûgâ myth hitherto collected are, it seems clear that a claim to succeed on the ground of uterine consanguinity, or on the analogous ground of kinship through the mother's own sister — the latter apparently being a curious, but not illogical, development of the former idea — is not wholly untenable.

H. A. ROSE.

4th December, 1905.

[1] *Punjab Customary Law*, Vol. III. p. 53; IV. p. 133; V. p. 63; VI. p. 9: and *Ferozepore Code*, p. 18, among others.

[2] *Pichh-lagg*, or a child 'which is tacked on behind,' as it were, is a disparaging term in itself. A local term for such a son in the Ambâla and Karnâl Districts of the Punjab is *gadhebra*, a word which is not traceable in the dictionaries and the derivation of which is not known: *Punjab Customary Law, Karnal*, p. 13, and *Ambâla*, p. 21.

[3] See Vol. III. p. 262, where '*sworn* mother' is an incorrect translation of *dharm kî mâ*, which can only mean 'adoptive mother.'

[4] See *ante*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 49 *et sqq.*

THE DIPAVAMSA AND THE MAHAVAMSA AND THE HISTORICAL TRADITION IN CEYLON.

BY WILHELM GEIGER; ERLANGEN.

A condensed translation by Miss C. A. Nicolson, M.A.

[THE great value of Dr. Geiger's researches into the development of the historical literature of Ceylon, and the importance of that literature in connexion with the evolution of chronological details, both historical and religious, are so well known, that we cannot doubt that all readers of the *Indian Antiquary* will welcome the condensed translation here given, with the permission kindly accorded by him, of his latest writing on these topics, and that many of them will be led to look into the German work itself for the full treatment of the themes.

While dealing chiefly with the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa, — the two works which must always rank foremost in this line until any of the older compositions may be recovered, — and with the Commentary on the Mahāvaṁsa, Dr. Geiger has here handled also other writings which, arranged in chronological order, are as follows: —

1. Samanta-Pāsādikā of Buddhaghosa (first third of 5th century).
2. Mahābodhivaṁsa (last quarter of 10th century).
3. Dāṭhāvaṁsa (shortly after 1211), with Daḷadāpūjāvali (about 1300).
4. Pāli Thūpavaṁsa (about 1250), and Singhalese Thūpavaṁsa (shortly before 1260).
5. Dhātuvaṁsa (date unknown).
6. Pūjāvali (second half of 13th century).
7. Nikāyasaṅgraha (end of 14th century).
8. Rājaratnākara (middle of 16th century).
9. Rājāvali (beginning of 18th century).

In the original work, an appendix (pages 120—146) gives a comparative analysis of the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa, with references to parallel passages in the other literature. This most valuable appendix must be consulted in the original, where it is presented in such a form as to be easily capable of being used even by those who do not read German. — EDITOR.]

Introduction.

THERE is hardly any part of the mainland of India, respecting whose history we are so well informed as that of the Island of Ceylon. Two chronicles in Pāli verse — the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa, the former composed in the 4th century, the latter about the end of the 5th — form our most important authorities. They contain the same material, and mainly in the same arrangement. They begin with the history of Gotama Buddha and his three visits to Laṅkā. After this, a genealogical section is inserted, which traces back the family of Buddha to the mythical king Mahāsammata. Then the two chronicles follow out the history of Buddhism to the third Council under king Aśoka. Thereafter, the narrative goes back to the ancient history of Ceylon and the first settlement of the island by Aryan immigrants under the leadership of Vijaya, and then it follows the line of ancient Singhalese kings to the death of Mahāsena at the beginning of the 4th century A. D. The reign of Aśoka's contemporary, king Devānampiyatissa, is treated with especial detail; it was in his time that Mahinda, Aśoka's son, introduced Buddhist learning into Ceylon. The Mahāvaṁsa recounts with similar detail the deeds of Duṭṭhagāmani, whose reign in the 2nd century B. C. represents the heroic epoch in Ceylon.

Introd. pp. 1—4.

In India the writing of history has not been quite separated from poetry, so we need not be surprised that the two Ceylonese chronicles likewise contain a medley of myths, legends, tales and historical material. The further back into the past we go, the more mythical do

the statements sound. Similarly, as we approach the time of the authors, their credibility increases. Even the later sections, however, naturally demand historic criticism.

Whoever may write the history of Ceylon, has to extract the kernel of the actual from these traditions. The literary historian will, however, rejoice in the very veil in which the myths have clothed events. He will trace the origin of epic tradition, its development, and its survival in later literature. These are the problems to whose solution we would apply the following investigation.

We are here in the almost unique position of tracing how an epic sets out on a literary course. We are in a position to form for ourselves a picture of the contents and form of the chronicle which was the ground-work of the epic poem, and of the diverse elements out of which it was composed. We can still observe the traces and signs of the originally oral tradition, which, however, lies far back in time, and the co-mingling of prosaic and metrical forms. The Dīpavaṁsa represents the first clumsy effort to fashion an epic poem out of the material already available. It is a document which arouses our attention, from the very incompleteness of its composition and its inherent defects of style. We stand as yet on the very threshold of the epic. In like manner, the stiff outlines of the Apollo of Tenea are more interesting for the historian of art than many a far-famed example of the fully developed art of Greece.

The Mahāvaṁsa deserves at once the name of a real epic. It is the acknowledged work of a poet. And we are enabled in some measure to watch this poet at work in his workshop. Accordingly, dependent as he is on his model, to which he is at pains to cling as closely as possible, he also passes criticism on it, realizes its faults and inequalities, and seeks to improve and equalize them.

Not only has the Mahāvaṁsa found continuators who have brought down the chronicle to their own time, but the old work itself was submitted to revision. This took place because the redactor of the poem, without reference even to essential rearrangements, inserted episodes at places where it seemed to him suitable or necessary, and thus almost doubled the extent of the poem. The sources from which he took these episodes are as a rule assignable. The revision is accordingly accomplished on literary lines. It is not "The People" who tacks on to or changes the composition, but an individual who does not follow the dictates of free fancy but takes over fixed material and with artistic ingenuity adapts it to new requirements.

Finally, we can observe how the epic material passes into later literature, assuming a historic character, and is enriched here and there, in small measure of course, by new accretions from a tradition standing apart from the epos. These additions and amplifications shew in many ways by their folk-tale and legendary character their origin in popular tradition. It can hardly however be maintained that they were taken from tales orally transmitted. This certainly is not impossible, but it is not necessary. Perhaps, they differed in individual cases, and may very well have had their origin in literary sources which are no longer or not yet accessible.

We will not assert that the development of the epos, as we observe it in Ceylon, is typical. It need not necessarily have been the same at all times and among all nations. But wherever the epic question is raised, the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa will serve as valuable analogies, first for the Indian epic, but also for those of other nations. Its chief value consists in the fact that in the case of the Ceylonese epics we have not to deal with possibilities and hypothetical constructions, but we can follow the actual process of development. The foundation, it is true, is unfortunately no longer accessible, and must be inferred. There are, however, valuable means of help at our disposal, and the epos itself lies before us in three stages of

development, which we are enabled to compare with one another and of which we can investigate the origin and growth.

I. THE DIPAVAMSA AND THE MAHAVAMSA IN RELATION TO EACH OTHER.

1. — The Composition of the Dīpavaṁsa.

In spite of its grandiloquent proem, we cannot call the Dīpavaṁsa a work of art. It appears
P. 4. rather as a collocation of fragments arranged on the system we have indicated. In addition we have the clumsiness and incorrectness of speech, and a number of other phenomena, which require a special discussion. To these belongs the peculiarity that the same subject is frequently treated twice or three times, *e.g.* the story of the first Council after Buddha's death is told in IV. 1—26 and again in V. 1—15, the second being a more orderly and finished picture. The chief difference is that, in the second account, greater importance is laid on the personality of Mahākassapa, the convener of the assembly. So, too, the story of the second Council, caused by the heretical teachings of the Vajjiputta-
P. 5. monks, is related in IV. 47—53 and in V. 16—38. Again the first version is more fragmentary, while the second looks like a working up of a sketch. In the first version there is a prose insertion, a list of the ten points of difference, which the orthodox Theras contest. This is versified in the second version.

Two versions also exist of the third Council and its cause, *viz.* VII. 34—43 and VII. 44—59, in which greater discrepancies are seen. The second version mentions a new fact, wanting in the first — the deed of violence of one of Aśoka's ministers, which is told more particularly in the Mahāvaṁsa, V. 240 ff. One circumstance is indicative of the copying tendency of the Dīpavaṁsa or the whole tradition. The second version is associated in certain particulars
P. 6. with the description of the first Council, as it is found in V. 1 ff. Single verses are almost identical. Evidently these are stereotyped turns of speech, which were employed again and again in narratives of this sort.

The history of the gifts which king Aśoka sent to Ceylon to king Devānampiyatissa, with the addition of an invitation to accept Buddhism, is found in XI. 32—40 and again in XII. 1—7. A third account even is given in XVII. 83 ff. The call of Mahinda and the appearance to him of the god Sakka (Indra) who commands him to make a journey are told in XII. 16—28 and
P. 7. 29—40. Several verses are verbally repeated, and in the second version a piece of prose is inserted. Finally, in the last chapter a "contamination" of two versions is certain.

Further peculiarities in the composition of the Dīpavaṁsa are the gaps which the narrative repeatedly shows, the immediate tacking on to one another of the episodes, the frequent interchange of speech and counter-speech without the speakers being named. One other phenomenon is of especial importance, and on this I must dwell at some length. A whole series
P. 8. of verses is met with in the Dīpavaṁsa, which contain only the heads of some narrative. They are ranged side by side in catchwords, after the manner of headings, often without proper construction. These I designate as mnemonic verses.

An interesting example of such is found in XVII. 3 ff., in the story of the last four Buddhas and their visits to Ceylon. The events took place each time in the same way, according to legend. The island is visited by some "affliction." This causes the Buddha to journey thither. He descends on a mountain in the island and frees the people from the "affliction." Then he preaches to the prince and the people in the capital. He receives a park as a present, and
P. 9. plants in it a branch of his sacred tree, which a nun fetches from India. The Buddha leaves as objects of veneration relics which are kept in a Thūpa or tope. On his departure he appoints one of his disciples to be the chief of the newly founded

community. This is the course of events, which differs only as to the names of the Buddha, the island, the king, the capital, &c. The narrative of the history of the Buddha-visits to Ceylon begins in the Dīpavaṁsa with the following remarkable verse: —

"The island, the town and the king, the plague and the relics,
The tope, the island and the mountain, the park, the Bodhi tree, the nun,
The monk and the best of Buddhas. These are the thirteen subjects."

This is obviously a kind of heading, naming all the subjects to come under consideration in the story. The text then continues, taking up the subjects in order: "Ojadīpa, Varadīpa, Maṇḍadīpa are the names of the beautiful island of Laṅkā, which is also known as Tambapaṇṇi. Abhayapura, Vaḍḍhamāna, Visāla, Anurādhapura are the four names of the town at the times of the preaching of the four Buddhas," &c. This, then, is only a list of names, raw material for the narrative, but not itself a connected account. From v. 26 onward, however, the story of the first Buddha Kakusandha follows in orderly narration and systematic detail.

Mnemonic verses are, again, met with in Dīpavaṁsa, XIX. 2, 3, where the materials P. 10. mentioned in the founding of the Great Tope in Anurādhapura are enumerated. The detailed description is found in the Mahāvaṁsa, XXIX. 1 ff. Among other examples may be mentioned a singular verse in Dīpavaṁsa, I. 29: —

"The throne, the Animisa, the cloister, the jewel-house, the Ajapāla-tree and the Mucalinda tree with the Khīrapāla grove."

The verse refers to what happened immediately after the night of enlightenment. It fills up a gap between this event and the first preaching at Benares.

From these considerations it is plain that the Dīpavaṁsa represents a primitive stage of epic poetry. When we find two versions of the same story placed side by side, we have obviously to deal with the deposit of an originally oral tradition. Such versions are accountable only on the assumption that, while certain phrases and verses became stereotyped by custom, P. 11. greater freedom was allowed to the narrator in other parts. It cannot indeed be maintained that the Dīpavaṁsa is merely this verbal tradition put directly in writing. The author has doubtless used one or more literary sources, but these again bear traces of an originally oral tradition. The collocation of versions must, in any case, have been intentional.

The Dīpavaṁsa in many points recalls the form of the early Indian Ākhyāna poetry, the peculiarity of which is that the whole narrative did not formally take shape, but only certain parts were metrically fixed and so became more secure from further distortions in the course of transmission. Such parts were, especially, direct speeches. These were united by explanatory P. 12. prose passages giving the names and the situation. When this prose became versified, the result was a poem of the ballad type, which forms the materials for an epic. Rhys Davids rightly notices that these separate stages of the Ākhyāna poetry are to be found in the canonical books of the Buddhists. In the Thera and Therīgāthās we have only the speeches preserved — the narrative framework must be taken from the commentaries. In the Suttantas of the second book of the Dīgha-Nīkāya, both the speeches in verse and the narrative in prose are contained. Finally, we find ballads in which the narrative also is transmitted in metrical form. We stand thus on the threshold of real epic poetry.

The Dīpavaṁsa stands at this stage of development: it is not a fully developed epic, although single episodes, *e. g.*, the visit of Kakusandha, are worked out in ballad style; in many parts the prose narrative is assumed. At such points the mnemonic verses are inserted as an aid to the memory. This explains the presence of dialogue without the speakers' names. P. 13. In many places the explanation of the narrator is necessary to the understanding of the story; *e.g.*, we have in the Dīpavaṁsa a prophecy about Moggaliputta with no indication of the author or occasion of the prophetic utterance. From the Mahāvaṁsa,

V. 93 ff. we can infer that it was the Presbyters of the second Council who foresaw the future fall of Buddhist learning and the restoration of the faith by Moggaliputta. Again, in the Dīpavaṁsa we find introduced quite abruptly (XII. 64): "The Thera, standing on the summit of the mountain, said to the carriage-driver, 'No, a carriage is not allowed: the Holy One has forbidden it.'" This only becomes intelligible when we add from the Mahāvaṁsa, XIV. 42, that in the meantime night has passed and that in the morning the king sends his charioteer to the Missaka mountain to conduct thence Mahinda and his friends into the town. Many verses in the Dīpavaṁsa are unintelligible without a commentary.

2. — The Mahāvaṁsa in comparison with the Dīpavaṁsa.

The Mahāvaṁsa and the Dīpavaṁsa agree not only in matter, but also in arrangement. This agreement is so close as to preclude any theory of a purely accidental
P. 14. congruity. Two alternatives remain: — (1) that the Mahāvaṁsa (which is undoubtedly later than the Dīpavaṁsa) has taken matter and arrangement from the Dīpavaṁsa; or (2) that both have drawn from the same source. The latter assumption is, as we shall see, the correct one.

Only in two cases is there difference of order in the events treated, the Mahāvaṁsa following a tradition neglected in the earlier poem. Quite a number of verses are verbally identical; others, though not identical, closely resemble each other. It is quite likely that the author of the Mahāvaṁsa knew and copied the author of the Dīpavaṁsa, but it is more probable that for both authors many verses had, as it were, the official impress of tradition. Compare the words in which Aśoka communicates to Devānampiyatissa his attachment to Buddhism (D. XII. 5 = M. XI. 34): "I have taken my refuge in the Buddha,
P. 16. the Dhamma and the Saṁgha; I have avowed myself a lay pupil of the doctrine of the Sakyaputta," and also the words in which Mahinda announces his mission to the king (D. XII. 51 = M. XIV. 8): "We are monks, O great king, pupils of the King of Truth. Out of compassion towards thee have we repaired hither from Jambudīpa."

In spite of these points of agreement, there is a wide gulf between the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa. The composition of the former is clumsy and inartistic. The latter is a work of art, a *kāvya* according to the conception of Indian poetry. This difference is seen at the outset by a comparison of the somewhat turgid and boastful tone of the Dīpavaṁsa with the more moderate tone of the Mahāvaṁsa, the author of which, however, claims for his work freedom from the faults which characterised the older compositions.

The MSS. of the Mahāvaṁsa give at XXXVII. 50 the words *Mahāvaṃso niṭṭhito.* The Commentary, too, stops at this point. It corresponds further with the second last verse of the Dīpavaṁsa, XXII. 75. These arguments alone are sufficient to
P. 19. prove that the old work actually closed with these words, and that the succeeding chapters are the work of a later hand. In the later chapters occurs a series of words not found in the older Mahāvaṁsa. Again, at XXXVII. 93 there is made mention of the Dāṭhādhātuvaṁsa, in which the history of the tooth-relic is told. If this be the poem of that name now extant, as I think probable, and not its Singhalese prototype, the second half of the 37th chapter must have been written after the year 1219. Another instance of agreement is found in the fact that the continuation of the Mahāvaṁsa begins with the closing words of the Dīpavaṁsa.

Apart from formal differences in the poems, we find important differences in the subject-matter. While the outlines are essentially the same, the Mahāvaṁsa amplifies old material and introduces new.

Viewed as a whole, the Mahāvaṁsa falls into two principal divisions, the first being
P. 20. chapters I.—XX., this again admitting a subdivision into two, *viz.* I.—X. and XI.—XX. The latter subdivision deals with the history of Devānampiyatissa and the conversion of Ceylon; the earlier chapters form a sort of double introduction.

The second chief division is entered on at Chapter XXI. with the accession of Mahāsiva. In the Dīpavaṁsa we reach Mahāsiva at XVIII. 45; and what follows embraces only 192 more verses. This disparity is explained by the presence in the Mahāvaṁsa of the history of king Duṭṭhagāmani, which is here worked into a completely independent poem, filling ten chapters, while in the Dīpavaṁsa only 13 verses are devoted to this king. At Chapter XXV. we note the union of the two streams of tradition — the priestly and the popular. After the narration of war and bloodshed, the scene is shifted to the palace and cloister, and the warrior-hero becomes the Defender of the Buddhist faith. He devotes himself, in expiation of his sins, to the founding of monastic institutions, but before the completion
P. 23. of the Great Tope he falls sick and dies. This history is summarized in Dīpavaṁsa, the mnemonic verses XIX. 2—9 shewing that all the events were known to its author.

The accession of popular tradition is further brought out by the introduction in the Mahāvaṁsa of shorter episodes, omitted or dismissed in a sentence by the Dīpavaṁsa. These episodes either are of a secular and political type or consist of anecdotes, tales, stories, and legends. These occur more frequently in the latter half of the poem. A genuinely Indian narrative of a popular character is the early history of Nigrodha (M. V. 43—63) who is known to the Dīpavaṁsa only as the monk who converted Aśoka. Another popular tale is that of the prince Tissa (M. V. 155 ff.) which finds an analogy in the Kathāsaritsāgara (Ch. 27) and has the same underlying idea as the story of the Sword of Damocles.

To the same class belongs the story of Vijaya and the sorceress Kuveṇi (M. VII. 96 ff.).
P. 25. This bears a remarkable resemblance to the Circe-legend of the Odyssey, while many other episodes bear the mark of legendary and popular origin, and often resemble in a striking manner the legends of the European nations.

3. — The amplified Mahāvaṁsa.

The Mahāvaṁsa, however, does not complete the course of development of the epos; we
Pp. 28-29. possess an "amplified Mahāvaṁsa," embodying new material in addition to the original text. This discovery we owe to E. Hardy[1] in a Kambodian manuscript. While its æsthetic value may be slight, its interest from the point of view of literary history is considerable as shewing how a ready-made work is extended by new additions. In the Kambodian MS., 5,791 verses are found, as against 2,915 in the original Mahāvaṁsa. It is of special interest that we can, as a rule, fix the sources from which the author has taken his materials for this extension. He himself names the Buddhavaṁsa and the Thūpavaṁsa. The latter exists in Singhalese and Pāli. The Pāli commentary on the Mahāvaṁsa is also largely used. These three works resemble one another very closely, and from them the author of the Kambodian Mahāvaṁsa beats out his verses. Frequently, the mention of a name in the original Mahāvaṁsa is the occasion for a versified history of the person. Even without the earlier work, however, one could probably detect the interpolations from the presence of certain linguistic peculiarities and other signs that the interpolator was the less skilled poet. Yet, even admitting this, we should be far from establishing the original text. Apart from actual interpolations, there are in the Kambodian MS. detailed explanations of short statements in the older poem, also single lines inserted and slight alterations made for the sake of clearness.

[1] *Cf. J. R. A. S.* 1902, p. 171; *J P. T. S*, 1902-3, pp. 61 ff.

The author of this manuscript calls himself Moggalāna. Of his date we can say nothing P. 33. with certainty, but from certain clerical errors in the text we infer that it was copied from an original in Singhalese. Other indications suggest that the author lived in Ceylon. In this connection it may be mentioned that in the later Mahāvaṁsa, LXXVIII. 9, a priest is introduced who lived in the 12th century under Parakkamabāhu the Great, and clearly was one of the then prominent ecclesiastics.

II. THE DIPAVAMSA AND THE MAHAVAMSA IN RELATION TO THEIR SOURCES.

4. — The Commentary and the author of the Mahāvaṁsa.

Turnour's identification of the author of the Mahāvaṁsa with that of the Commentary Pp. 34—36. rests on a wrong interpretation of the closing words of the Commentary. In the Commentary, the author of the Mahāvaṁsa is designated as *ācariyo ayaṁ ācariyo*, "the teacher, master or savant." A difference in time is clearly indicated in the Commentary, 447, 26, on Mahāvaṁsa, XXXIII. 53, where it is said that the Samagalla mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa was now (*idāni*), *i. e.*, in the time of the writer of the Commentary, called Moragalla. More important for fixing a date is the passage (referred to by Snyder) at V. 13 where the Dhammaruchi and the Sāgaliya are mentioned as schismatic sects. In commenting on this, the Commentary mentions later monastic strifes which took place in the reign of Dāṭhopatissa, "the nephew." The author of the Commentary, then, lived after the reign of Dāthopatissa II., *i. e.*, roughly speaking, after 670 A. D. Still narrower limits are drawn if the Mahābodhivaṁsakathā is identical with the Mahābodhivaṁsa. This, as I can prove, is a work not of the fifth century, as has been hitherto assumed, but of the end of the tenth. The Commentary on the Mahāvaṁsa therefore, cannot have been written before the beginning of the eleventh century.

A lower limit is fixed from the fact that the author of the Commentary did not know P. 37. the later continuation of the Mahāvaṁsa, and so must have lived before the second half of the thirteenth century; also notably from the fact that the Pāli Thūpavaṁsa, which was composed in the middle of this century, is made abundant use of in the Commentary. The date then for the Commentary is 1000—1250.

As regards contents, the Commentary adds to the Mahāvaṁsa, apart from exegetic and dogmatic statements, a mass of historical and legendary material, folklore, and romance. It bears the same relation to the Mahāvaṁsa as the Mahāvaṁsa does to the Dīpavaṁsa; so that the Mahāvaṁsa had not exhausted the store of available epic material.

From legendary sources comes the history of the earlier Buddhas, which serves in the P. 38. Commentary, 35 ff., as an elucidation of Mahāvaṁsa, I. 6 ff., where only the names are given. The history of Gotama-Buddha is treated more in detail than in the epic. These Buddha-legends undoubtedly come down from the church tradition, and we may assume the same authority for the different notes which amplify the account of the festival at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Great Tope. Another history bearing the stamp of genuine monastic tradition is that of Nanduttara, an earlier incarnation of Soṇuttara who was entrusted with the collection of relics for the Great Tope. The same holds good of the history of the relics and the dialogue between the dying Duṭṭhagāmani and the monk Theraputtābhaya, as spun out in the Commentary.

In the Commentary there is no lack, however, of passages which seem to be derived from Pp. 39—44. popular tradition. Quite a romance is formed by the tale of the love of Sālirājakumāra, a son of Duṭṭhagāmani, for a Caṇḍāla maiden. The Mahāvaṁsa merely states that the prince, for the sake of this girl, had resigned the throne, and that the two had been united in a previous state of existence. The Commentary elucidates this in a longer narrative. Other outlines are similarly supplemented, notably those of the Indian

kings before Aśoka. The story of Susunāga belongs to that class of folktale which depicts the founders of new dynasties as having been exposed in infancy, and having been tended by some wild animal until the arrival of men who bring them up. Susunāga is tended by a serpent, while Candagutta, whose history is told at length in the Commentary, 119, 8 ff., is brought up by a steer called Canda. A continuous analysis of the two poems shews the degree to which the "monastic" tradition is supplemented by the "Secular."

Mahānāma is named in the closing words of the Commentary as author of the Mahāvaṁsa, and is said to have lived at the monastery built by the general Dīghasanda, who
Pp. 44-45. was a general under Devānampiyatissa. Turnour assumes that this Mahānāma was the uncle of the king Dhātusena, who is said to have lived in the institution built by Dīghasanda. Turnour[2] has taken the name of this individual from Mahāvaṁsa, XXXIX. 42, where we are told that Moggalāna I. (497—515) had transferred the monastery of Sīhagiri to Mahānāma, the presbyter of the Dīghasanda monastery. But the two Mahānāmas are not necessarily identical. Chronology is against it. Dhātusena entered the institution in the time of the Damila Paṇḍu (436—441) when his uncle was already "Thera" and therefore considerably older than his nephew. It is extremely improbable from considerations of age that the two Mahānāmas represent the same person. Turnour thinks that the uncle was author of the Mahāvaṁsa, basing his argument on the statement (Mahāvaṁsa, XXXVIII. 59) that on the occasion of a festival at the cremation of Mahinda, Dhātusena had ordered the Dīpavaṁsa to be read through. Turnour says without hesitation that the Mahāvaṁsa is meant. Snyder, however, has disposed of this identification. My own view is that we must entirely dissociate the Mahānāma named in Mahāvaṁsa, XXXIX. 42 from the uncle of Dhātusena. Much points to him as the author of the Mahāvaṁsa, but of course we have to deal with a supposition which contains a certain probability, not with a certainty. Two points coincide : the name and the locality. In that case, the date of the composition would be the last quarter of the fifth century, a result which may at least have plausibility.

With regard to the period of composition of the Dīpavaṁsa, we have Oldenberg's arguments for ascribing it to the time between the beginning of the fourth and
P. 47. the first third of the fifth centuries A. D. (1) The upper limit is fixed at 302—304, by internal evidence. (2) A lower limit is found in the fact that Buddhaghosa (beginning of fifth century) knew a version of the Dīpavaṁsa, which differed somewhat from ours. (3) The Dīpavaṁsa was publicly read under king Dhātusena (second half of fifth century). Besides, the Commentary mentions a "Dīpavaṁsaṭṭhakathā." Comparing these results with those reached about the Mahāvaṁsa, it seems probable that the two works are separated from each other by an interval of 100 to 150 years. The great difference in the matter of style which exists between them, is explained by the fact that in this period occurs the activity of Buddhaghosa, which forms a turning point in the entire literary life of Ceylon.

5. — The Authorities.

Various passages in the Commentary deal with the authorities on which our Mahāvaṁsa rests and the relation it bears to them. These are : — (*a*) Comm. 21, 31—22, 21 ; (*b*) Comm. 25, 31—26, 1 ; (*c*) Comm. 18—26 ; (*d*) Comm. 29, 19—34 ; (*e*) Comm. 502, 34—503, 4. From these we gather that : (1) Our Mahāvaṁsa is the translation of a work, composed in Singhalese, into the Māgadhī or literary language, *i. e.*, into Pāli, by rendering the original prose into verse.
P. 48. From this it takes its name "Padyapadoruvaṁsa." (2) The translation, while exact, was used to remedy the faults of omissions and repetitions found in the original. (3) Several names were attached to the original. It is called "Sīhalaṭṭhakathā" (Singhalese commentary) or Porāṇaṭṭhakathā (commentary of the Ancients) and even "In the style of the Inhabitants of the Mahāvihāra," and, lastly, it is more particularly designated as

[2] *Cf. J. R. A. S.* 1875, p. 193.

the "old Mahāvaṁsa of the Sīhalaṭṭhakathā" or the "Mahāvaṁsa of the Sīhalaṭṭhakathā composed by the ancients in the Singhalese language."

It appears that at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura an old commentary to the canonical
P. 49. writings was preserved, which was designated "Aṭṭhakathā." A part of this formed the "ancient Mahāvaṁsa," on which the work of Mahānāma rests. Materially, the new work agrees with the old, but is more poetically and evenly set forth.

We have now to consider the nature and compass of the literature which the author of our Mahāvaṁsa had before him, more especially of the Sīhalaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṁsa and what position the latter occupied in that literature. The Mahāvaṁsa speaks (Proem, I. 2) of a Mahāvaṁsa of the ancients, *porāṇehi kato p'eso* (scil. *mahāvaṁso*). Clearly this refers to the work which formed the basis, known also to the Commentary by the same name. It is further briefly referred to as *Porāṇā*, "the Ancients," which name is mentioned seven times in the
P. 50. Commentary. Each time occur the words *tenāhu porāṇā* and one or more Pāli verses follow. Frequent mention of the *Porāṇā* is found in Buddhaghosa's Commentaries, also with Pāli verses annexed. The authority, then, on which the Mahāvaṁsa drew, was interspersed with Pāli verses, but was at the same time not merely a collection. The Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī cites three Pāli verses, but also a series of prose passages which emphatically bear the stamp of notes from a commentary. The *Porāṇā* was then a regular Aṭṭhakathā, in Singhalese prose with Pāli verses, a form still seen in modern Singhalese works. From many passages in the Commentary it is clear that *Porāṇā* and Aṭṭhakathā refer to the same work, and that Sīhalaṭṭhakathā is only a more exact designation for the authority known more briefly as Aṭṭhakathā.

Apart from the two commentaries of Buddhaghosa, nine other works are cited in the
Pp. 51—56. Commentary, the most important of which are the Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā and the Uttaravihāra-Mahāvaṁsa. The whole shews that a rich literature was at the disposal of the author; for at that time there still existed the vast collection preserved in the different monasteries in the shape of commentaries on the canonical writings. A secondary literature, too, had already begun, in which isolated subjects, such as the story of the Bodhi tree, the Topes, and so on, found a place. This literature the Commentary has used at all events for subsidiary incidents, the chief of these being drawn from the Sīhalaṭṭhakathā of the Mahāvihāra.

6. — The Contents of the Sources.

The Mahāvaṁsa follows closely, on the whole, the Aṭṭhakathā: the Commentary amplifies
P. 57. and supplements from it: hence a combination of the two will give a nearer view of the nature and compass of the basis of the Mahāvaṁsa.

The passages we know to be cited from the Aṭṭhakathā may be divided into six classes, *viz.*: —

I. — **Early History,** comprising the legends of the earlier Buddhas, though these may be taken only indirectly from the Aṭṭhakathā through the medium of the Jātaka-Nidānakathā. The text of the Commentary and of the Jātaka-Nidānakathā is simply a rendering of the old Singhalese original. Specially interesting is the narrative of the three visits of Buddha to Ceylon. These visits formed an important subject for both the Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa, and both copy closely their original. The points of agreement between the Commentary and the Dīpavaṁsa are also numerous and significant, and shew, too, how detailed the Aṭṭhakathā must

have been, while the author of the Commentary was able, with great exactitude, to check the Mahāvaṁsa by the Aṭṭhakathā.

II. — **History of India up to Asoka.** — The additions of the Commentary to Indian history for which the Aṭṭhakathā is expressly named as authority are not numerous, but enough to shew that Indian history was reviewed in that work, as far as it concerned the development of Buddhism. But the Commentary brings into this section a mass of new materials of a genuinely popular character, nominally relating to the history of Candagutta. These narratives are taken partly from the Aṭṭhakathā, partly from the Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā, the latter being expressly cited as the source for the story of Susunāga, for that of the nine Nanda princes, and for Candagutta. The Commentary unfortunately does not name the authority for the tales immediately following; perhaps we may infer that, when no source is named, the Aṭṭhakathā is meant.

III., IV. — The Commentary contributes few additions to the **History of the Councils and the Theras,** none at all to that of Devānampiyatissa and Mahinda. Here the
P. 63. Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa (in almost perfect agreement) both closely copy the Aṭṭhakathā, which must have contained the accounts of the Councils and the prominent ecclesiastical chiefs with even greater detail than we find in the later works.

V. — Two references only are found to **the later kings** (except Duṭṭhagāmani) in the Commentary: one in connection with Sūratissa, the successor of Mahāsiva, the other
P. 64. with Kaniṭṭhatissa; the latter being important as shewing that the Mahāvaṁsa part of the Aṭṭhakathā extended to at least the close of the second century A. D.: probably like the Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa it extended to Mahāsena.

VI. — Many references to the Aṭṭhakathā relate to **the time of Duṭṭhagāmani,** which must have been treated in detail. The account of the festival at the laying
P. 65. of the foundation-stone of the Great Tope is particularly interesting because we can see from it how the Pāli verses may have been divided. At the end it is entitled *iti Aṭṭhakathāya vuttaṁ; vuttam pi c'etaṁ*; and then follows the mnemonic verse, Dīpavaṁsa, XIX. 8, which contains nothing but the names of the twelve Theras. It may reasonably be assumed that the verse stood exactly so in the Aṭṭhakathā and was transferred into the Dīpavaṁsa. Several sections of purely epic import are explicitly referred to the Aṭṭhakathā, but it is probable that such explicit references by no means indicate all the material derived from Aṭṭhakathā. Many isolated notes are given without any source being named; these probably, though not necessarily, are from this source. For instance, names are frequently given in the Commentary, which are wanting in the text of the Mahāvaṁsa. A series of brief notes introduced by *vuttaṁ hoti* indicate that they are quoted. The narrative of Bhaddaji, Commentary, 405—407, a more extended account of Mahāvaṁsa, XXXI. 5—14, considering its style, may come from the Aṭṭhakathā.

7. — Results.

From the above investigation we reach the following conclusions: — (1) Before
P. 69. Buddhaghosa's time there was a wealth of literary commentary under the general name of Aṭṭhakathā, called also the work of "the Ancients." (2) Such Aṭṭhakathās were preserved in the various monasteries; notably in the Mahāvihāra and Uttaravihāra. (3) A definite historic part of the Aṭṭhakathā of both institutions was called Mahāvaṁsa, the editions differing in details. (4) Our Mahāvaṁsa rests on the authority of the Mahāvaṁsa of the Mahāvihāra, (5) and is a fairly close copy of its original, with the faults of irregularity and redundance corrected. (6) The Commentary mentions other works besides the Aṭṭhakathā, many belonging to the literature of the *Porāṇā*, others to later works. Buddhaghosa's commentaries are also mentioned.

Two questions now confront us :— (1) What rôle does the old Mahāvaṁsa play in the
P. 70. literature of the Aṭṭhakathā, and of what elements is it composed ? (2) How did the Epic Poetry of Ceylon, as represented by the Dīpavaṁsa and our Mahāvaṁsa, arise out of the old Mahāvaṁsa of the Aṭṭhakathā?

Oldenberg's view is that the Sīhalaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṁsa forms a historical introduction to the dogmatic part of the Aṭṭhakathā, just as Buddhaghosa gives a similar historical preface to his commentaries on the Dīgha-Nikāya. Many considerations point in another direction. Its very scope and fulness look unlike a "historic introduction," which would have ended with the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon. More probably the Mahāvaṁsa of the Ancients was an independent work, brought down by the Mahāvihāra monks to the time of Mahāsena, and interrupted at that time by wars. It may, of course, have grown out of such a historical introduction. The preface to the Dīpavaṁsa says as much, but it belongs to an epoch in which the scope of the work was less than at the time when Mahānāma worked out the material in a poetic way, or when the Dīpavaṁsa arose. The old frame was burst, and from the "historical introduction" to the Aṭṭhakathā there grew the Mahāvaṁsa of the Ancients — the comprehensive chronicle of the Mahāvihāra.

We have seen how a double strain of sacred and secular tradition appears in both the
P. 72. Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa. From what the Commentary says of the relation of the Mahāvaṁsa to its basis, we must infer that already in the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṁsa there appeared both phenomena, an originally oral tradition, and the fusion of a "church" and a "secular" tradition. The legends naturally varied with the reciter, and variants were inserted, side by side, by the monks. The work gradually assumed the shape in which Mahānāma found it.

Coming now to the Dīpavaṁsa, we find that in many places it is plainly a collection of the introductory and mnemonic verses contained in the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṁsa,
P. 73—76. but with some attempt at artistic treatment. It is in fact the bridge between the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa. As the Pāli verses occur seldom or never in popular tradition and the Dīpavaṁsa contains so many, it must have deliberately preferred the monastic part of its basis. This is one of the striking points of contrast between the two works, the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa. It is to be noted that the "repetitions" are not always *verbatim* ; they frequently look like two versions of the same narrative. The basis-work, the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṁsa, would naturally have preserved such : but it is just possible that a further source, resembling the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṁsa in plan and content, was drawn on by the compiler of the Dīpavaṁsa.

The development of the epos in Ceylon, then, came about by the following stages. About the middle of the fifth century was extant that comprehensive chronicle called "the Mahāvaṁsa of the Ancients" — a constituent part of the Aṭṭhakathā. It was a kind of Encyclopædia of all the legends and traditions bearing on the history of Ceylon. The Dīpavaṁsa, on the other hand, represents the first clumsy effort to give form to the mass of material stored in that chronicle. A noteworthy circumstance is the rejection of the old Singhalese dialect for Pāli, the new church-language. With the fifth century, Buddhaghosa's activity gave a great
P. 77. impetus to literary life in Ceylon. Pāli becomes forthwith the speech of the church and the scholar. Mahānama is better equipped for his work. True, he has not yet surmounted his material, and transfers much of the original bodily into his work. He is no genius, and his work is no literary contribution of the first rank, but it shews, as compared with the Dīpavaṁsa, a great step in advance.

The stage of epic form is reached with the Mahāvaṁsa, but the process of literary development is not ended. The Commentary amplifies and supplements from other works

material relating to the subject. And now, from this material, Moggalāna has, at a later time, produced the amplified Mahāvaṁsa of the Kambodian manuscript, while at places he has embodied in Mahānāma's epic new episodes which he thought cognate. It would be interesting to know if other MSS. exist, in Ceylon or South India, which contain similar retouchings of the Mahāvaṁsa.

III. HISTORICAL TRADITION APART FROM THE EPIC.

8. — The Introduction of the Samanta-Pāsādikā, the Mahābodhivaṁsa, the Dāṭhāvaṁsa, and the Thūpavaṁsa.

Of much interest for us is the historical introduction which Buddhaghosa prefixes to his Samanta-Pāsādikā. This work lies between the epics in age, and its contents
P. 78. coincide so exactly with those of the Mahāvaṁsa that there can be no question of their common origin. Both drew largely on the Aṭṭhakathā, and both reproduced their authority with considerable exactitude. The Samanta-Pāsādikā (Smp.) begins with the events immediately following Buddha's death, and deals with the story of the two Councils. The circumstance is peculiar in so far as an account of these Councils is also given in the Chullavagga XI. and XII.[3] Buddhaghosa's account of the first Council rests on Chv. XI. 1—8, whence he copies whole passages *verbatim*, and amplifies them, presumably, from the old Singhalese Aṭṭhakathā. It is significant that even in the passages which occur in the Smp., and not in Chv., verbal agreements are found. The account of the second Council is given similarly in Chv., Smp., and the Mahāvaṁsa. Buddhaghosa cites the Dīpavaṁsa, besides other authorities, for passages which differ somewhat from the text now extant.

Notable instances of agreement between the Samanta-Pāsādikā and the Mahāvaṁsa are: —
Pp. 79—81. Smp. 294, 2: the story of Moggaliputtatissa, who conducted the third Council, is in close agreement with M. V. 98 ff. Then, Smp. 299, 17, History of Aśoka, = M. V. 9—34, D. VI. 1—14. The episodes of the Nāga king Kāla in 300, 12 ff. and of Nigrodha 300, 32 ff. are found in M. V. 89 and V. 36, D. VI. 24 ff. The Dedication Festival of Aśoka, the entrance of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā into the Order, = M. V. 174—213, D. VII. 1—31. The narrative 306, 18 ff. of the Thera Kontiputtatissa = M. V. 213—230, the fall of the church = M. V. 231—243, Tissa and his conversion, M. V. 155—174, — all find a place in both works. These are a few examples where the verbal agreement between them is noticeable. Certainly in some parts Smp. agrees even more closely with D. than with M. These, however, are cases where Mahānāma's artistic personality led him to deviate from his original.

It is of importance to note that the Samanta-Pāsādikā was frequently made use of in later literature. It is mentioned in the Commentary on the Mahāvaṁsa, which contains whole passages verbally identical with it.

Here and there, the Samanta-Pāsādikā fills gaps in the epics; *e. g.*, Smp. 310, 12 ff. narrates a dream of Aśoka before the arrival of Moggaliputtatissa (*cf.* M. V. 246 ff.). Again, in 311, 32 ff. the Tittirajātaka told by Tissa to the king is briefly summarised.

The assumption, then, that the Mahāvaṁsa of the Sīhalaṭṭhakathā was the source for the
P. 83. introduction of the Samanta-Pāsādikā may be accepted as correct. Of course, Buddhaghosa has limited himself to what seemed important for his particular object. He holds as closely to his original as Mahānāma did at a later time. Indeed, it is not impossible that Mahānāma even consulted the Samanta-Pāsādikā and schooled himself in Buddhaghosa's classic Pāli.

The Mahābodhivaṁsa begins with the story of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, enumerates shortly the existences of the Bodhisatta, and then relates the life of Gotama-Buddha until the

[3] Oldenberg, *Vinaya Piṭakaṁ*, II. p. 284 f.

night of enlightenment. This forms the first chapter and bears an unmistakable likeness to the introduction of the Jātakas, the Jātaka-Nidānakathā. The Mahābodhivaṁsa is shorter and more succint, but much more artistic, and often ornate in style. The Jātaka-Nidānakathā rests on the authority of the Aṭṭhakathā, and forms the medium through which the Buddhist history, especially that of Gotama, passed into the Mahābodhivaṁsa and thence into later literature.

The second chapter of the Mahābodhivaṁsa rests on the Jātaka-Nidānakathā, also, and is
P. 85. entitled Ānandabodhikathā, as being the account of how Ānanda planted at the
Jetavana a fruit of the holy tree from Uravelā. The subsequent chapters are more directly dependent on the Samanta-Pāsādikā and Mahāvaṁsa, most being taken from the former — so much so that one might almost think that the two were independent translations of their old Singhalese forerunner. But the two texts coincide so in wording that the theory of a direct derivation seems necessary. Moreover, the style of the Mahābodhivaṁsa is more elaborate and yet compressed, and has the air of an epitome of the Samanta-Pāsādikā. The presence of the Mahāvaṁsa is seen in the brief additions to the parts taken from the Samanta-Pāsādikā, and also in the division and arrangement of material. The closing words of the Mahāvaṁsa are also utilised for closing the corresponding chapters of the Mahābodhivaṁsa. These were certainly composed by Mahānāma and were not in the Aṭṭhakathā. As regards various isolated notes, it is not improbable that the Aṭṭhakathā was directly responsible for many.

The introduction tells us that the work is the translation of a Singhalese work into
P. 88. Māgadhī. If it be admitted that the Mahāvaṁsa preceded the Mahabōdhivaṁsa,
then Strong's theory,[4] which makes the author of the latter a contemporary of Buddhaghosa, breaks down, his error being the identification of Dāṭhānāga, a Thera of the time of Mahinda IV., with Dāṭṭha, who, according to the Gandhavaṁsa, commissioned Buddhaghosa to write the Commentary to the Dīgha-Nikāya. The Mahābodhivaṁsa belongs to Mahinda IV.'s time, and was therefore composed in the last quarter of the tenth century. The translation was not made directly from a Singhalese text but through a Pāli version.

As regards the age of the Dāṭhāvaṁsa we are sufficiently informed. The author in the
P. 89. closing verse calls himself Dhammakitti. His work was a translation of
a Singhalese original into Māgadhī at the instance of the General Parakkama, by whose means Līlāvatī, the widow of Parakkamabāhu, was raised to the throne. This happened in 1211 A. D. The Dāṭhāvaṁsa must therefore have appeared shortly after that time. The contents deal with the previous existence of the Bodhisatta, Buddha's visits to Ceylon (where the Mahāvaṁsa is closely copied), the division of the relics, especially of the tooth-relic and its advent to Ceylon. With this part we overstep the beaten track of tradition. We notice two constituent parts of this tradition. The first is of Indian origin, and comprises the early history of the Buddhas, the life of Gotama-Buddha, the story of the first and partially of the second Council, the names and deeds of Indian kings. This tradition, being largely derived from the Aṭṭhakathā, is fixed and definite. The second ingredient is the local tradition of Ceylon, treating of Buddha's visits to Ceylon, the myths of Vijaya and the earliest kings of Laṅkā, the third Council and the mission of Mahinda, the already partly historical tradition of Duṭṭhagāmani and his journeys. This latter division was liable to almost indefinite extension from popular narratives or local chronicles.

P. 91. The materials of the Dāṭhāvaṁsa appear in a small work entitled Daḷadā-
pūjāvali, which is a very close paraphrase of the former.

[4] Cf. Strong, Pref. viii. ff., supporting Sobhita, who in the introduction to his edition (1890) discusses the question of authorship in the same way.

The Thūpavaṁsa, which comes down to us in Singhalese and in Pāli, is closely allied to P. 92. the Mahābodhivaṁsa and preserves the epic form. Its contents range from the history of the early Buddhas to the death of Duṭṭhagāmani.

As regards the relation between the two versions, we may say that on the whole the Singhalese is broader and more detailed than the Pāli. In Chapters X.—XVI. the one seems a mere translation of the other; but in the history of Buddha the Singhalese makes considerable additions and amplifications. The author in his epilogue calls himself Vāchissara and mentions P. 93—95. that he is connected with the Dhammāgāra of the king Parakkama, giving the names of a number of other works composed by him in Singhalese. He had two Thūpavaṁsas before him — one in Singhalese, and hence of use only for the natives of Ceylon; the other in Pāli, but so defective as to necessitate a fresh working out. I am of opinion that this Vāchissara was none other than the famous Thera of that name, spoken of in Mahāvaṁsa, LXXXI. 18 ff. He was an ecclesiastical chief under Vijayabāhu III. (1236—1240) and his power may well have continued under the next king Parakkamabāhu II. (1240—1275). We have thus secured a date for the Pāli Thūpavaṁsa, *viz.*, the middle of the thirteenth century A. D. The Singhalese version is to be regarded as a later extension of the Pāli text: for priority cannot be proved, and internal evidence points otherwise, as does the analogy of the Mahābodhivaṁsa. It must have followed quickly after the Pāli version; for Parākrama Paṇḍita, the author of our Singhalese version, is mentioned in the Rājaratnākara in the list of learned priests and laymen who flourished between the time of Buddhaghosa and 1809 after Buddha = 1266 A. D. This work must have been, composed, therefore, between 1250 and 1260.

The usual sources were drawn from in the composition of the Pāli Thūpavaṁsa, *viz.*, the Jātaka-Nidānakathā, the Samanta-Pāsādikā, and the Mahāvaṁsa : and more sparingly the Commentary on the Mahāvaṁsa. Other sources, as in the case of the Mahābodhivaṁsa, may be traced, and it is not impossible that, where an authority is not named, the Aṭṭhakathā may have been consulted, either directly or by the medium of the old Pāli Thūpavaṁsa (probably the Chetiyavaṁsaṭṭhakathā, which at all events was in close accord with the Aṭṭhakathā literature).

9. — Singhalese Writings.

The most comprehensive of these is the Pūjāvali, which is not yet completely edited, but P. 99. which, as we can see from Wickremasinghe's analysis, consists of the usual material in the usual arrangement. The author, Mayūrapāda Thera, wrote in the second half of the 13th century and was a contemporary of Dhammakitti Thera by whom the Mahāvaṁsa was continued.

The Nikāyasaṅgraha of Dhammakitti shews in the general arrangement of material and in particular instances its dependence on the same sources. The history of the sects is treated in greater detail here. We learn, for example, that the Sāgaliya sect branched off from the Dhammaruchi of the Abhayagirivihāra and bore the name of their leader Thera Sāgala. They had their seat in the Dakkhiṇagirivihāra. This took place under Goṭhābhaya, 795 years after P. 99 ff. Buddha's Nirvāṇa, *i. e.*, in 252 A. D. The record of the writings of the separate sects is entirely new. The source for these additions I cannot name, but merely remark that the Kathāvatthu-ppakaraṇa-Aṭṭhakathā does not so much as mention the Sāgaliyā.

Of especial interest is the dream of Kālāsoka and his dialogue with the Therī Nandā. This is taken directly or indirectly through an unknown source from the Aṭṭhakathā (*cf.* the Commentary, 108, 8 on Mahāvaṁsa, IV. 38 ff.).

The Dhātuvaṁsa[5] belongs to the myth-cycle of Malaya and Rohaṇa. It contains much popular tradition wanting in the works of the Aṭṭhakathā cycle. Otherwise, its dependence on the Mahāvaṁsa is easily recognised. The Dhātuvaṁsa, however. does not seem to be an
P. 102. independent work, but corresponds to a Pāli work existing only in manuscript, entitled Nalāṭadhātuvaṁsa: it is only a Singhalese translation, then, of this work, like those of the Mahābōdhivaṁsa and Thūpavaṁsa. The author of the Singhalese Dhātuvaṁsa is Kakusandha: when he lived is not ascertainable.

From several chronicles, especially the Rājāvali, Rājaratnākara, and Pūjāvali, we have accounts of the early history till Vijaya. The Rājāvali, the most recent of
Pp. 103—107. these, belongs probably to the beginning of the 18th century, and shews that its author made copious use of older sources. The introduction and the mythological parts are original. After a cosmological and geographical review, the dynastic list of kings follows down to Siddattha, the Buddha. It is, however, the introduction of new material not hitherto utilised in the epics that gives to the Rājāvali an independent value. For instance, the reign of Mahāsammata is depicted as a "golden age." Of king Chetiya it is told that he was the first to bring falsehood on earth and that as a punishment the earth swallowed him. Under Mahāpratāpa, murder and other crimes forced their way in, and the span of life of the princes was from that time shorter. After an account (taken from the Mahāvaṁsa-Commentary, 84, 4 ff.) of the founding of the Sakya dynasty, an episode from another source follows :— The eldest sister of the exiled sons of Ariṭṭa, "the third Okkāka," attacked by leprosy, is placed by her brothers in a deep grave and covered with brushwood. The king of Benares, stricken by the same disease, had sought refuge in the same forest. He cures himself by an herb, finds the princess, cures her and makes her his wife. Rāma's son hearing of his father's abode builds there the town of Koliya. The 32 sons of Rāma and the princess marry the 32 daughters of the four kings of Kapilavatthu, and thenceforward the princes of Koliya and Kapilavatthu were united into one clan. The rest of this work is taken from the Mahāvaṁsa.

The Rājaratnākara, belonging probably to the middle of the 16th century, is likewise specially detailed upon the history of Vijaya. The general scheme corresponds
P. 108. to that of the Rājāvali, and adds nothing to the Vijaya myth. The Pūjāvali in Chapter XXXIII. treats the Vijaya history quite briefly, disposing of it in a single section.

Generally, it may be said that, of the three chronicles, the Rājaratnākara stands nearest to the Mahāvaṁsa and draws upon it most largely. The other two stand in closer
P. 115. relation to one another, as follows from several important coincidences. We can see, also, that the Rājaratnākara has had recourse to the Pūjāvali, and occasionally copied from it and likewise from the Nikāyasaṅgraha. The Rājāvali shews some originality, and adds details bearing the mark of popular origin, as in the Kuveṇi-legend. It also brings new particulars to the story of Kāvantissa, the father of Duṭṭhagāmani, while following in the main the narrative in the Mahāvaṁsa, XXII. 13 ff. Popular accretions are visible in the history of the *Bemiṭiṭi* famine under Coranāga, when, as the result of a curse, Jambudvīpa was visited for twelve years with famine. Finally, in the story of the death of Siri Saṅghabodhi. 40, 22 f., are several features absent from the account in the Mahāvaṁsa XXXVI. 92, *e. g.*, the allusion to the future Buddhahood of Saṅghabodhi, and the recognition of the severed head as his. The Rājāvali, moreover (like the Mahābodhivaṁsa), mentions after the king Paṇḍukābhaya a king Gaṇatissa, who is absent from the lists in the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa. He is given a reign of 40 years, while Paṇḍukābhaya is given one of 30. According to the Mahāvaṁsa and also to the Pūjāvali, Paṇḍukābhaya reigned the whole 70 years.

[5] The *Dhaiuwansaya* of the Thera Kakusandha, edited by Gintoṭa Dhammakkhandha, Dodanduwa, A. B 2433 = A. D. 1890. DeZoysa, *Catal*, p. 17.

The Singhalese chronicles agree with remarkable closeness on the subject of Gajabāhu, of whom the Mahāvamsa merely says that he built or consecrated monasteries, erected Thūpas and planned the Gāmanissa pond. A detailed account of this monarch is found in the Singhalese chronicles, especially the Rājāvali, the new matter being unmistakably from popular sources.

THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL) IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.

1654—1670.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 142.)

Assem Pashaw [Husain Pāshā],[51] Kinge of the arrabbs on ye North East of Pertia, left his Contrey, beinge vexed and overpowred wth the strenth of ye Turke, yet fought ye Grand Senior wth 90000 horsse, but beaten, he fled to Shaw Sollymon [Shāh Sulimān], Kinge of Pertia, desireing his p̃tection at Serash [Shīrāz].[52]

The grand Senior hearinge it, sent to Shaw Sollymon [Shāh Sulimān], desireing him deliver vp Assem passhaw [Husain Pāshā]. The Governor of Serash had Orders to send him vp, But Assem Passhaw vnderstandinge it, by money got liberty to passe for Conge [Kung],[53] the Chiefe sea port towne in Pertia. Theire he shipt himselfe & sarvts with 3000000, Thirty hundred thowsands of pounds sterling money vallew in Jewells gold & money, wch was put in 14 Saile of Shipps, wch he hyred, vizt 5 English, 3 Dutch, 4 Maltans [Multanis] And 2 Mallabars: All for Lahor e bander[54] [Lāhorī-Bandar], at wch place they arrived saife, J. C. p̃sent when they & the tresure arrived. The King of ye Arrabs said to me, haue not I seene yu wth Capt Wise who was vnder my Command in Bossera [Basra]. I said, yes, And a Contreeman of his: Assem passhaw kept me 9 days wth him in Lahor-e-bander And lodged me wth him and his sonns in his owne tent.

Oram Zebb [Aurangzēb], haveinge advice of his loadinge, sent 30000 men as a gard for him, 30000 ropees to eate Beetell wth, wch is A complemt to drinke his helth.

When y Kinge of ye Arrabbs caime to Tattaw [Tāttā in Sindh], Oram Zebb was theire & did embrace him, and gave him a Serpaw [*saropā*] wch is a garmt according to ye Industian [Hindustan] weare, wch soe soone as p̃sented, ye p̃tie takes it and p̃sently [immediately] puts it on.

Noe sooner it was On, but Assem Passhaw[55] dropt downe deade, He deade, Oram Zebb possest himselfe of All his treasure And made his Eldest son 3 Azarey [*Hazārī*], wch is 3000 horse, ye yonger 2000 horse.

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[51] This must be Husain Pāshā of Basrah — *vide* Chardin, *Coronation of Solyman III*, p. 125 ff.

[52] In a letter from Stephen Flower to Surat, dated Ispahan, 14th Aug. 1668 (*Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 105, at the India Office), there is the following allusion to Husain Pāshā and his flight: — "The late Tyrant of Bussora with his retinue of above 2000 persons at Shyraz, were preparing for Bundareecke or Congo [Kung Bandar] with resolution to Imbarque for India, having this Kings order to depart his Country, upon the Grand Signiors demanding his head and having noe Inclination to Ingage himself in a warr upon that account which hee must expect upon refusall the former or complyance with what required by the said Grand Signior."

[53] Kung Bandar, a port on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf, about 100 m. west of Gombroon. *See Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* Congo-Bunder.

[54] The port of Tatta at the mouth of the Indus on its E. side, which has now disappeared. For the identification of Lāhorī-Bandar with Diul-Sind, see Roe's *Embassy*, Hakluyt Society's ed. p. 122.

[55] From Mr. Irvine I have received the following particulars of Husain Pāshā. His arrival in India in 1669 or 1670 is mentioned by Manucci. He was *not* murdered by Aurangzēb, as stated here, but was killed in the Bijapur campaign, c. 1676. His Indian title was Islām Khān Rūmi. See also Chardin, *Coronation of Solyman III.*, p. 125 ff.

Assem Passhaw left his Queene wt his Brother wth an Army of 80000 horse but noe gunns. The Basshaw of Bagdat, of Kirkway,[56] Neneveigh [Nineveh] & other Basshaws Weere in July last all draweing downe theire Armies to Bossara to feight and beseige it.

This Bossara is the Chiefe port in the gulfe of Pertia, a place of great strenth & trade since Ormous was lost by ye Portugalls to ye King of Pertia.[57]

The Turke had it last yeare from ye Arrabbs; ye Arrabbs retooke it. And now ye Turks resolve to haue it againe, wch I feare they will.[58]

The Magulls Pollicy in paying his Armies and hording vp every yeare a vast Tresure is thus:—

He keeps 4 Armies constantly in pay, ye least 50000 horssemen & pays them Constantly well. He gives to such a great Lord 20000 horse, an other 10000, an other 5000 horsse, And to pay them assignes such a Contreys Contrebution to them, wch they gather, & ye Overplusse is brought into his tresury; Soe that he hath noe troble.

The Mogull Oram Zebb, now Emperor, at prayer in the Gousall Conna [*ghusal-khāna*] or privy Chamber, I p̃sent, the Emperror was taken vp, 3 fathom from betwixt his throne & y roofe of ye roome, his heeles vpwards, wthout anie vizable thinge to draw him vp, & soe by degrees lett downe, or fell downe before his golden Chaire on his throne On his bended knees in a prayeing posture; this he does when he pleases.

He taking notis of me after he had don his prayer, said to me, if yu will show me how to cast Gunns, I will show yu to hoyse yor selfe as yu haue seene me doe.

I Sd pat' shaw Sallem' mett ham to' mor' row Chacker [*Pādshāh salāmat ham tumhārā chākar*], yt is, May it please yor Maitie to give me leave to speak to you. Caw [*kahō*], Sd he, Speak. My p̃fetion [profession] is to serve yu but I am sworne in my Contrey never to teach anie but who will serve to ye trade. Ho' dan' ne' Car' ra, [*Khudā na karē*],[59] God forbid yu breake yor Oath.

But, Sd ye Emperror, will not yu tell this to yo King when you come into yor owne Contrey. He had then given me leave to goe home.[60] S I, yes, wth leave. Sd y Emperror, y haue leave.

This Oram Zebb, haueing beheaded his Brother Dorrishaw Cour [Dārā Shikoh], who desired to die a xpian,[61] his head being Cut of, 6 Grees [*gharī*] or 3 howers after it was cut of, it was p̃sented at ye Emperrors feete on the throne in the Am Casa [*ām-khās*] wheere theire was Thowsands of his subjects. The Emp̃. trode vppon it; The head laft a loud, ha, ha, ha, in y heareinge of all,[62] I J: Cambell p̃sent.

56 Tavernier (ed. 1683, Vol. I. p. 73) speaks of a "Basha of Karkou." It is the modern Kerkuk, situated S. E. of Mosul, midway between that place and Bagdad. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, went, in 1734, from Mosul to Bagdad, *via* "Kierkouk," which at that date, had still its Pāshā.

57 In 1622. 58 *Vide* Chardin, *The Coronation of Solyman III.*, p. 126, and Thévenot, ed. 1683, p. 151.

59 The usual formula of precation.

60 "One Mr John Cambell . . . served the King of India as a gunner seven or eight years and . . . obtained licence to depart for his country." Letter from Gombroon to Surat, 21 Jan. 1669. *Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 105.

61 An allusion to the unorthodox opinions of this prince. Dārā was the author of the *Majma'ul-Bahrain*, in which he endeavoured to reconcile the Brahman and Muhammadan religions. His Christian proclivities are mentioned by Catrou, ed. 1826, p. 198. Mr. Irvine tells me that, according to Manucci, Dārā desired, while in prison, to see Father Busel, but was refused.

62 *See* Dow, *History of Hindostan*, Vol. III. p. 286, and Catrou, *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, ed. 1826, p. 271, for varying accounts of this incident.

The Emperrer after this fell sick & Continewed soe for 1 mo., and yet noe rebellion, wch is rare, for ye Emperor is every day to show himselfe publiquely in his Am Casa or throne, elce his subiects will say he is dead.

Wheere this Throne or Am Casa is, are seūall built by his pd̃essors glorious to behold, wth gold & Dymonds and p̃tious stones, But that wch this emperror hath made Exceeds all the former.

In anno 1660, in John a Badd, was one Wm Gates,[63] a rare Artist and in the service of the Magull agst Kinge Swagie [Sivajī], in wch service was Alsoe I, an intimate of Wm Gates. Wm Gates was kild in that service; Did afterwards appeare to me J: C: I regarded it not, Soe one night he caime about 12 Clock in ye Night & gaue me a great blow as I lay in my bedd on my buttocks, & sd, rise vp. Doe not yu know me. I, much surprised & affraid, Sd, in ye name of ye father, sonn and holly gost, what wouldest thou. He said, I am such a one was kild at such a place. If yu doe not follow me, it will be bad for yu. God did strenthen me; I followed. My sarvants weere all in bed, my doores lockt & bolted & verry stronge, yet none knew I past out, or did I know.

Sd ye spirritt, I cannot rest, haueing hid some money, till I shew you wheere it is. We went about 200 yards, ye spirritt before me, & comeing to ye place, he made a great Stamp and theire vannisht. I fell a sleepe on ye place, how I know not, & slept till day next morninge wthout harme. Awakeinge, I found a stake stuck at my heade in ye Ground. All this while I remembred not what had past, but thought I had been at my howse. I said noe thing to anie, but Mr Smith, ye P̃son [parson], who I lodged in my howse, see me come in, Askt me wheere I had beene. I made noe replie. He vrged me tell him, he knoweing it was not vsuall for me to goe out at such an erly hower. I gaue him relation of wt had past. We went, diggd, and found money in a earthen pott.

This money was sent to ye P̃ish of Stepney for the poore of ye parrish in wch he[64] was borne I would [have] kept it, but ye P̃son advized ye Contrary. After this I herd noe more of him.

In the yeare 1661[65] theire was in Dorrishacours [Dārā Shikoh] Army a Monsup Dor [*Manṣabdār*], wch is Commandr of 500 horsse, his name Doyd begg [Dāūd Bēg], yt is one of a great howse or Cast.

There was in Mallabucks [Murād Bakhsh] army a Ld Commanded 5000 horsse & was Droger [*dārōghā*] of ye top Conney [*tōpkhāna*, artillery]. These two weere sworne Brothers & p̃mist [promised] to live & die together, Doyd Begg was kild when Dorrishawcour was routed. The Ld Radger Cowley [Riẓā Queli] Droger to ye Top Conney or Great Gunns, after the feight caime to his owne howse, and 3 mo. after, One night, I, J. Campbell, being sitting wth him and in discorse, One of [his] Sarvants told him theire was one at ye doore desired to speake wth him but would not come in. He ast who it was; they told him a verry fyne Gentleman. He, ye Ld, tooke in his hand his sword; I followed him, & his sarvt before wth lights caime to ye Doore, wheere was One in ye Likenesse of Doydbegg, who Sd, p̃vide yor selfe for this night yu must die, and then vannisht.

[63] Mr. Irvine suggests that William Gates may be Manucci's "Guilheromo Inglese" who went with him on Rajah Jai Singh's Campaign in 1664 or 1665.

[64] ? William Gates.

[65] Either the date is wrong or Dāūd Bēg was *not* in Dārā's army, for the prince was executed in 1659.

The Ld tooke noe notis of it, but comeing in, red a while in theire p̃fets booke & said to me send for Mr Roch[66]; wee wilbe merry. Merry we weere & had singing & Danceinge wenches sent for, Notwthstanding he had of his owne in his howse. About 12 Clock at night, The Ld went out to stoole. It hapt in ye place he went to, one of his sarvts had got a weoman, and as ye Ld caime into ye place, his sarvts yt had lights retireinge, The fellow wth his hand Jarr [*khanjar*] stabd him and left his hand Jarr in his boddy, by wch it was knowne who kild him. The sarvt taken, told all, saue ye weoman, & hir he would not discover for all his torture. He was put to death by ye Ollyphants, wch playd wth him as long as his keeper pleased & puts ye Criminall to great torture & at last treads out his bowells. This was in Saiahans [Shāh Jahān] tyme, Emperr.

A relation of what hapned at my beinge in the fort of Gindecote [Gandikōt][67] in the Contrey of Carnatt, a place belonginge to ye Kinge of Golcondogh. A man, a buckall [*baqqāl*], or as we terme them in England, a Sutler, who had p̃mist a somme of money to Joggernat [Jagannāth], wch is an Image of ye Gentues, not p̃forminge his p̃misse was taken laime and blinde. After which he p̃formed his pmisse trible. Beinge blinde, he caime to ye Immage or pegodah, wch spooke to him & tould him he could not recover him, but gave him a hanchucher wth two knotts, & bid him goe to ye Gouerner of Gindecote, who is a Magullan or Moore, I then p̃sent wth ye Gouerner. Att first

66 This man, who has already been mentioned as a companion of John Campbell (*ante*, pp. 138—140), is several times referred to in the records of the E. I. Co. In May 1667, in a letter from the President and Council at Surat to the Court of Directors (*Factory Records, Miscell.* Vol. 2), there is a note as follows: — "We have lately Received a letter from one Mr Thomas Roach an Englishman Chiefe Gunner to this Kinge [Aurangzēb], who it seemes hath lent some Moneys to Mr Wm Jesson and Mr Thomas Andrews when they lived att Agra, which he now demands from us in your name, alledging it was lent them in the Honble. Companyes name and for their occasions. he threatens uppon our Refusall to make him Satisfaccon to take out an Order from the Kinge uppon this Governour to force payment; we have with what Civillity possible answered his letter, wherein we endeavour to Convince him of the unreasonableness of his Demands uppon you, and desire him to desist from giving us further Trouble, you being in noe wise obliged to make good such unjust pretences. We wish we had your positive Order how to proceed when such troubles shall come uppon us, which we are in dayly feare of, for this Thomas Roach &c. may give us great Trouble, being personally present, and having the Kings eare." Further correspondence on the subject must have been received at Surat from Roach, for, on the 8th May 1671, he writes to the President from Agra (*Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 105), "I have not intruded on you againe, in regard in this time I expected your Favourable respost to my letters wherewith I formerly solicitated you, concerning my debt from Mr Jesson, Bills of exchange by Mr Andrews, and my freedom from this undesired service, of which Sir George Oxinden promised me that he had informed the Honble. Co., but news thereof none as yet arrived with me notwithstanding it is now two yeares since and upwards, wherefore I am constrained to write to you againe hoping your worship will be pleased to afford me some speedy answere that may give some satisfaction to my troubled desires." The remainder of the letter deales with the state of the Company's house at Agra which, Roach says, had been deserted for twenty years and would have been forfeited had he not occupied it.

On the 20th Nov. 1672, at a Consultation at Surat (*Factory Records, Misc.* Vol. 2), there is the following entry: — "Mr Roach the Kings gunner at Dilly delivered the Presidents Letter to his Master about the affront Putt upon them Pr the Govr and endeavours to get him turned out but the Councell order him to desist from any further prosecuting that business." The "affront" referred to was the refusal of the Govr of Surat to let the English President go to Bombay, the seizure of the Company's house etc. After this, Thomas Roach disappears from the Records, but he appears never to have regained his "freedom from this undesired service." In the Surat Consultations, on the 25th Sept. 1704 (*Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 13), there is a reference to Thomas Roach's son: — "Resolved that Mr Edmond Crowe out of the Prayer Mony formerly payd him by order of Councell discharge and pay Twenty Seven rupees fourty eight pice for Cloths Shirting and other necessary's furnisht Thomas Roach the son of an Englishman, Master Gunner to the Mogulls Father, as the said man has bin Severall yeares to the present Emperour whose Service he's left and having retaind the Protestant religion and poor have his Lodging and Dyett in the Factory till can otherwise provide for him, now Sixty yeares of Age."

67 Gandikōt in the Cuddapa district was a famous stronghold of the Vijayanagar kings. It was built in 1580, captured by Golconda and held by Mir Jumla. See *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. III., *s. v.* Gundy; also *Tavernier*, edited by Ball, Vol. I. p. 284.

sight of this Sutler then blinde & led before ye Gouerner, before ye blinde Sutler spoke, sd ye Gouerner, I know what thou comst for & said, goe to a place & loose one of the knotts; ye blinde Sutler went & loosed one of ye knotts & returned wth one eie seinge. The Gouerner, after ye Sutler had thanked him, bid him goe back to Jaggernatt, wch ye Sutler did & returned wth sight of both eies, & p̃sented ye Gouerner wth 250 pagodoes, And p̃mised ye 5th penny of Wt afterwards he got to give to ye pegodaye or Image & to ye tyme I was in the Contrey did. I had trade wth this man both before and after he was blinde & restord. This hapned in añ̃ 1660.

Kings Trebutary to the Magull.

1. The Kinge of ye Osbucks [Uzbegs] wch are Moores [Muhammadans], a great Kingdome.
2. The Kinge of ye Pattans, cald 9 lack [*naulakkhā*]; he can raise 900,000 men.
3. The Kinge of Vizepoore [Bījapūr], wch are Moores & a grt Kingdome.
4. The Kinge of Bengall, Moores & a great Kingdome.
5. The Kinge of ye Rashpouts or Gentues, about 50 kings of them; some Com̃d but 3 & 4,000 men; in these Kingdomes are all ye Dymond Mines, Saphers & Rubies.

Itts ye Custom amongst ye Gentues if the husband die to take ye wife, she beinge made as fyne as if she weere goeing to be wedd, to burne hir wth ye Corps of ye dead husband & its accompted a dishonor to hir fammily & kindred [if] she live after hir husband; & if she be not willing to leape into ye fyer, hir owne kindred & Children will indeavor to throw hir in, as I haue seene by P̃sons of Quallity.

Twelve of ye Lds of ye Magull, in año 1665, had conspired his death and sworne fydillity one to an other, & had past it vnder their signetts, intending to set vp one of his Sonns by a Rash pout [*Rājpūt*] weoman, he wch is now p̃sonr in Goleere [Gwalior]. But ye Chiefe Ld in ye Conspirrisey discouerd it to the Magull. Soe he cald a Councell, of wch these Lds weere, and Sett at ye Doore of his Casanna [*khazāna*, ? for *ām-khās*], into wch they weere to Come, An Executioner. Soe, as they caime in One by One, ye signe given, wch they, They noe sooner in, but of went ye heade. Its the Custome of the Magull To keepe his nobles from familliarity one wth an other & yt they never meete at one an other's howses or Salute saue as they passe one by an other, till they come into ye Casanna or ye Emparrer's p̃sence.

All ye Emperrors other sonns, saue he wch is in Goleere,[68] are by Magullans [Mughal] weomen, Moores.

This Goleere [Gwalior] is 40 Leagues from Agray and is One of ye Strongest peeces of Earth by nature as well as by Art in the world, And its supposed, if ye vniverse should ioyne to take it by storme, they weere not hable, if they wthin weere trew to themselues. They haue Corne, wyne, Catle & all other nessessary p̃vitions wthin themselues.

[68] The eldest son, Muhammad Sultān.

Its in Compasse 24 Leagues ; the Emperror takes hostages by Children or other neare Relation for ye Gouernrs fydillity. It was once taken by a stratigem. Instead of sendinge Weomen. they put yonge men in the habbit of weomen,[69] wch they had gained liberty of ye Gouerner to leaue whilst an Army Marcht on a remote expeditiō & to take them againe at returne, but, haueing Once admition At ye gate, showd what they weere & soe did Over come all wth in before them.

Chiefe Cittys in the East Indiays or ye Magulls Empire Vizt.

1.	John-a-badd [Jahānabād], wch is 7 leagues in lenth And 15 Leagues in Compasse wth ye Suburbs; his Pallas, vizt. ye Cupaloes are all couered wth Massey gold.	
2.	Agray; from Johnabad to Agray	220 Leagues.
3.	Lahor; from Agray to Lahor	250 :
4.	Cammallo; from Lahor to Camallo	050:
5.	Cobbullo from Cammallo to Cobbullo	060 :
6.	Moltan [Multan]; from Cobbullo to Moltan	130 :
7.	Bucker [Bakar] on ye River Cindey [Sindhi, Indus]; from Moltan to Buckker	070 :
8.	Palla[70] wch is a great Citty; they haue noe springs wthin 7 Leagues, but saue ye raine in ye Raine tyme in great Tancks; from Bucker to Balla is	145 :
9.	Oram Caball a great Citty bigger then Agray, 12 leagues in Compass, & hath great gardens & plesure howses	300
10.	Pautanau [Patna], from Oram Caball	044
	These lie Nor Northest of John a Badd,	
	Leagues ...	1269

From John a Badd South South West.

From John a Badd to Agray	220
From Agray to Goleere [Gwalior]	040
From Goleere to Sera-pull, a strong Citty and Castle wthin it, & lies on ye bordrs of ye Mallabarrs	022
From Serapull [? Serampore] to Gruncan [Golconda]...	060
From Gruncan to Hewgley	080
	422

[69] A common legend — *vide* Tod's *Rajasthan*, I. 262 f., for the story of the ruse practised by the chiefs at Chitor to recover Bhimsi.

[70] Palla appears in the old maps to the North-east of Delhi.

Bengall

From Hewgley to Nocunn, w^ch is y^e Chiefe Citty in Bengall, And Many strainge things I haue seen theire; y^e Raines continew 6 mo. night & day. Tygers w^ch are Charmed, And Allegaters 230

From Nocunn [? Nowgong, Nawagaon] to Hallow [Halabas, Allahabad], not by land but by water, y^e woods hinder, besides Tygers & Allegators in y^e Marshes; 2 Men I see in this place accused for theft: y^e way they put them for those crimes to death is by throweing them into y^e river w^ch is 2 Miles Over fresh water. These 2 Men weere throwne in, The Gilty quickly devowred, the Innocent an Allegator tooke vppon his back & carried him to thother side & Landed him w^th out harme. This way they trie y^e Innocent from y^e Guilty, for the Allegato^rs will devour y^e crimenall whether from charme or w^th other cause I know not, but many passing in small boats are overturnd in y^t river and eate by the Allegators, I once hardly escapeinge, two in the same boate Devowred by them; I did but iust gett a shore[71] 30

Leagues ... 682

An Account of My Travells into Prester Johns[72] Contrey begunn in añn 1667 from John a Badd.

From John a Badd I tooke my Jurney to Tenatt, cald otherwise Ginsecote [Gandikōt], Thence to Serapelle w^th a Man in my Company w^ch had an Ox ladeinge of Bonnets or vmbrellors, One of w^ch I & each of my sarv^ts had to keepe vs from the heate of y^e Sunn. Att noone We Chose y^e shade of a Wood to refresh o^r selfs vnder, & haueing fed, We set o^r selfs to take a nap, as vsuall in hott Contreys. The Monkeys, seinge vs w^th o^r vmbrelloes, whilst a sleep they caime downe and ript open the pack And each toke a bonnet, soe y^t of 400 theire was not one remained in y^e pack; ye Man awakeinge, & seinge what hapned, fell of bewaileing his mishap. Att w^ch tyme caime by an Old man & askt him why he was soe trobled. His answer was, poynting to the tree in w^ch most Monkeys weere, doe you not see. Says the Old man, w^tt wilt thou give me And I will get the all thy bonnets againe. They agreed for 3 Ropees, vizt. 6s 9d Engl̃; I gave 2 the bonnet man one. The Old man tooke my Sarv^ts bonnet and began to tosse it. The Monkeys, seing how the Old man did, did the same. At last he Tooke his bonnett & threw it on the Ground; y^e Monkeys did all y^e like. Soe y^e Man had his bonnetts, but they weere all torne and full of holes; y^e Old man s^d, I p̃mist to get y^u yo^r bonnets, but I did not p̃misse w^th out dammage. This was five Leagues from Sarapelle in y^e Magulls contrey.

[71] M Irvine tells me that Manucci has this 'alligator story' very much better related.

[72] For Prester John, see Yule's *Marco Polo*, I. 205, *f. n.*

Thence we went to Candanna[73] in ye Mallabars contrey, a City wthin a fort wald, & is 8 leagues from Scrapelle. The Custom of those places are to haue howses wthout the Cittys for to Lodge travellers in, Cald Serays [*sarāis*] for they p̃mitt yu not into theire ffort or Towne. In one of these howses I tooke vp my lodginge. My horss put vp, I sent my men into ye towne for p̃vition. They of ye Contrey had liberty, I not, to goe in. P̃sently after comes the Old man wch caused ye Monkeys heaue downe ye Bonnetts & desired of me reliefe. I said, I was a traveller and had not to give him. He went his way, it beinge about 6 Clock at night in the Month May. He noe sooner Gon, but I began to strip myselfe starke naked and ran into ye feilds distracted, frighted wth sights of armed Ollyfants, men in Arms Chasing me till day next morning, at wch tyme I found my selfe at the doore of ye Saray I had taken vp ye night before, shiveringe wth cold. I cald my selfe to mind I had a bible & It did please god to direct me to it. I had noe sooner red a few lines but I had my perfect senses but sadly weary. I then put on my Clothes. My horss all that night had not a bit, for my sarvts returnd not, And I demanding ye reason, they told me they thought they had beene wth me. Att 8 Clock caime ye Old man and askt me how I did because I lookt soe wild, And askt me some thinge to give him. I gaue him 2 Ropees, 4s 6d Engl̃ money. He replied, why could not I [have] given him that last night, in a thretinge manner, As he went away.

He was not from me pistoll shott, but I tooke one of my pistolls & fyred it at him. It was Charged wth a brace Bulletts & fyred both in pan & barrell, but the bulletts stuck in ye Mussell of my pistoll, soe, yt yu might touch them wth ye finger and never went out.

My sarvts beinge of ye Contrey, told me wthin 5 Leagues of yt place was a Kinge of braue Justice liveing at Kissna [Krishna, Kistna] by a River, Bigger as Tygris or Euphrates, Almost as Bigg as Attick [Atak, *i. e.*, Indus] wch parts ye Pattans contrey & ye Osbucks [Uzbegs], ye Biggest fresh water River in ye world, Elleaven Legues in bredth, haueinge 9 Rivers comeinge into it theire. His name is Timmenagg [Trimal Nāik].[74] We refrest or selfs in the way, at wch place my boy askt me if I had not given the Old man money. I sd yes. Then replied he, all yor money is gon. I look & see my Scretore [escritoire] lockt, Sd, alls well. Nay, sd ye boy, Open ye lock & see, for if these men get but a penny, the[y] will haue all yu haue, if 1000 pounds. I opend it & all was gon, 100 pagodays in gold & 23 Ropees in silver, wch was every penny I had. This made me drop my Currage, beinge 120 Leagues from Releife. The boy observeing it, sd, Sr, I haue 50 Ropees & lets goe or Jurney to Timmenagg.

Timmenagg, heareinge a Christian traveller was come, sent me All p̃vitions for man & horsse, for he is a grt Kinge, its ye Custome of yt Contrey, & after sent for me to ye Walls of ye Citty, They haueing erected his tent on ye Walls, from whence he discorst wth me, asking seũall questions & wth all how I likt his Contrey, On wch I told him how I had beene vsed by ye Oldman.

Sd: ye Kinge, haue a care what yu say, & say noe more then trewth, for if yu doe, it wilbe ill for yu, but if yu say trewth, yu shall haue yor money againe yts lost.

In ye morninge he sent 5 horsemen to call me wth a dish like a pottinger running on ye ground before them.[75] They sd to me, horse. I did. Away went ye dish before vs as fast as we could well pace. This Dish is cald a Battica.[76] It ran ye verry same way we caime from ye howse we lodged at 4 days before, for I had staid wth ye Kinge 2 days. In ye way we mett 2 men. It ran vp theire boddys & downe againe, for its ye Quallity of this Battica to doe soe to anie yt haue but rec̃ed money from ye first robber.

[73] Cundanore, old name for Kurnool (*Madras Man. of Admn.* III. 252).

[74] Timmenagg appears to be Tirumala Nāyakka (Trimal-Nāik) of Madura, whose dates are given in the *Madras Manual* as 1623—1659 and by Sewell as 1635—1657. These do not agree with the narrative, as Campbell says he started on his travels in 1667, at least eight years after the death of Trimal Nāik.

[75] Mr. Irvine says that Manucci speaks of sorcerers who could make a pot move without touching it.

[76] Portuguese, *bategа*, a bowl or a gong, something to be beaten. I am indebted for this note to Mr. Irvine.

These two men had received money of the oldman, vnknowne how he caime by it. It left them, & on to ye howse I lodged at 4 days before, and out of yt howse & in at ye gat of ye Citty. We weere not p̃mitted to goe in. P̃sently it brought out the Old man & stuck on his left brest, 1000ds of people following out of the Citty to se it. Away it led ye Oldman, And wee followed, & brought him before Timmenagg [Trimal Nāik]. But when he caime out of ye Citty gate & se me, he held vp his hands & gaped, but could not speake. Soe soone as he saw Timmenagg, he sd, Ram Ram [Rām, Rām], wch is, O King be mercyfull to me; ye Kinge sd, Cetteram Citan [*? Sītā Rām Shaitān*], yts, Thou wicked Devell, why hast thou deceived a Traveller: wth that ye Battica fell to ye ground from his brest.[77] The Kinge askt, wheeres this travellers money. He sd, I haue only 100 pagodays, the 23 Ropees I haue spent. Sd ye King, give wtt thou hast, I make good ye rest to him, wch ye King did.

The King sd to me, yarr [*yār*], wch is, friend, yu must haue a care of partinge wth yor money, for these are Citans [*shaitāns*], Devells. And if they receive but 1d from yu they will haue all about yu more or less.

Now ye man is heere, iudge him what death he shalbe put to. I replyed, I haue got my owne, I desire noe mans death. Sd ye Kinge, that yu may thanke me for. But if I let him passe, An other Traveller may not Only loose his money, but his life, & then none can come to complaine to me, Soe my Contrey will gett a bad naime.

Next morning ye Man was brought to a place where two great Millstones weere drawne wth 6 Oxen; ye King himselfe went out to se ye Oldman executed. Before ye Man was put to death, he askt for water, wch they call Neele [*nīl*], And sprinckled his face & sd so͂me words, & vollantaryly put himselfe betweene ye stones & was in aninstant ground to poother, wthout saying or criing soe much as, ahh.

The Kinge askt if we had such iustice in or Contrey. I sd, we did burne witches or those gilty of such Crimes, wch he approved not of, for they burne all of theire Cast & iudge they goe to heaven, but those ground do goe to Hell to be further punisht for theire Crimes.

The Kinge Commanded 3, 4 & 5 at a tyme to trie, when ye Battica lay on ye ground, to take it vp & they vsed Iron Crowes but could not moue it; to ye number of 500 of his sarvts tried, but could not. Observeing me looke ernestly, Sd, will yu trie, wth leaue, I said, yes. He gaue it, & I went, & wth as much ease tooke it vp as ever I did anie pottinger; wth yt his eies beinge large, seemed to be in a flame, but said not ought.

Haueing beene well Treated by Timmenagg [Trimal Nāik], I tooke my Journey from Kissnea [Kistna] to Hydrobadd [Hyderabad], ye Chiefe Citty belonginge to ye Kinge of Baggenogar [Bhāgnagar] in the Osbucks [Uzbegs] Contrey. I caime in about 8 Clock at Night into the Citty; But was taken vp for a spie, my selfe, sarvt & horss put in p̃son. I demanded the reason of my Imp̃sonmt. They told me I was a spie & should haue my heade Cut of, by reason I caime from Kissnoa [Kistna] wth whome they warred, beinge a Gentues Contrey. Theire are sẽuall kings of ye Gentues, As ye Rashpouts [*Rājpūts*] and[78]

Next day they Caused me to be pumpt, yt is to hold my Mouth vnder ye pump yt ye water may forsse it selfe into my belly; this was don 3 tymes a day to make me Confess.

The Cadwall [*kotwāl*] or justice, seinge this would not doe, Caused me back to p̃son, And as I past in Naked, wth Chaines on me, he caused at ye doore 2 men to but me wth Elbow and ffist.

[77] The author here tells, as a matter of his own experience, what is really an old Indian folk-tale out of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Campbell had doubtless heard it related, and it is still a story commonly told in Southern India. See *ante*, Vol. XXXV. p. 50.

[78] Hiatus here in the MS

The same night they carried my sarvt before the Justice & made him Confesse wtt I was and my errand into ye Contrey. He, my sarvt, being a Moore of their Relegion, Confest all. First they butterd or tallowed his feete sooles & tosted them before the fyer, a punishmt vsed in these parts.

Next morninge they sent for me [before] ye Justice, And said, friende, we vnderstande yu are noe spie but a traveller, what we did doe was in suspition. I replied, yu wronged me wthout cause; I desire yu Justice of yor contrey. Sayd they, get yu gon lest it be worse for yu, And then I was halfe deade wth theire torm^s. But they p̃vided for me a howse wth all nessessarys, in wch staid 4 dayes, & in yt tyme vsed meanes to get a petition to ye Kinge, wch was drawne by ye Justices Brother in Law, And after p̃sented. I was sent for to ye K: & gave relation of my vsage. He sent for ye Justice & put him out of his place and caused him to haue given 100 Chawbucks [*chābuk*] or whips.

The Kinge demanded if I lost ought. I said, noe. Friende, said he, to make yu a mends I give yu a horss and a coate. This Kings name is Mack-Allam-Cawne [Malik Alam Khān] & gaue me a passe & a guide to travell throw his contrey, & order wheere ever I caime not to pay Junet money [*juncan*, *chungam*, customs, duties] wch is vsuall for travellers in that Contrey, But I, my boy & 2 horsses went free from yt and horsse meate & mans meate.

Theire was a Lord at ye border of ye pattans [Pathān's] contrey; 200 leagues I had come safe wthout paying ought. This Ld would not owne my passe, but kept me in p̃son, And sold me & my Man as A Slave to ye pattans.

I, haueing beene ye Magulls sarvt formerly, had currage by reason this pattan was trebutary to ye Magull. I made way and sent to a Ld a sarvt of ye Magulls, wch knew me. He sent word to Oram Zebb [Aurangzēb], Magull, on wch I was deliverd vp to this Lord whose naime was Abram Caune [Ibrāhīm Khān], Alla-de-mer Cawns ['Ali Mardān Khān] Sonn.

But they had ham stringd my boy, but my Mistress had mercy for me, & interseded yt I was not, though its ye Custom of those places to doe it, lest theire Slaves run away; I was sent to keepe Sheepe & did for 23 days in a Cammelet Cote, They haueing stript me of my owne Clothes yt sold me.

When I was set free wth my boy, horsses and all other things that I left not a deneer[79] or asper,[80] I staid 2 mo. wth this Ld Abram Caune [Ibrāhīm Khān] & made him 120 Granadoes wth other fyer balls, he being to war wth ye Gentues. This service pleased him well, soe as he gaue Me his passe to goe to Candehor [Kandahar], a bordering Citty on ye Pertion Cost. When I caime theire, the way was stopt, And I forst to come back 300 Leagues to a Citty calld Cobbull [Kabul], In wch Citty I mett wth the prince Sultan Azam, 2 son to Oram Zebb,[81] & 4 of my Contreymen wch was in his army, Gunners. They weere much agreeved heareing ye Relation of my hard travells. The next day I went before ye prince, & they wth me,[82] & had liberty to p̃ceed in my Jurney.

The next Citty I caime to was Lahorr. The Gouerner Mama deme Cawne [Muhammad Amīn Khān] toke me vp to serve him, But I refused. He would compell me, wch forst me send to John a badd to my Contreymen theire, who made a petition to ye Mogull, wch got me my liberty. I staid at Lahor 11 Days; ye Minister, Mr Roch, and Mr Robt Smith[83] did perswaid me give Over my Jurney, it p̃veing soe Cross to me, But I was resolved to Travell.

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79 A French money of account, 12 making a sol or sou.

80 A small silver coin, formerly current in Turkey, worth about a halfpenny.

81 Muhammad Mu'azzam was Aurangzēb's second son and A'zam Shāh the third. The writer may be referring to either, but, in any case, the reference is an anachronism.

82 As Thomas Roach was Aurangzēb's "chief gunner," he probably used his influence on behalf of Campbell.

83 See *ante*, p. 140, where Mr. Robert Smith is called "the minister."

From Lahorr I began againe my Jurney towards Prester Johns Contrey. The first Citty I caime at was Maltan [Multan], ye Cheife Citty of trad in the Magulls contrey. Thence I went to Buckar [Bakkar], wch is 120 Leagues. Bucker is two Cittys, One On this side ye river cald Milsa, thother Al'ta'naut, and a fort in ye Middle of ye river betwixt both Citties.[84]

The river is cald Bucca, a fresh water, a League Over And a huge Currant. The manner of fishinge is wth potts, wch ye Men yt fish lie On theire bellys & swime wth feete & hands vp ye Curent, wch noe boate can, but haled wth ropes.[85]

The next Citty I caime to was Cindey [probably Haidarābād in Sindh] wch ye River takes its Gem̃all naime from, & ye 9 Rivers spooke of at Kissey [Kistna] comes in theire.

The next is Tatta; betwixt Bucker & Tatta 150 long Leagues. From Tatta to Lahorebander [Lāhorī Bandar] 30 Leagues. In that Citty I was told I could travell throw ye bloches [Baluchs'] Contrey, for he is an absolute Kinge, strong, & lies betwixt ye Magulls Contrey & Prester Johns.

Advizeinge wth some men, I tooke a guide wch bound him selfe to carrie me safe throw the bloches Contrey, wch ye Guid did, tho wth great Expence to me, wch is 350 Leagues.

The first towne I caime to in Prester Johns Contrey was Ne'ge'po'tan [Negapatam][86] 110 Leagues from ye bloches Contrey. The Gouerner of the place Questioned me whence I caime I told him I was goeing to Court, wch liked him verry well; The Custome of the Contrey is to receive all in, but to let none out wthout Lycence.

From thence to Can' na' noor [Cannanore], wch is from Ne'ga'po'tan 340 Leagues. The Gouernor questioned me wtt I was, & told me he was to give acct of all Strangers to ye Emperor. I told him I was an Englishman. He told me it was not vsuall for English to travell in theire in that Contrey. What can you doe. I said, nothinge, Only my Jurney was to se ye Contrey. He sent me wth a Gard to ye Court, which is cald Pow'la' van, wch was 60 Leagues. Prester Johns Court is wald round & is in Circumference 24 Courses [*kōs*], 3 makeing an English League, so it [is] 16 Eñgl Leagues.

Att Court I was assigned to ye Duan [*dīwān*], ye Emperrors second, soe cald by reason he is most intimate & neare him in office. But ye Duan weary, I was not p̃mitted to speak wth him till an hower before sun sett, wch was ye hower ye Lds weere p̃mitted yt had businesse. The gard yt caime wth me had a letter for him. When delivered, I was cald for before him.

He askt what I was. I answerd, an Englishman. He demanded on what p̃tence I caime thether or whether I was bound. I answered, to se ye Court whose faime I had herd of. He askt for my passes. I showed him One from ye Magull, One from ye Kinge of ye Bloches [Baluch's] wch he said was good, But found by one I had served ye Magull. He askt me in wtt Capassity. I said as a Marchant. He told me, Jut Cotta [*jhūt kahtā*], yu lie, yu haue some other art. I said, noe. Tome-better-sonsta [*tum behtar samajhtā*]. We shall know before yu goe; Carrie him to p̃son.

I was carried & kept 3 mo., My man in one plaice & I in an other. One caime every day to me, wch was an Old & eminent Lord at Cort. And haueing Considered my Condition, pickt out of my man I knew some art. The Nobleman Caime to me and said, freind, yu have some art & yu had better owne it and come out then stay in p̃son. I confest. The Old Ld brought me out to ye Emperror, wch ye Duan seinge, was offended wth this Ld my freinde, intending to [have] p̃sented me to ye Emp̃ror the first.

(*To be continued.*)

[84] Whatever the names in the text may represent, the modern names are Sakkar and Rohrī.

[85] The writer means the *mashak* or inflated skin, on which the river-side man rides on the water in the great rivers of North India.

[86] The writer now muddles up his journey to Baluchistan towards Persia with some travels he had made in the Tamil Country on the Coromandel Coast!

FOLKTALES FROM NORTHERN INDIA.

Collected by William Crooke.

(Continued from p. 150.)

XIV.

The Wiles of Women.[15]

There was once an evil woman who sent for her lover while her husband was away, and was sitting with him in the courtyard when her husband suddenly returned. She blew out the lamp at once and threw her sheet over her lover. When her husband came in, he asked her why she was sitting in the dark. She said: "Why should I keep a lamp burning in such an evil quarter of the town? We must remove at once to some other place." He asked her the reason for this sudden resolve and she said: "If we live here we shall lose our good name as the wife of our neighbour, the potter, did. One night, in the absence of her husband, she admitted her lover and they were sitting together, when her husband returned and she blew out the light and covered her lover with her sheet. Then she did this." — And with the word she threw the sheet over her husband's head while her lover escaped. "This was what she did," said she, "and managed to get her lover away."

The poor husband was such a fool that he never suspected what she was about.

XV.

God's Care of His Creatures.[16]

A fowler was once out catching birds in the jungle when suddenly he heard some partridges calling in a bush. So he made a plan. He loosed his hawk to hover over them and prevent them from escaping. Then he set fire to the bush and sat outside on the path by which they must escape, with his bow and arrow ready to kill them. Now there was a black snake also in the bush, and when he heard the crackling of the fire he crept out and bit the fowler in the foot. When he felt himself bitten, he let his arrow fly and it struck and killed his hawk. Then a heavy shower suddenly appeared and the fire was put out and the partridges saved from destruction.

Hence the lines of the poet: —

Jâko râkhai Saiyân, mârî na sakai koî:
Bâl na bankâ karisakai, jo jag bairî hoe.

"Him whom the Lord protects none can kill: even if the whole world be his enemy, they cannot even bend a hair of his head."

XVI.

The Julâha and the Mouse.[17]

There was once a Julâha who went to bring his wife home from her father's house. When he came in he saw a mouse running about, and, wishing to show his bravery, he took up

[15] Told by Parmanand, Gaur Brâhman, of Jataul, Sahâranpur District, and recorded by Pandit Ramgharib Chaubê.

[16] Told by Kâshî Dîn, Kâyasth of Sârh, Cawnpûr District, and recorded by Sundar Lâl, master of the village school at Sârh.

[17] Told by Kehari Sinh of Shamsâbâd, Farrukhâbâd District.

his bludgeon and killed it. When his bride came out and saw this she was disgusted and said: —

Agar dant, bagar dant, ek dânt bhârî;
Wuh muâ kaun jisne yih muî mârî.

"There are all sorts of teeth and one big one amongst them. Bad luck to the wretch who killed this creature!"

When the Julâha heard this he was wroth, and when his wife asked him to come and eat, he would not touch the food.

When her mother heard this she said: "Let me manage him."

So she went to him and said:

Agar dant, bagar dant, ek dânt bhârî;
Wuh bîr kaun jisne yih sher mârî.

"There are all sorts of teeth and one big one amongst them. Who is this hero who has killed the tigress?"

When the Julâha heard this, his wrath was appeased and he went in and ate his dinner quite contented.

XVII.

The Contest between Fever and Itch.[18]

One day Fever and Itch had a dispute as to which was the greater. So they went on together, and Fever went to stay with an Ahîr and Itch with a Brâhmaṇ. In spite of the Fever the Ahîr, who was a sturdy fellow, went about his usual work, and Fever had no peace as long as he was there, because he had always to be moving about. But when Itch went to stay with the Brâhmaṇ, he went to bed and lay quiet. After a while Fever disliked his quarters and went to see how Itch was getting on. When Fever came he said to Itch: "What a good time you are having! You stay in bed all day and do nothing but eat." Itch answered: "This is not bad if this Brâhmaṇ would only scratch me gently; but he must rub me with sulphur and bits of dry cowdung and I am in great trouble."

So they both went back to the Ahîr, and when Fever came upon him his body became as hot as fire, and Itch was sorely troubled. So Itch said: "This will not do for me. I like the one as little as the other. I will try a Chamâr." The Chamâr treated him as he wished, and so the Itch has stayed with the Chamârs ever since and Fever remained with the Ahîrs.

XVIII.

Why Monkeys do not fall from trees.[18]

Once upon a time there were a number of monkeys who lived in one community, in the jungle. One of them ran away with the wife of one of their band, and the other monkeys turned him out of the brotherhood. One day he came to them and said: "It is only among town people that it is considered a fault to run away with the wife of another, and this rule has never been applied to the jungle folk. I propose that in future we have our wives in common, and whoever takes one to himself his punishment is to fall from a tree."

All the monkeys agreed to his words, and since then there is no law of marriage among them and no one ever has to fall from a tree.

[18] Told by Akbar Shah Mânjhi, of Manbasa, Dudhi, Mirzapur District, and recorded by Qâzi Hâmid Husain.

XIX.

The Danger of offending a Poet.[19]

It is very dangerous to offend a poet, as whenever he says an uncomplimentary thing about any one it is sure to come to pass. In proof of this the following tale is told: —

There was once a poet named Kâli Charn, who went to the house of a rich Zamîndâr named Râmdayâl. In the morning, as he was going away, he got only eight annas instead of the usual rupee. So he recited the following verses: —

Aur phal merê man hin na bhâwai, bhâwat hai Karsailâ kâ:
Kâlî Charan bichâri kahain — Mânh thaila hai Râmdailâ kâ.

"I care for no flower but that of the stinking Karsaila. Kâli Charan says with deliberation that the mouth of Râmdayâl is like a bag."

So he went in anger, and hardly had he gone when a wasp stung Râmdayâl and his face swelled up like a bag. Thus was the evil wish fulfilled.

XX.

The Shibboleth of the Musalmân.[20]

There was once a Musalmân who was a great friend of a Brâhmaṇ. Now the Brâhmaṇ was constantly being invited to feasts, and when he came back he used to tell the Musalmân what dainties he had been eating. The Musalmân's mouth watered when he heard the account of all these good things, and he used to long to have a chance of enjoying such excellent fare. So one day he said to the Brâhmaṇ: "My dear friend, you are always telling me about these famous dinners to which you are so often invited, but you never think of your poor comrade who never gets the chance of sharing in them." The Brâhmaṇ answered: "Well, if you have never tasted such good things I will try and smuggle you in some day among the other Brâhmaṇs when there is a *nagar bhoj* (a feast to which all the town is invited)."

Soon a great merchant (*seṭh*) gave a *nagar bhoj* and asked all the Brâhmaṇs of the neighbourhood. The Brâhmaṇ got a Brâhmanical cord (*janeo*), put it round the neck of the Musalmân, marked his forehead with sandalwood paste, put a Brâhmaṇ's turban on his head, and gave him a *lotâ* and a Sâlagrâma, and taught him the way to behave when they joined the feast.

When all the Brâhmaṇs were crowding into the house of the Seṭh, the Musalmân crept in too and took his place in the line of guests. Food was served round to all, and the Musalmân got his share like the others.

When his first helping was exhausted, he called out to the Brâhmaṇ who was serving round the food: "O Miyâñ, please give me some more (*Ajî Miyâñ, zara idhar lâo*)." When they heard him speak in this way, the Brâhmaṇs began to suspect that something was wrong. One of them asked him who he was. He replied: "Be silent. God (*Khudâ*) has given food to thee and to me. Why do you grudge me my share? Take thine and go thy way."

When they heard him use the name of "*Khudâ*," the Brâhmaṇs became still more suspicious, and insisted on knowing who he really was. He replied: "I am a Gauṛ Brâhmaṇ." "Which Gauṛ?" they asked, to which he answered: "O God! is there more than one kind of Gauṛ?" (*Yâ Khudâ, kyâ Gauroṅ meṅ bhî Gauṛ hotê haiṅ?*). When they heard this, the Brâhmaṇs shouted: "Verily, this rascal is not a Brâhmaṇ at all." And they all fell upon him. Then the Musalmân cried out: "Why do you not believe that I am a Brâhmaṇ when (pointing to his Sâlagrâma) here in my box is the *sâlê ghulâm* (whoreson slave)."

[19] Told by M. Gauri Shankar Lal, Unao District.
[20] Told by Paṇḍit Chandra Śekhar, of the Zillah school, Cawnpur.

This convinced them at last, and they all fell upon him and nearly killed him before he was able to escape from their company.

Note.

The tale is told to illustrate the proverb :

Sikhâê pût darbâr ko nahîn jâtê.

"The sons of the instructed do not answer at a public meeting."

XXI.

The Omen of the Pâṇḍavas.[21]

Men of the old time tell that when the Kauravas and the Pâṇḍavas were about to fight the great fight recorded in the Mahâbhârata, and they were about to set up a pillar of victory on the field of battle, the four Pâṇḍavas asked their brother Sahadeva to give them a good omen, so that they might come out victorious. Sahadeva said : "Go and search for a man who is the slave of his own wife. Bring him into the field of battle. Then a number of jackals will collect there and they will give you the omen which you desire."

When he heard this, Bhîma went off in search of a man who was slave to his wife. Now in a village near there lived a Telî or oilman, whose wife used to sit on her cot while her husband cooked and did all the work of the house. When he had finished cooking he used to feed his wife, and when she had finished he would then eat the scraps himself.

One day it so happened, that while he was cooking the morning meal the fire went out. He went out and asked all the neighbours for fire, but no one would give him any. Then his wife said : "If you apply lac dye (*mahâvar*) to my feet and take me on your shoulders into the village, I may be able to get fire for you."

So the oilman put lac dye on the feet of his wife, and then took her on his shoulders and brought her into the village. He took her round from house to house, asking every one for fire, and all the children of the village laughed and mocked him as a fool.

When Bhîma saw this he knew that he had found a man to serve his purpose. So he pulled his wife from off his shoulders and bringing him to the field of battle killed and buried him. Then he climbed into a tree close by and hid himself in the branches.

By and by a number of jackals collected and dug up the corpse of the oilman, and one jackal smelling it said : "This man's flesh is unfit for our food." The other jackals asked him why this was so, and he answered : "This man never did a good action in the whole of his lifetime, because he was the slave of his wife, and therefore his head is impure. He never heard a holy text (*mantra*) from his religious guide (*gurû*) and therefore his ears are impure. He never ate the food dedicated to Nârâyaṇa, and therefore his belly is impure. He never gave alms with his hands and therefore they are impure. He never pronounced the name of Râma with his tongue and therefore it is impure. So all the parts of his body are impure."

When they heard this all the young jackals said : "Verily, all his body is impure, but what are we to eat, and we are dying of hunger." The old jackal replied : "Have patience for this day only. To-morrow a great battle will take place ; millions of heroes will fall on the field of battle and their flesh we will eat."

Then the young jackals asked : "And which side will be victorious in the fight?" The old jackal answered : "That side will be victorious whose drums first sound on the morning of the battle."

Then the jackals went away, and Bhîma, who heard all they said, came down from the tree and went and told all this to his brethren.

[21] Told by Govind Râm, teacher of the school at Ujrai, District Aligarh, N.-W. P.

Next day at early dawn the Pâṇḍavas beat their drums while the Kauravas slept, and so they were victorious in the great battle which ensued.

XXII.

The Saint who brought the Rain.[22]

There was once a land in which there was no rain for many years, and the people suffered from sore famine. The Râjâ called the Paṇḍits and consulted them. They said: "The reason the rain does not fall is because there is no piety (*dharm*) in the land." So the Râjâ issued a proclamation that all his subjects were to continually repeat the name of Râma and do works of charity. They did so, but still the rain was withheld.

The Râjâ again summoned the Paṇḍits and consulted them. They said: "On a certain peak of the Himâlaya there lives an ascetic who spends his time absorbed in devotion. If he were to come the rain would fall."

So the Râjâ sent his envoys to the saint, but he drove them from his presence and refused to come to the Râjâ. Then the Râjâ offered a vast reward to any one who could bring the saint to him. Many went on this mission, but all returned unsuccessful. At last the king's daughter said that she would go and bring the saint. So she went to him and found him, as usual, absorbed in devotion. Then she plucked some jungle fruits and placed them in his water-pot, and after a while he was filled with passion for her and she lived with him and bore a child.

When her child was born she said to him: "Now that you have a wife and child, you must find support for them. Let us go to the court of the Râjâ." So she took him to her father, and as soon as he reached the kingdom, the rain fell abundantly.

XXIII.

A Wife who was a Shrew.[23]

There was once a Panjâbî Banyâ who had a wife who he supposed was most faithful and obedient. One day he thought that he would test her obedience. So, as it was a feast day, he bought the materials for a good dinner and told his wife to cook it. Meanwhile, he went out on some business and returned very hot and thirsty. He said to his wife: "Give me a drink of water." "Can't you see," she replied, "that I am busy? Go and get it yourself." "I am dying of thirst," he said; "do give me a drink." "You may die or live," said she, "but I won't leave my work." Soon after he fell from exhaustion into a dead faint. And when his wife looked round she thought he was really dead, but still she would not go to him till she had finished frying the cakes.

After some time, when the cakes were ready, she said to herself: "I had better wait and see the cakes get cool before I attend to him." When they were cool, she thought to herself: "When the neighbours hear he is dead, they will all come running into the house, and some one will be sure to eat the cakes, so I had better eat them myself before any one comes." So she ate all the cakes, and then came and sat beside her husband and began the keening for the dead: "My beloved! Thou hast gone to Paradise! Dost thou ever think of her thou hast left behind on earth?"

The Banyâ, who had just recovered from his faint, replied: "When I went to heaven I began to think, 'has she eaten the buttermilk as well as the cakes?'" Then he fell on her and began to thrash her, and when she screamed the neighbours came running in and asked him why he was thrashing her, and when he told them what she had done, they said, "She is an evil wife. We advise you to get rid of her at once." So he kicked her out and took another in her stead.

[22] Told by Mukund Lâl, Kâyasth of Mirzapur.
[23] Told by Kumarpâl, Ṭhâkur of Barârî, Mathura District.

BOOK-NOTICE.

SANSKRIT-LESEBUCH. ZUR EINFÜHRUNG IN DIE ALTINDISCHE SPRACHE UND LITERATUR. VON BRUNO LIEBICH. Leipzig, 1905. Pp. i—x., 1—651. 4°.

PROFESSOR BRUNO LIEBICH'S *Sanskrit Reader* is new both in form and method. It is intended for beginners, to whom the *Dêva-vâṇî* is absolutely strange, and yet it plunges at once into the middle of things, and, without any previous explanation beyond a brief account of the rules of *sandhi*, introduces the student directly to the masterpieces of Sanskrit literature. To us, who groaned in our salad days over pages and pages of paradigms — the driest of the dry —, this is a sufficiently startling innovation, but I am not at all sure that it is not a step, and a great step, in the right direction. It is a development of the Ollendorfian system along a path strewn with flowers, and the method inculcated is certainly one which I have found practicable and practical in the case of several languages for which no grammars or dictionaries are available.

Of course the success of such a manner of teaching depends on the form in which it is conveyed, and this brings us to a description of the contents of the work before us. After a couple of pages devoted to telling the reader how to use the materials offered to him, we have a short account of Sanskrit pronunciation and three pages in which the mysteries of external *sandhi* are explained. This last is the only thing that the learner has to make himself acquainted with before commencing to read his *Nala*. He is, for instance, expected to be aware of the fact that *nalô* in *nalô nâma* is for *nalas*, because *as* becomes *ô* before a sonant consonant, and so on for other external changes.

Then come the 335 pages of text and translation. The upper half of each page has the text in the Roman character, and the lower half a translation, not a word-for-word, literal, translation, but a free version by some well known writer. The following are the contents of this portion of the book:—

1. The *Nala*, with German translations in prose and verse by Rückert and Kellner.
2. The *Pañchatantra*, Book I., with German translation in prose and verse by Fritze.
3. The *Kathâsaritsâgara*, Book I., with English translation in prose by Tawney.
4. The *Nîti-*, *Śriṅgâra-*, and *Vairâgya-śatakas* of Bhartṛihari, with German translations in prose and verse from various sources.
5. The *Kumâra-saṁbhava*, Canto I., with English translation in verse by Griffith.

The last named has also extracts from the Sanskrit commentary, in order to introduce the student to this style of prose.

The whole concludes with a full vocabulary, Sanskrit and German, in which each form of each word as it occurs in the texts is carefully registered.

I do not think that there can be any doubt that if a person entirely ignorant of things Indian took up this book and read it as Professor Liebich tells him he wishes him to read it, he would acquire a very competent knowledge of Sanskrit in a comparatively short time, and with a minimum of that dry grinding away at uninteresting formulas which is a stumbling-block to so many students of this noble language. After he has gone through those parts of the *Reader* that interest him, and has a certain practical familiarity with the tongue as used in its best literature, it will be time for him to take up the study of grammar, which in his case will be the coping stone, not the foundation, of his efforts.

The book has other uses. I am myself not ashamed to confess that I am often glad to read in a European tongue versions of masterpieces which I have previously studied in Sanskrit. Here we have a capital anthology of translations, with the original text at hand for purposes of comparison.

Again, while the book will introduce Sanskrit to Europeans, it will equally well introduce German to Sanskrit Paṇḍits. If even half-a-dozen good Paṇḍits are helped to acquire German by its pages, it will have done excellent work.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

DR. SÖRENSEN'S INDEX TO THE NAMES IN THE MAHÂBHÂRATA, Part II.

A full notice of Part I. of this work, from the pen of Dr. Fleet, appeared *ante*, Vol. XXXIV. pp. 91 ff. Part II., containing the entries **Ambuśâyin—Asura**, has since been published. The most important article in this part is that on **Arjuna**, which is practically a synopsis of the entire Epic.

Dr. Fleet has given so full an account of Dr. Sörensen's great work in his review of the first part that it is unnecessary to say more in its praise on the present occasion, except that the second part maintains the high level of scholarship and accuracy which distinguished its predecessor.

G. A. G.

PYGMY FLINTS.[1]

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A. I.C.S. (RETD.).

THE study of the minute implements made of flint and allied minerals, to which the convenient descriptive name of Pygmy Flints has been given, is a curious branch of prehistoric archæology which has fascinated a few enquirers during the last thirty years. The subject, which was not mentioned in the first edition of Evans' 'Ancient Stone Implements,' published in 1872, has been accorded a page of special discussion in the second edition of that work issued twenty-five years later. Sir John Evans' treatment of the little implements is, however somewhat meagre, and they seem to deserve more ample investigation.

In England the most enthusiastic seeker after 'pygmies' is the Rev. Reginald Gatty, now Rector of Hooton Roberts, near Rotherham, Yorkshire, who has obligingly communicated to me the notes on the Indian finds recorded by the late Mr. A. C. Carlleyle, as well as his own valuable personal observations. The same gentleman was good enough, at my instance, to present a set of minute 'scrapers,' found by him at Scunthorpe in Lincolnshire, to the Museum of Cheltenham College, where they may now be seen in a table-case, accompanied by a set of photographs of Indian specimens in the National Museum, Dublin, which I obtained by the kind help of Mr. George Coffey, Curator of the Department of Antiquities in that institution. These photographs, of full size, are reproduced in the Plate attached. The British Museum possesses a good set of 'pygmies,' collected by Dr. Colley March on the Rochdale moors in E. Lancashire, and also a set of Mr. Carlleyle's Indian specimens. Other examples may be seen in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, and sundry museums in Great Britain and on the Continent. The sets in the British Museum are duly noticed and illustrated in Mr. C. H. Read's admirable little 'Guide to the Antiquities of the Stone Age,' published in 1902, which, notwithstanding its modest form and nominal price, is both an adequate introduction to larger works, and in itself a substantial addition to knowledge.

The 'pygmies' having been discovered first in India by the late Mr. Carlleyle, it will be well to begin by quoting verbatim his notes, as placed at my disposal by the Revd. Mr. Gatty.

"In the cold season of 1867-8," Mr. Carllyle wrote, "I found some small flakes, etc., "of agate, jasper, and chert, near Sohâgî Ghâṭ on the northern scarp of the Vindhyas, "to the south of the Allâhâbad District [about thirty miles S. S. W. from Allâhâbâd]. And "I remember being then very much pleased with a particularly fine crescent-shaped object, made of "white creamy chalcedonic agate, and of the same type-form as the small crescent-shaped "implements which some years afterwards I found in such numbers in caves and rock-shelters on "the Vindhyas. I had even then also (1867-8), and in the same locality near Sohâgî Ghâṭ, already "noticed some faded paintings in red colour in a recess of a low cliff under some overhanging rocks. "In Râjputâna I found some worked flakes of quartzite and one of basalt, and numerous small "flakes of carnelian and agate.[2]

"But it was in the years 1880 and 1881 that my own principal and especial "discoveries were made of great numbers of the beautiful little Indian stone "implements of the peculiar types of the crescent, triangular, scalene, and rhomboidal "forms, and others with one end more or less elongated to a point. These discoveries were

[1] Portions of this essay were read at the meeting of the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club, held at Gloucester, on the 9th January, 1903, and an abstract, dealing especially with the English phenomena, will appear in the Proceedings of the Club. [The photographs in the Plate attached are attributed to the author by an error. — ED.]

[2] Finds at places in the Jaypur State are briefly mentioned in *Archæol. Reports*, VI. 107, 108, 161.

"Lying along with the small implements in the undisturbed soil of the cave-floors, pieces "of a heavy red mineral colouring matter called *gêrû* were frequently found, rubbed down on "one or more facets, as if for making paint — this *gêrû* being evidently a partially decomposed "hæmatite [iron peroxide].

"On the uneven sides or walls and roofs of many of the caves or rock-shelters there "were rock-paintings, apparently of various ages, though all evidently of great age, "done in the red colour called *gêrû*. Some of these rude paintings appeared to illustrate in "a very stiff and archaic manner scenes in the life of the ancient stone-chippers; others represent "animals or hunts of animals by men with bows and arrows, spears, and hatchets.

"With regard to the probable age of these stone implements I may mention that I never "found even a single ground or polished implement, not a single ground ring-stone or "hammer-stone in the soil of the floors of any of the many caves or rock-shelters I examined.

"I have found some fragments of very rude pottery, sometimes much worn, "buried in some, or a few only, of the caves, particularly near their entrance. But "one single cave, in particular, was entirely filled with pottery and ashes and nothing "else.[4]

"Of the small implements, I may state that of crescent-shaped ones alone (without "counting any of the other forms), twelve hundred were found in two caves and two "rock-shelters; and of these, five hundred were found in one cave only. Altogether "about four thousand of various sorts, including implements, flakes, and cores, were obtained "from these caves.

"I also excavated several prehistoric *tumuli*, or grave-mounds, in the valleys of the "Vindhya range. In these mounds I found whole skeletons, but in such a friable condition that "not a single entire bone could be got out. I also discovered rude earthenware vessels and "fragments of pottery in the same mounds along with small stone implements and numerous "flakes. Among the smaller stone implements found in the mounds there were "several of exactly the same peculiar forms and types as those found in the caves, "leading to the conclusion that the men buried in the mounds were of the same race as the men "of the caves. In six different mounds which I excavated I did not find a single bit of metal "of any kind."

The best locality in England for minute implements, exactly the same as those of the Vindhyas, except that they are even smaller, is Scunthorpe in Lincolnshire, which has been closely investigated by the Rev. Mr. Gatty. He described his researches in 'Man' for February 1902, and the following account of his discoveries is abstracted from that article and his correspondence with me.

The neighbourhood of Scunthorpe is level for the most part, but a ridge of hills rises abruptly from the plain, and extends to Lincoln for a distance of thirty miles. The 'pygmy flints' are found in both the hills and plains, at isolated sites, of which seven are known. The whole district seems to have been covered with sand, which sometimes attains a depth of twenty feet and has a stratified appearance ascribable to the action of wind. The drifted sand forms mounds, occasionally as much as ten feet high, but usually much less. The pygmy flints are found on the floors of these mounds, in wind-blown depressions of irregular and shifting shape, which vary in dimensions, ranging from a length of twenty-four feet with a width of twelve feet up to a square of fifty feet. Mr. Gatty has obtained considerably more than 200 'pygmies' from one of these depressions, which, in his opinion, mark the sites of habitations or workshops.

4 Although Mr. Carlleyle does not say so expressly, this pottery evidently was hand-made, not turned on a wheel.

Below the sand lies a bed of peat some four feet in thickness, and beneath this is a bed of valuable iron ore, which is now being worked. **A horn and part of the skull of** *Bos primigenius* (*B. urus*, Linn.) **have been found in the peat.** The remains of this animal, the *urus* of Caesar, are common in the Danish 'kitchen middens,' and are also found in the lake-dwellings of Continental Europe. (Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, 2nd ed., pp. 14, 24, 25, 370.)

The pygmy flints are found only on the floors under the sand, not either in the superincumbent sand, or in the peat below.

Water is very scarce in the neighbourhood. There are no remains of earthworks or of implements suitable for fighting or the chase. The traces of Roman occupation seem to be of later date,

No large implements or polished tools occur with the 'pygmies' in the sand-holes. The few ordinary chipped implements of neolithic type, which are found occasionally, are of very rough fashion, being mostly mere flakes, with an occasional coarsely made arrow-head, and seem, from their stratigraphical position, to belong to the same period as the miniature ones.

The most common form of the latter is an irregular quadrilateral or rough circle, which may be termed a 'scraper.' A triangular form occurs occasionally — a right-angled isosceles triangle with a base considerably longer than the sides. The 'scrapers' are so **minute** that sixty-four of the circular shape weigh less than half an ounce. These often show traces of wear on the edges. **A few triangular arrow-heads** occur, some of which are only $\frac{3}{16}$ths of an inch long. The crescent-shaped implements, so abundant in the Vindhyan caves, are rare at Scunthorpe. **M. Seidler,** formerly Curator of the Museum at Nantes, into whose hands Mr. Carlleyle's notes and collections passed, **has compared the Vindhyan and Scunthorpe forms,** with the following result: —

	Vindhya.	*Scunthorpe.*
Smallest crescent	$\frac{8}{16}$ inch.	$\frac{6}{16}$ inch.
" scalene	$\frac{10}{16}$ "	$\frac{3}{16}$ "
" rounded and pointed	$\frac{10}{16}$ "	$\frac{4}{16}$ "
" rhomboidal and trapezoidal	$\frac{8}{16}$ "	$\frac{6}{16}$ "

It thus appears that while the specimens from both localities agree exactly in form, the sizes at Scunthorpe are considerably smaller. Mr. Gatty emphasizes the fact of the **exact agreement in form** by the explicit statements that "Carlleyle's four types [*i. e.*, those mentioned by M. Seidler] appear at Scunthorpe — line for line, angle for angle. This is not the case with arrow-heads or even scrapers, which vary all over the world . . . The Indian caves produced four special implements. All these occur at Scunthorpe, and if you mix them with 'Indians,' you can only separate them by picking out those of chalcedony for Indian, though even this is not safe, as some of the 'Scunthorpes' are made of chalcedony." The specimens obtained by Dr. Colley March on the Rochdale moors similarly agree 'flint for flint' with the Indian and Scunthorpe types, 'so that no mistake is possible.'

No cores have been found at Scunthorpe, although Mr. Carlleyle obtained them freely in India, and they also occur in Belgium, where they are about an inch in height. The core found by Sir John Evans at Weaversthorpe in Yorkshire, which is only ·85 inch high, evidently was used for the manufacture of minute implements like those found at Scunthorpe. (*Anc. Stone Implements*, 2nd ed., p. 276, fig. 189.)

Scunthorpe is not the only English site for 'pygmies,' but nowhere else are they found so small in size, and in such immense numbers. Mr. Gatty has, however, obtained thousands on the surface of the valley of the Don, between Sheffield and Doncaster; and a collection made by Dr. Colley March in the Pennine Hills, between Bradfield and Sheffield (E. Lancashire), is in the

British Museum. Other English localities are Sevenoaks and Sittingbourne in Kent, a 'kitchen midden' at Hastings, and Lakenheath near Brandon in Suffolk. A set from the last-named place is preserved at Cambridge, and Dr. Gatty found some specimens there himself. He considers the Scunthorpe, Pennine Hills, and Lakenheath specimens only to be in exact agreement with those from India. The small implements found at other English sites are larger and coarser and not of the characteristic Indian forms. No examples from Scotland or Ireland have been recorded. In all, eight or ten English localities are known to Mr. Gatty as sites where minute implements are found, but of these only the three above named supply precisely the Indian forms.

The foreign sites for miniature flint implements, agreeing closely in some cases at all events with the Vindhyan forms, are numerous. Mr. Read (*op. cit.* p. 109) states that "these minute and finely-chipped specimens of characteristic crescent, triangular, and rhomboidal[5] forms are often called 'pygmy flints,' and are found in India (Wall, Case 43 and p. 101), Palestine, Egypt (Gallery, Case 152), North Africa, Southern Spain, Belgium," in addition to the English localities. Dr. Sturge of Nice, who possesses an exceptionally fine collection of large and small flint implements, found, as Mr. Gatty informs me, 'vast quantities' of Indian types of 'pygmies' in 'a very restricted area' at Helouan (Helwân) in Egypt, and is much impressed by the 'very localised' distribution of the implements of this class in all parts of the world where they have been found. Besides the countries named by Mr. Read, 'pygmies' are said to be found in the Crimea and at Sinai. I have not, however, examined fully the accounts of the finds in all these regions, and in some cases the implements referred to may be merely small specimens of ordinary neolithic types, and not the characteristic forms of the Vindhyas, Scunthorpe, and Helwân.

The discoveries of 'pygmies' in Belgium have been very fully described and beautifully illustrated by M. É. de Pierpoint in an essay entitled 'Observations sur de très Petits Instruments en Silex, provenant en plusieurs stations Néolithiques de la région de la Meuse,'[6] from which I proceed to abstract the principal statements.

The country in the valley of the Meuse is full of traces of different periods of the Stone Age, but the 'pygmies' are found only in particular localities, and chiefly in the province of Namur, between the town of that name and Dinant, distant about fifteen miles to the South.

The implements, although not quite so small as those from Scunthorpe, are characterised by their minute size and delicate finish (*ce qui les caractérise, c'est leur petitesse et leurs retouches délicates*); and occur in five or six distinct forms. The crescent-shaped implements, bounded on the outside by an arc of a circle, and on the inside by a chord or a slightly bent curve, which are found at Cave No. 3 of Goyet in this region, are of somewhat large dimensions, about half an inch in length. This cave is considered to belong to the age of the mammoth. Crescents with blunt edges, which evidently were intended for use as blunt instruments, are sometimes found. The author notes that the crescent-shaped 'pygmies' occur also in the French province of Dordogne and at several localities in Spain, including Aguilar in Murcia. The implements in the shape of a scalene triangle are said to be characteristic of neolithic stations. The delicately worked straight-pointed flakes described as 'piercers' are said to extend from the end of the quarternary period of geology into the neolithic age, and seem to have been contemporary with the mammoth and rhinoceros.

Straight-pointed isosceles triangles with curved bases are plainly arrow-heads, and may be compared with the small iron arrow-heads now used in the Upper Congo region. But the examples

[5] The 'pygmies' include trapezoidal, , as well as rhomboidal, , forms.

[6] *Bulletin, Soc. Anthrop., Bruxelles*, tome XIII., 1894-5.

of this type of flint arrow-head figured by M. de Pierpoint are nearly an inch long, and, in my judgment, are not entitled to be considered as 'pygmies.'

Trapezoidal forms, which are rare, occur at a place called Sarts à Soile (Bois Laitrie, Rivière), where M. de Pierpoint found 10,000 flakes and small flint chips in a space of sixty square mètres. The work at this station was almost confined to small pointed articles and blades or 'scrapers' (*lames*).

A few sites, for example Tentachaux, Tienne du loup, and the plain above the Chauvaux cave, **furnish both *petites pointes*, or 'piercers,' and polished neolithic axes.** Two dolicocephalic skulls found in the neighbourhood suggest the remark that 'the palæolithic race has been interred in the midst of the neolithic civilization.' *Petites pointes* two centimetres long (about $\frac{3}{4}$ths inch) occur at Steenbrugge in Western Flanders, and sundry small implements are found near Liège in the Luxembourg, and elsewhere.

The Spanish stations are very numerous, and the objects found there are extremely small.

M. de Pierpoint is of opinion that the 'pygmy' flints, although perhaps dating from the neolithic period, **are the work of a population quite distinct from that which erected the lake-dwellings in Switzerland.** The suggestion is offered that the specimens found by Dr. Colley March under a deep peat bed on the summit of the Pennine Hills may have been the work of **an older population** driven out of Yorkshire by the advancing tribes using polished implements. The minute types, according to the Belgian scholar, are the work, not of a conquering, but of a retreating and vanishing people.[7]

In this connexion I may cite the words of a letter, dated January 4th, 1906, from the veteran archæologist, **Canon Greenwell of Durham:** "As you are living at no great distance from a district of Gloucestershire, where I once opened barrows, I should like to draw your attention to a very remarkable and inexplicable circumstance. The locality was near Stow-on-the-Wold. Mr. Royce, the then Vicar of Nether Swell, had made a very large collection of flint implements, having paid labourers, etc., to bring him everything they found, which seemed out of the way. He had thousands of arrow-points, knives, scrapers, etc., of flint; but, except a piece of an ordinary ground stone-axe, he had no larger implement. The same has occurred in Gatty's experience at Bradfield and Hooton, where small implements are found by thousands, and no larger ones occur. On the Yorkshire wolds larger and smaller are equally abundant. It is a very puzzling question, which has, possibly, already engaged your attention."

The opinions of M. de Pierpoint give some support to the **theory advocated by Mr. J. A. Brown and the Rev. Mr. Gatty that the 'pygmies' are the work of a special race which emigrated from the East and made its way as far as Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.** Mr. Gatty feels convinced that the resemblance between the Indian and the Scunthorpe 'pygmies' is so exact that it can be explained only by assuming that 'a migration took place in the Stone Age.' He argues that we "have to consider that four types are repeated, and, allowing for accidental similarity, it is hard to credit that four different implements should occur in both places precisely alike." If we make the ordinary assumption that the people in India and England unconsciously adopted the same forms because they were living in similar conditions, with similar needs, and the same material for supplying them, it is reasonable to point out that the conditions of a plain in Lincolnshire differ widely from those of the Vindhyan hills. Moreover, the manufacture of 'pygmies' is by no means co-extensive with the neolithic civilization. It is strictly localized, and the 'pygmy' stations

7 "Cette industrie, bien que datant de l'âge actuelle, ne peut se confondre avec celle de l'âge de la pierre polie. C'est l'œuvre d'une peuplade se distinguant absolument de celle qui créa la civilization dite rohenhausienne" (p. 18). Rohenhausen is one of the typical Swiss lake-dwelling stations. "Ce ne'est pas un peuple conquérant, mais une race refoulée, qui tend à s' éteindre" (p. 17).

are often either quite unconnected with or, if near to, are distinct from neolithic stations of the usual kind. The 'pygmies' are not merely small examples of the ordinary neolithic stock-in-trade. At Scunthorpe and the other sites where their peculiarities are distinctly marked, they form an independent series of special forms of arrow-heads, borers, scrapers, and other tools, which suggest the furniture of a doll's house. The profusion in which these little implements occur is also held to be an indication that they are the work of a separate race. It does not seem likely that the neolithic man accustomed to the use of full-sized tools, whether chipped or polished, would sit down and manufacture as an extra these tiny implements to such an extent that hundreds are found on the floor of a single hut.

Clearly these arguments are not without force, but they have failed to convince either Sir John Evans or Mr. C. H. Read. The former authority observes that "curiously "enough, identical forms have been found in some abundance on the Vindhyan Hills and [in] the Banda "district, India, at Helouan [Helwân], Egypt, and in the district of the Meuse, Belgium. Such an "identity of form at places geographically so remote does not imply any actual communication between "those who made the tools, but merely shows that some of the requirements of daily life, and the "means at command for fulfilling them being the same, tools of the same character have been developed, "irrespective of time and space."[8]

Mr. C. H. Read, who has illustrated the 'pygmies' more fully, also alludes to the theories of Messrs. Brown and Gatty with the remark that "the curious persistence of the same forms in all "these countries has led to the conjecture that they are the work of one and the same race; but the "same argument might be used to prove that the barbed stone arrow-heads of Europe, Japan, and "North America were the productions of a single people. However, it may be explained, the "similarity of form is sufficiently striking to deserve careful attention."[9]

These criticisms, although sound enough so far as they go, do not completely satisfy the mind. A barbed arrow-head is an implement of manifest utility in all countries, and the form is one which must inevitably suggest itself to all races of men. But the supposed independent inventions in India, Egypt, and England of all the four characteristic forms of the 'pygmy flints' is a different case, which does not seem to be explained adequately by the observations of Sir John Evans and Mr. Read. **The theory of the migration from India to Europe of a peculiar race specially addicted to the manufacture of 'pygmy flints,' which settled only in certain widely scattered localities, obviously is at best equally open to objection** and it is difficult to work out that theory in a plausibly coherent form so as to give a probable explanation of the puzzling facts.

The question of the people who made these tiny implements is to some extent mixed up with the **question of the uses** to which the implements were applied. All sorts of guesses have been hazarded. Various writers have suggested that the little tools may have been used for engraving bone, tattooing, trepanning and such occasional purposes. But, manifestly, such explanations are properly applicable only to a very small number of objects. The 'pygmies,' of course, might have been used for any or all the purposes named, and probably actually were so used; because when people had nothing but flint to make tools and weapons of, flint implements had to be turned to every purpose for which they could be utilized. But such casual user will not explain the facts that Carlleyle found five hundred of the 'pygmies' in a single small cave, and that Mr. Gatty collected more than two hundred from the floor of a single hut at Scunthorpe. Implements made in such profusion must have been manufactured to satisfy some general want, and not merely as the special tools of experts employed occasionally. The need of sewing clothes is such a general want, and I have no doubt that the pointed forms were employed as needles and awls, in addition probably to other uses. **It seems likely, as has been suggested, that the delicate little implements of the 'pygmy' class were the handiwork of the women.** Possibly, this may be the explanation in part of their very localized distribution. It may be that in neolithic times the women of some tribes

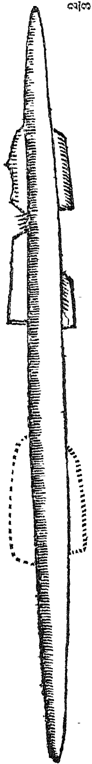
[8] *Ancient Stone Implements*, 2nd ed., p. 325.

[9] *Guide to the Antiquities of the Stone Age*, p. 110.

were trained to such work, while those of others were not; and that the tribes in which the women so occupied themselves were originally connected one with the other. The facts of the neolithic incipient civilization regarded as a whole undoubtedly do suggest extensive and prolonged migrations from east to west, and the reality of a close ancestral connection between the eastern and western populations of the period.

But the implements are not all possible needles or awls. M. de Morgan, as quoted by Sir John Evans, regarded the crescents as arrow-heads, an opinion with which Sir John cannot agree. It is true that crescent-shaped arrow-heads are known, but the tiny crescents among the Vindhyan and Scunthorpe 'pygmies' do not seem to be well adapted for use as arrow-heads.

The best general explanation for the modes of use of the 'pygmies' is the assumption that they were always fixed in handles and holders, and utilized then in all sorts of ways. No mention is made of their being found in association with worked bones, and if the handles were made of bone, some traces of them should have been found. Probably, therefore, the handles were made of **wood**, which of course has perished utterly. Montelius, when discussing the neolithic condition of **Sweden**, states that "the spear and arrow-heads were usually made of flint — sometimes of bone. Even the latter were often provided, as fig. 25 shows, with thin sharp flakes of flint introduced into the furrowed grooves on the sides."[10] Similar harpoon-heads made of stag's horn were used in **Denmark**, of which a good illustration is given by Mr. Read, whose figure is reproduced by kind permission. **The 'pygmies' in the shape of a scalene triangle** — a rather puzzling form to explain — **seem to me well adapted to be used as barbs in the manner indicated.** The smallest of them are, it is true, smaller than the flakes used in Sweden and Denmark, but would suit an arrow-head of the size of the illustration, which would be serviceable against birds at all events. The 'pygmies,' as M. de Pierpoint has observed in a passage already quoted, are not the sort of work characteristic of a fighting, conquering race. Such delicate, 'finicking' manufacture indicates rather a quiet, peaceful race, living possibly in dependence on or servitude to a more aggressive and combatant population. **I suspect that this suggestion, which occurs to me, of the dependence or subjection of the 'pygmy-makers' may be the true explanation of the peculiar facts.** Such dependent communities, with women trained to the domestic flint industry, might not be universally distributed through the neolithic world, although existing in many widely separated places. The hypothesis seems particularly well adapted to explain the distribution of both 'pygmies' and ordinary neoliths in the valley of the Meuse, as described in a previous page. The big implements would be the work of the fighting superior race, while the little products of domestic industry would be the result of the labours of the peaceful dependents. The big and the little implements would be found together or in distinct stations, according as the two races were intermingled or lived in separate settlements. Immigrants who had not brought dependents with them or found them already in the land would have no 'pygmy implements,' but wherever the inferior race had encountered or followed their masters, the miniature tools would be produced in quantity and would form a serviceable supplementary addition to the mechanical resources of the community. The crescents, for instance, when fitted into a groove or grooves in a block of hard wood and secured by resin, would form fairly effective cutting instruments of sorts. The suggested theory may be carried



HARPOON-HEAD, WITH FLINT BARBS, DENMARK. [Read 'Guide,' fig. 118.]

[10] *The Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times*, English transl. (1888).

a little farther, and **I venture to throw out the conjecture that the 'pygmies' are the last effort of expiring palæolithic man.** We have seen that on the Pennine Hills they are found *below* ten feet of peat, and that in Belgium they are sometimes apparently contemporary with the mammoth and rhinoceros. M. de Pierpoint, as already quoted, describes the finding of dolicocephalic skulls in the Meuse valley as a case of 'palæolithic man interred in the midst of the neolithic civilization.' I am disposed to extend the remark and apply it to the whole series of 'pygmy flints,' which may be regarded as the handiwork of palæolithic man situated as the dependent and victim of his aggressive neolithic successor. The assumption often made that a wide gap separates the palæolithic from the neolithic period in India and England is convenient as a cloak for our ignorance, but cannot well correspond with the facts. Such gaps do not occur in nature, and the neolithic people did not find the world unoccupied.

The observations made by Sir John Evans, when discussing the Weaversthorpe core already referred to, **go a long way towards solving the difficulties felt in explaining the uses of the 'pygmy flints,'** which manifestly are too small to be simply held in the hand like large stone tools, or even to be fitted into ordinary hafts.

"We have no conclusive evidence," Sir John Evans writes, "as to the purpose to which such "minute flakes were applied, but they may have been fashioned into drills or scraping or boring tools "of very diminutive size. Such small objects are so liable to escape observation, that though they "may exist in considerable numbers, they are but rarely found on the surface of the ground. "**Numerous flakes, however, quite as minute**, with their edges showing evident signs of wear, "**are present among the refuse left by the cave-dwellers of the Reindeer Period of the** "**South of France.**[11] As will subsequently be seen, these minute flakes have been also found in "Egypt and Asia, as well as in Britain. See fig. 232 A to 232 F [*scil.* the Vindhyan 'pygmies' "and small implements from Hastings at p. 325]. There is a class of ancient **Scandinavian** "**harpoon-heads**, the stems of which are formed of bone with small flint flakes cemented into "a groove on either side so as to form barbs [as illustrated above from Read and Montelius]. Knives "of the same kind are subsequently mentioned. [Some of the **Australian savages** about king "George's Sound make knives or saws . . . but, instead of one long flake, they attach a number "of small flakes in a row in a matrix of hard resin at one end of a stick. Spears are formed in the "same manner, p. 293.]

"Among the Australians we find very minute splinters of flint and quartz secured to wooden "handles by 'black-boy' gum, and forming the teeth of rude saws and the barbs of javelins. Some "remarkably small flints have also been found in the diamond-diggings of **South Africa** in company "with fragments of ostrich-egg shell, such as with the aid of the flakes might have been converted "into the small perforated discs still worn as ornaments by the Bushmen."[12]

Even if the hypothesis that the pygmy flints of Scunthorpe, Helwân, and the Vindhyan caves were the work of a peculiar race be rejected, the facts collected by Sir John Evans, whose notes give the needful references, suffice to prove that **very minute flint implements can be utilized in practice for all sorts of purposes;** and that it is by no means necessary to suppose that they were manufactured only for special occasions. It is hardly necessary to add that **the facts clearly put out of court any suggestion that the 'pygmies' were merely amulets or intended for symbolical use at funerals or other ceremonies, like the miniature pottery and weapons sometimes found in prehistoric graves.** The 'pygmies,' made in large quantity in the huts of the ancients, were certainly intended to serve human nature's daily needs, and **the illustrations of**

[11] These may be regarded as the predecessors of the better-finished 'pygmies.'

[12] *Ancient Stone Implements*, 2nd ed. p. 277. The Australian facts support my theory by proving that such minute flint implements were recently used by savages in a very low state of barbarism, much like that of palæolithic man.

Australian practice mentioned by Evans give the best clue to the modes of their actual use.

The following extract from MM. Perrot and Chipiez, *Art of Primitive Greece* (Vol. I. p. 120, citing Burnouf), gives further help in understanding how minute flint implements could be utilized in sundry ways : —

"In certain parts of Greece, Epirus, Thessaly, and Albania, the peasantry still use, to thrash out their corn, an instrument called ἀλωνίστρα, the tribulum of the Latins. It consists of a triangular board, provided on its lower face with pointed flakes or flints, in length about one centimetre, and one centimetre across. Upon this plank, drawn by a single horse, stands the conductor, whip and reins in hand. The sharp stones chop up the straw and beat out the grain from the husks. That obsidian was used until recent times is highly probable, since pieces of this material are often found on the sites of ancient threshing floors . . . . . Mr. Flinders Petrie lately discovered in the town of Kahan, formerly inhabited by workmen who built the Illahun pyramid, a sickle with wooden handle wherein blades of this kind [*scil.* flints] were fixed with mastic to the curved edge of the tool; a number of the flint fragments still adhered to the wood."

The general result of all the illustrations cited is that men could find many uses for even very minute flakes and points of flint, when securely mounted in handles of wood, bone, or horn.

Mr. Carlleyle's observations on the apparent association of the Vindhyan pygmy flints with cave-drawings, pottery and the practice of inhumation are of special interest as throwing some light upon the stage of development reached by the makers of the little implements. At first sight it may appear incredible that rude scrawls upon cave walls should have endured for three or four thousand years, but the supposition is not in reality difficult of belief. The pigment used by the primitive artists was hæmatite, iron sesquioxide or peroxide, which, by virtue of its chemical composition, is not liable to oxidation, the process by which the destruction of most other colouring materials is effected. If protected from mechanical injury there is no reason why drawings in iron peroxide should not last for countless millenniums, and the details given by Mr. Carlleyle leave little reason for doubt that the makers of the 'pygmies' were among the rude artists who, in the course of various generations, from time to time depicted scenes from their daily life on the walls of their poor habitations. It is most unfortunate that Mr. Carlleyle's copies of the drawings have not been published; but, luckily, the late Mr. J. Cockburn took some copies of similar drawings in caves of the Kaimûr Hills, which have been preserved and in part given to the world.

The drawings were discovered in the year 1880 by both Mr. Carlleyle and Mr. Cockburn, working independently, the former in Rîwâ and Mirzâpur, the latter in the Bândâ District farther west. The first publication on the subject was a paper by Mr. Cockburn, entitled 'On the recent existence of *Rhinoceros Indicus* in the North-West Provinces, and a description of an archaic work painting from Mirzapur, representing the hunting of this animal' (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LII. (1883), Part II. pp. 56—64, with two plates ; abstract in *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1883, p. 123). At the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal before which this essay was read 'great doubt was expressed as to whether drawings made merely by hæmatite on the surface of sandstone could last in such perfect preservation for so long a time as was supposed by Mr. Cockburn,' who then was of opinion that the oldest drawings might be six or seven centuries old, but not older. Mr. Cockburn accepted the challenge thus offered, and showed good reason for believing that hæmatite might produce stains on sandstone capable of lasting for an indefinite time. He also modified his views concerning the antiquity of the cave drawings and was disposed to claim for them a very much older date than that which he assigned at first (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1884, pp. 141—5).

When I met Mr. Cockburn at Naini Tâl in 1898, he showed me copies of the drawings in his possession. I was much impressed by their interest and value and persuaded him to publish them.

Mr. Cockburn accordingly prepared a paper entitled 'Cave Drawings in the Kaimûr Range, North-West Provinces,' which appeared, with some notes added by me, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 99. The illustrations represented parts of three hunting scenes, reproduced on a very reduced scale. My impression is that these drawings collected by Mr. Cockburn are of very high antiquity, and it is quite possible that those found by Mr. Carlleyle in the distinct region explored by him may be much older still. The discoverers fully admit that the drawings in the caves and rock-shelters of both the Vindhyan and Kaimûr ranges vary widely in date and extend over a long period; but the fact that some of them are comparatively modern does not preclude us from assigning high prehistoric antiquity to the oldest.

Mr. Cockburn states that 'most of these nearly inaccessible caves, if there is any earth on the floor, form veritable museums of prehistoric antiquities in the way of flint knives, cores, arrow-heads, celts, fragments of fossil and charred bone, pottery, etc.' Col. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., who was warmly interested in the subject, undertook to describe the larger implements found, and produced a valuable paper, illustrated by three plates (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I., 1883). But Mr. Cockburn's promised account of the smaller implements was never published, and probably was never written. He has died since I quitted India in 1900. Consequently, it is impossible to say whether or not Mr. Cockburn found 'pygmy flints' in the Kaimûr caves, where, as already noted, Mr. Carlleyle obtained a few.

I cannot find any further record of the pottery discovered by Mr. Carlleyle in association with the 'pygmy flints.' He gives no detailed description, but simply calls it 'very rude.' No doubt, it was hand-made, without the aid of a wheel, and there is no difficulty in attributing such ware to the transition time when the palæolithic barbarism was disappearing before the more advanced neolithic incipient civilization.

The association of the practice of inhumation of whole bodies with the 'pygmies' is also an indication of high antiquity. It is well known that, as a rule, burial is older than cremation. In later, but still very early times, the Indians largely adopted the practice of burying the mutilated corpse in a narrow-necked jar, a repulsive custom probably imported from Babylonia.

To sum up, it is clearly established that 'pygmy flints,' that is to say, minute implements, ranging in size from $\frac{3}{16}$ths of an inch upwards, of well-marked characteristic forms, are found absolutely identical and in large quantity in the Vindhya and Kaimûr Hills, India, at Helwân, Egypt, in at least three English stations, in the valley of the Meuse, Belgium, Spain, and probably in many other localities. The profusion of specimens demonstrates that they were used for commonplace daily needs, and not only for special occasional purposes. This inference is further supported by the fact that in both India and England they occur on the floors of ordinary dwellings. They must have been utilized by being fitted into handles and holders, generally of wood, after the fashion practised in recent years by the Australian savages, and to some extent in Scandinavia during neolithic times. At one English station they occur *above* a peat-bed, but at another they were found *under* ten feet of peat, while in Belgium some forms are contemporary with the mammoth and rhinoceros. Evidently, therefore, the use of the 'pygmies' in some countries goes back to a very remote antiquity. Their origin is best explained by regarding them as a development of the minute flakes used by palæolithic man; and their occurrence in association with neolithic implements at certain stations finds an explanation in the theory that they were the work of palæolithic survivors reduced to submission and dependence by more advanced races which had attained to the neolithic stage of incipient civilization.

If my reasoning should find acceptance, the mystery of the origin, use, and distribution of 'pygmy flints' may be regarded as being in large measure cleared up. I hope that the problem will receive further discussion by persons possessing wider knowledge of prehistoric archæology than I can claim to have acquired.

THE RELIGION OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLES.

BY THE LATE C. P. TIELE.

(Translated by G. K. Nariman.)

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV. p. 66.)

5. Was the reformation influenced by Semitism?

THE theory has often been advanced that **the Zarâthushtrian reformation** has not sprung from a purely Aryan origin, but that it exhibits obvious indications of a **Semitic influence.** This is not impossible. **Assyrians,** and, prior to them, even Babylonian kings, according to their annals and the accounts of their wars, not only repeatedly extended their conquering expeditions into the depths of Media, but founded colonies there before the Aryans had gained the upperhand, or even perhaps made a settlement a long while previous to their domination of the country. Occasionally we find Assyrian sovereigns as overlords of undoubtedly Aryan princes of Media or Persia or as arbiters between the latter. The description given by Herodotus (1, 98) of the citadel of Ecbatana, the Median metropolis, reminds us of the Zikurats, the terrace temples of the Babylonians and the Assyrians. At any rate, the Babylon-Assyrian empire was the immediate neighbour, whose advanced culture must of itself have impressed the gifted young and undeveloped Aryan community, who stood below them in knowledge, arts and refinements of life. When the most powerful empire on the Euphrates and the Tigris finally fell to ruins, the martial Aryans became the masters of all Assyria as far as the Halys and eventually of Babel. In many respects they now became the pupils of their subjects. The Persian architecture and sculpture, the Persian cuneiform script, and the later Persian alphabet are all imitations perhaps of Elamite, but undoubtedly of Assyrian and Aramaic, prototypes, although the Aryan genius does not belie itself in its methods of assimilation and simplification. Over the head of the sacrificing kings on the reliefs we notice a winged figure hovering, which marks the supreme Deity of Assur. Borrowed by the Assyrians from the Egyptians, it is taken over by the Persians, not direct from the latter but from the former, and adapted to serve as a symbolic representation of Ahura Mazda or his Fravashi. And may not the religious ideas themselves have been touched by this Semitic influence? It was well known to the Greeks that the Persians were highly susceptible to what was foreign and were ever prone to adopt it.

However plausible this may appear by itself, still no scholar has succeeded in proving to demonstration that Semitic conceptions have actually co-operated in the production of the Zarathushtrian religion.[26]

Stray words and the objects they connoted may have been received from the Semites, and others originally Iranic may have had their significance modified owing to their intercourse with them, but such instances of concord are scant, in part extremely dubious, and on the whole they date from no high antiquity. With regard to what the Achæmenides borrowed from the Semitic races or to what they adopted in imitation of them, for instance the symbol for **Ahura Mazda,** and subsequently under Artaxerxes II., the goddess who was called **Anahita** by the Persians, the simple answer is that it has nothing to do either with the genesis or the evolution of the *latria* of Mazda, which at the period in question had long since been consolidated and was in fact on the decline. Much emphasis is laid on the circumstance that Mazda is called **the creator** of heaven and earth, men and beasts, and everything besides. This it is contended is no Aryan conception, and must, by consequence, have

[26] The great advocate of the hypothesis that a tangible portion of the doctrine of the *Avesta* must be Semitic, is F. von Spiegel, who has repeatedly defended it. See especially his essays "Der einfluss des Semitis mus auf das Avesta" and "Zur Geschichte des Dualism" in his *Arische Studien*, 1, pp. 46 *seq.* and 62 *seq.* My criticism has reference to these treatises.

been derived from the Semites; and the more so because both Jew and Persian express the notion by words which primarily mean to "cut." Thus it is argued, the Babylonian creator Marduk cuts in twain Tiamat, the cosmic Titan, as does also Bel, in Berossos, his own head. It is all pure fantasy. The words which the Jew, the Persian and likewise the Vedic Indian employ to denote creation all signify cutting, but in the sense of "forming," "making," "carpentering," "building."[27] That this idea is Semitic, and *ergo* non-Aryan, is one of the scientific dogmas which pass current, and yet it cannot bear the test of close scrutiny. That one or more exalted beings have created, that is, made, shaped, or constructed the world, is neither a Semitic nor an Aryan view, but one which is universally human and which we encounter among every people. The idea that the world has "become," in materialistic or pantheistic sense, is the outcome of later speculation.

Not more tenable is the theory that the **dualism** which stands out so prominently in the Zarathushtrian system must be a loan from the Semites equally with the cognate doctrine of resurrection and retribution.[28] The fact is quite the reverse. True, we meet with these conceptions in the Semites, but among them they are not genuinely indigenous. For with them the sovereignty is the fundamental and all-pervading religious principle out of which issue, as a mature fruit, their rigid monotheism, — a monotheism less philosophic than religious. Dualistic beliefs are by no means uncommon in all ancient religious systems. They are an outcome of the most primeval myths about light and darkness, the wars between the beneficent and the demoniac agencies of the heavens. And the dualism found among the Iranians is in the same way traceable to the same sources. Its bald outline among them, and more especially in Zarathushtrianism, can be explained on historical grounds, — mainly from their relation as the ruling, though perhaps numerically weaker, nation to the earlier inhabitants of the land and from their relation as a small body of believers to the devotees of the *daevas*.

Recently one step still further has been taken. It is alleged that so far back as prior to the reform of Zarathushtra, before the separation of the Iranians and Indians in the East Aryan age, Semitic influences were already at work. To them the number "**seven**" of the highest beings of the Vedic Adityas, as well as of the Zarathushtrian Amesha Spentas, owes its abstract and ethical, and therefore non-Aryan, trait of origin. Accordingly, the Semitic features which we come upon in Zarathushtrianism need not be ascribed to direct contact. They were already existing in the popular religion from which Zarathushtrianism took its rise. Now this hypothesis, unnecessary to account for the facts, appears to me in the last degree improbable. Historically, such a commerce between the still united Indo- and Perso-Aryans and the Semitic tribes, who had ascended to a comparatively superior ethico-religious level, is scarcely imaginable. This much is possible: the number "seven" was borrowed, for it does play an important rôle not only in the theology but also in the philosophy of the Iranians and the Indians. All the same it is not of Semitic origin. It belongs rather to the ancient aborigines of West and Central Asia, on whose civilization the Semites grafted their own. And

[27] The Hebrew *bara* is compared with the *Avesta* expressions for creation, — *thwaresh*, *taksh*, and *twaksh* — but it is omitted to be remembered that the *Veda*, too, uses words of like import. Compare *Rig-Veda* 11, 12 and X, 21, and *Atharva-Veda* IV, 2; also see Oldenberg, *Die Hymnen des Rig-Veda* 1, p. 314 *seq.* Consider at the same time the old god Twashtr and the younger Vishvakarman, the arch-maker of all. My colleague, Dr. W. H. Koster, has had the kindness to have all the passages in the Old Testament examined where the word *bara* occurs. With three exceptions, they are all exilic or post-exilic, and evidently nowhere is the sense of "cutting" intended and even in the oldest places it indicates nothing but "to make" with reference to things as well as men. It was not till later times that the term was applied to the creation of heaven and earth.

[28] Spiegel goes so far as to assert that the Persian dualism, because unknown to Herodotus and Xenophon and not mentioned in the inscriptions of the Achæmenides, must be of younger origin; although he concedes that it is thought in the oldest *Avesta* documents and was known to the Greeks since the 4th century B. C. As for Xenophon, his romance is no authority, and as to Herodotus from 1, 140 it is evident he understood something of the Persian dualism. The Achæmenides write no dogmatics and they mention evil genii, and, above all, denounce the spirit of Lie with the same emphasis as the *Avesta*. Add to it all that the most ancient texts of the *Avesta* could not have been written subsequent to the 5th centuty B. C., as has been shown above.

the Iranians had no need to borrow it, inasmuch as they found it — witness the citadel of Ekbatana — among the older inhabitants of their own land. The occurrence in Zarathushtra's system of a few very un-Aryan usages, such as the practice of neither cremating nor interring the corpses, but of surrendering them to birds or dogs, has to be attributed more to their influence than to the Semites. And perhaps the preponderance of the magical in the cult of the Mazdayasnian is to be laid to the same account.

I will not deny the possibility, nay the comparative probability, of **the Iranian faith being affected by the Semitic.** There are indeed individual features other than the aforesaid which point that way. To give an illustration, the names or epithets of the Amesha Spentas, but pre-eminently of Ahura Mazda in the *Ormazda Yasht*, which are eulogised as the most potent, the most sovereign, and the most lethal incantations against Satan, sound in reality more Semitic than Aryan. But the *Yasht* is of a much later date. If the reformers took a loan from the Semites, these Semites must be verily the Babylonians and Assyrians. And though there is no absolute lack of congruity between the religious systems of both the nations, we should not overlook the immense and radical differences. In both, the good and the evil spirits are antagonistically opposed to each other, and as the Zarathushtrian, so also the Babylonian, strives to avert and repel the evil by spells of mysterious virtue and by magical manipulations. Nevertheless the Babylonian reveres the malefacent genii, and respects and treats them at least as divinities; while it is totally otherwise with the Zarathushtrians. With them, Ahura Mazda resides high in the heaven, and **Angro Mainyu** in the dismal depths of the infernal regions. Among the Babylonians **Anu** and **Bel** are pitted each against the other. But it is from Anu that issue the seven most pernicious existences, and Bel but executes, when he approaches with his chastisements, the sentence pronounced by Anu, receiving the supreme homage due to the godhead. The good wise god **Ea,** ever ready to absolve, who most resembles Ahura Mazda, tenants the depths of the ocean.

It is therefore preferable, so long as no solid historical proof is forthcoming, to regard Zarathushtrianism as a national movement, whatever causes may have called it into being in one of the clans of the Iranian peoples.

6. Mazda Ahura.

Hymns like the **Gâthas** furnish no theological system, no sharply-defined conception of the Deity. This they have in common with all the religious writings of antiquity. Even in the *Veda* we look for it in vain. The *Upanishads* in which we find the first impetus to speculation about the origin of things are the termination of the *Vedas*, and are called *Vedanta*. However, the idea which the prophets of the *Avesta* give of the highest of their deities in their sermons, is expressed with sufficient plainness, and, what is of greater importance, are uniformly and essentially the same in all their poetry.

This most exalted and, properly speaking, **the only God is called Mazda Ahura.** That the authors of the songs were fully cognisant of the significance of this name follows from the manner and way in which, as we saw above, they use this designation; for they put sometimes Mazda, sometimes Ahura, foremost, while occasionally they content themselves with the mention of only one term. They knew perfectly well that they were employing not a single proper name, but a two-fold epithet, which was meant to express the highest characteristic of their conception of God. "Thou who art named by the name Mazda Ahura," addresses him one of these psalms.[29] **Mazda means much-knowing or all-wise,** a God that can be conceived of only in a school of theologians. Mazda Ahura has never been a nature-god. It is possible that a nature-god can be celebrated and glorified on account of his wisdom and science. Thus Ea, the old Chaldean divinity, is styled "Lord of

[29] *Yasna* 45, 10, *ye anmene mazdao sravo ahura.*

Wisdom." But there it is a title or epithet, not a personal or proper name. Now, whether or no the etymological significance of Ahura be the "being," the "living" (cognate with the Indian Asura, which may be rendered by "spirit"), we have here no warrant for taking into consideration any sense but that of the "Lord." For it is in this sense that the word is used in the whole of the *Avesta,* in the *Gâthas* it being applied not to the denizens of heaven alone but also to mankind. It is only in one passage where Mazda is described as the being most worthy of worship, as the father of Vohumano, and the creator of Asha, that we may surmise an allusion to the original import of the term.[30] Lord, however, he remains in the widest meaning of the word, without doubt. He is omnipotent over all, rules according to his own pleasure, and after the resurrection and the renovation of the creation will dominate the pious, and now controls not only these but exercises his authority over the wicked, over all who fill his followers with terror and threaten with perdition.[31] Every page of the *Gâthas* testifies to his superiority to all that is created.

This Mazda, who remains unaltered in nature and character to this day, is the creator of all things, terrestrial and celestial, spiritual and material.[32] The verses which sing these facts are instinct with poetry. Here is a classical hymn:—[33]

This I ask Thee; aright Ahura tell me;
Who ever earth and sky from falling guardeth?
Who hath save Thee brought forth rivers and forests?
Who with the winds hath yoked racers to storm-clouds?
Who of the good man's grace ever was source?

This I ask Thee; aright Ahura tell me;
Who with skilled hand the light made, who the darkness?
Who with wise deed hath giv'n sleep or waking?
Who hath Auroras spread, noontides and midnights?
Warning discerning man, duty's true guide.

Thus ask I Thee; aright Ahura tell me;
Who in production first was Asha's father?
Who suns and stars save Thee their path hath given?
Who thins the waning moon, or waxing filleth?
This and still other works, Lord, would I know.

This I ask Thee; aright Ahura tell me;
Are these in very deed truths which I utter?
Doth zeal in our actions further Thy statutes?
To Thine through Thy Good Mind the Realm didst Thou offer?
Who didst Thou make the Kine mother to glad?

Thus ask I Thee; aright Ahura tell me;
Who in Thy kingdom has set blest Devotion?
Who, wise, hath made son dutiful to the father?
With this, for full knowledge, Mazda, I press Thee;
Giver of all Thou art, Spirit kind.

30 *Yasna* 31, 8, *Angheush ahurem shyaothaneshu.* "Anghu" is properly "what exists" and so connotes "life" as well as the "world."

31 *Vase khshayas, Yasna* 43, 1; 30, 8; 48, 9.

32 *Yasna* 31, 7.

33 [I take the liberty of reproducing Mill's almost Miltonic version, rather than the learned author's rigidly scientific translation. What the former has not attempted in precision it has achieved in the spirit, which perhaps makes a nearer approach to the Gathic original — TR.]

This ask I Thee ; aright Ahura tell me ;
What is Thy doctrine's word to teach and ponder?
That I may ask Thine hymns filled with Thy Good Mind
Those which through Truth reveal our tribes' perfection ;
How can my soul advance? Let it thus be.[34]

It is evident from the above that it is not the material world only which owes its existence to Mazda, and this is inculcated with greater emphasis in many another verse. He is the prime inaugurator and father of the ethical order of creation, the creator of Vohumano, the fashioner of the lovely Armaiti and Khshthra. The whole world glorifies its maker.[35]

Deeds that I do, O Lord,
and deeds
still further ;
And what to
believing eye
shone bright of yore,
stars, suns, auroras
too,
each day's light-bearers
In praise of you
are all
through Asha's lore.[36]

We often come upon in the *Gâthas* and also in the younger *Avesta*, a creature which must detain us here a moment — **Geush Tashan.** This originator of cattle, as it may literally be called, is mentioned generally together with **Geush Urva,** the soul of cattle and also with **Geush Azyao,** the soul of the mother-kine. The second hymn of the first *Gâtha* contains a colloquy between Geush Urva and the divine powers, among them Geush Tashan. The former complains that she has been exposed to the attacks of Aeshma and Rema, and that she finds no protector, except the two divine spirits to whom she adheres, but whom she does not mention by name. To all appearance, they are Mazda and Asha. Geush Tashan asks Asha what arrangement she has made with regard to the cattle, inasmuch as the latter have a right to masters who zealously take care of and cherish them, to guardians who should defend them from the violence of miscreants. Asha acknowledges that the cattle have as yet no such keeper, but that he himself will lend his assistance, though the ultimate event must rest with Mazda. Again, Mazda admits that though the cattle are created for the herdsman and peasants, no pious faithful master was appointed over them, and adds that now Zarathushtra will appear to proclaim the Law of Mazda and Asha, and that he will, in virtue of it, constitute himself the guardian power of the cattle. Now Geush Urva indeed complains that she would much rather have a man of puissance, a sovereign for her care-taker. She, however, has to rest content with Zarathushtra. We have here an example, and the oldest one in the *Avesta*, of how **the Zarathushtrian reformers and their later followers drew upon popular belief for the propagation of their peculiar doctrine.** Here we have a piece of the ancient mythology transformed into a Zarathushtrian homily. The myth is well known. Two protoplasms were first created: one of cattle, and the other of a creature in human shape. Both were killed in the subsequent Zarathushtrian system, as may be expected, by Angra Mainyush, but originally by the creator, or rather by a creator. Then sprang human beings from the last-named protoplasm, the

[34] *Yasna* 44, 3—7. The form in which this doctrine is announced, that of rhetorical questions, is not unusual also in the *Veda*. See *Yasna* 31, 11.

[35] *Yasna* 31, 9 ; 45, 4 ; 48, 6 ; 51, 7.

[36] *Yasna* 50, 10.

first of them being **Gayomaratan or life-mortal.** From the steer that was slain arose a number of edible plants and medicinal herbs, and from its semen, which was purified in the moon, the whole animal world, the first of them being a pair of cattle. The **Urva or the soul** of the slaughtered kine went like the souls of all the dead to heaven. This much served the poet to represent the new prophet as the protector of agriculturists and cattle-breeders, and to recommend him as against the wandering nomadic tribes.

Of those who take part in the colloquy is **Geush Tashan, the fashioner of the kine.** He is not identical with Ahura Mazda, because the all-wise Lord can scarcely learn from Asha what measures were contemplated for the safety of the kine. Asha, though differentiated from Mazda, co-operated with him, so far as wisdom and order are concerned. Again, Geush Tashan is here, as well as in other passages of the *Gâthas*, very distinctly distinguished from Mazda.[37] He belongs to the primeval folklore, where he figured as a creator or rather a fashioner, and in the Zarathushtrian system he is converted into a subordinate genius who engenders from the kine that was first created, plants, vegetables, and beasts. Originally he was the creator absolute who killed the cosmic steer and thereby called to life or existence the phenomenal world. (Compare how **Maruduk** created the world by cutting in twain the cosmic Titan called Tiamat.) According to another Old Aryan myth, the creation emanated from a being which had a human form. Comparing Gayomaratan in the *Avesta* with the Purusha of the *Veda*, we learn that this creation-myth was formerly confined in the East Aryan period to the explanation of the origin of man. But as both of them were assimilated to the Zarathushtrian system, the one about the kine was limited in its scope to the production of cattle, and thus Geush Tashan became the source of only a part of things. Who he was in the Old Aryan mythology we have no doubts. He was none other than **Mithra.** One needs but to look at the monuments of Mithra, in which the triumphant god of light thrusts his dagger into the throat of the steer, in order to recognise in him a pendant to the Babylonian Bel Marduk and the prototype of the Geush Tashan of the *Avesta*. And let it be observed that *tâsh* originally means to cut.

We have to discriminate between the created steer and **the cow,** which brings good fortune and diffuses blessings (*ranyoskeretî*). A careful investigation of all the passages of the *Gâthas*, where it occurs, demonstrates that it is not a kind of the type of cattle but rather a mythical symbolization of the whole material world, and, as a rule, the earth.[38]

But to return to **Mazdu Ahura the creator.** It is he to whom men look up — to him the author of all — for bounteous blessings in this life and in the existence the other side of the grave, — "in the two worlds" or "in the two lives" as the common formula runs. Man here is convinced as in all antiquity that the righteous merit reward. Good fortune is the reward for the faithful fulfilment of duty towards the deity, a reward to which he who does not cease to sing his praises has the prime claim. And all the celestial gifts and endowments are generally comprehended in "vigour and endurance" for this world and *haurvatat* and *ameretat* or eternal "salvation and immortality" for the next.[39] On a single occasion a poet rises to higher level, singing that Mazda dispenses weal and woe as seems to him right.[40] Another bard assures us that God has in his hands blessings for the evil-doer and the devout, which are bestowed upon them through the medium of the sacrosanct fire.[41]

[37] *Yasna* 31, 9, where Tasha is in the nominative, Mazda in the vocative, and where Ahura has wrongly been taken to mean an earthly ruler.

[38] A striking instance is furnished by *Yasna* 44, 20, where we are told that the heathen priests and minstrels (the *karpans* and *usij*) surrendered the kine (*gam*) to Aeshma by, *inter alia*, not watering it and thus omitting to prepare it for the husbandman. The watering of cattle would indeed be a strange preparation for agriculture, nor is it usually a cow that is employed for the purpose.

[39] *Yasna* 34, 13; 50, 1; 51, 7.

[40] *Yasna* 45, 9. Mills renders the verse differently, gives in a footnote the alternative translation, "who has created weal and sorrow for us with good intention," but regards the latter as hardly probable, because "Ahura did not originate evil." — *S. B. E.* XXXI. p. 128.

[41] *Yasna* 43, 4.

Mazda is accordingly often styled **Spenta Mainyush or Spentotema**, which is generally translated by the "holy spirit" and the "most holy spirit," though, properly speaking, the words indicate "salvation-giving" and the "most beneficent." We shall examine later on how far this is related to the dualism and to what extent an adverse spirit is opposed to this benevolent deity. The same epithet of honor — beneficent — is bestowed upon heavenly beings, chiefly Armaiti. So far as I can judge, sanctity, in the Mosaic or the Christian sense of the term, is an idea foreign to the *Gâthas*, though the concept of holiness underlies the personified abstractions of Asha and Vohumano.[42]

If he is, as his common name connotes, the all-wise and the omniscient, he is likewise expressly denominated **the all-seeing** (*vispa-hishas*) who cannot be imposed upon, the watch-keeper (*hara*) whose eyes observe not only what is planned openly but what is designed in secret, the arbiter (*vihira ahura*) or judge who knows all that men and the *daevas* have done or will do.[43] And it is of a piece with this omniscient conception of the deity that the commerce between the believers and their God should be a perpetual form of interrogation — "This I ask of Thee, tell me aright O Ahura."[44] Man ever seeks to learn from him not *ars vivendi* alone, but guidance and direction, in electing what is best and knowledge of the origin of creation. At times when the response seems to be delayed, the faithful in despair longs for a token that Ahura Mazda, Asha, and Vohumano exist so that he might approach and sing hymns to them. And not the sage alone, but the pastor also, directs his enquiry to him who "ruling over his creatures in justice in consonance with decrees of law" prescribes the moral constitution of the world.[45]

Sometimes Mazda Ahura is addressed in the plural and in two places Mazd*as* Ahur*as* are spoken of.[46] The recently proposed translation "**Mazda and the Gods**" may be philologically incontrovertible, but it conflicts with the meaning of Ahura and runs counter to the spirit of the Zarathushtrian doctrine. For properly speaking, it knows no gods. In the inscription of the Persian kings local gods are mentioned along with Ahura Mazda, to whom the people and the royal house adhered. This does not seem to have been regarded without resentment by strict Mazdayasnians and to have been reluctantly tolerated by the spiritual authorities. The priests and theologians indeed recognised Yazatas, "adored and adorable beings," but they would have none of the gods proper. Those were idols, *daevas*. I am therefore of opinion that here we have a collective noun like the Hebrew Elohim, or the modern Persian Yazdan. In Mazda are comprehended all the Ahuras, a whole class of gods from the East Aryan period, probably from a still anterior epoch; all that is godly is united in him. Hence probably the plural which occurs only in one *Gâtha* and was obviously not generally used.[47]

However pure and in many a respect lofty this conception of God on part of the old Zarathushtrian prophets may be, still even for those ancient times it is neither unthinkable nor unique. Compare what is here said of Mazda Ahura with what is said in the *Veda* of Varuna, the Asura, and the resemblance is perceptible and the difference negligible. The difference lies in this that, whereas Varuna is the supreme deity of a still strongly polytheistic religion, the principal figure in a rich system of mythology, the **Mazda Ahura** of the Zarathushtrian is, if not in the strictest sense, **an only God**, the only one among all the celestial beings who can truly be called God, and one that is exalted high above his satellites and servants. Besides, Varuna has a rival in the cult; Mazda Ahura, properly speaking, has none, though others also are invoked along with him. No Indra disputed with him precedence in his own council. Reference indeed is made in an anthropomorphic sense to his body, his hand, his mouth, his tongue, his eyes, but not otherwise than what the

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[42] *Yasna* 45, 4; 51, 7; 43. [43] *Yasna* 43, 6; 45, 4; 29, 4. [44] *Yasna* 44; 31; 14—21.
[45] *Yasna* 28, 11; 30, 11; 31, 3; 34, 6, &c. [46] *Yasna* 29, 1; 28, 2; 30, 4 and 9.
[47] In all there are four passages in the *Ahunavaiti* hymns. Mazda and the other Amesha Spentas cannot be meant for in all the passages. One or other of them is separately cited by name, as *Yasna* 28, 2.

prophets and poets of Israel are wont to do in respect of Jahve. And when Asha Aramaiti and Vohumano, and, above all, Atar or fire are called his sons and daughters, let it be remembered that the first three are in fact personified abstract concepts and the fire a spirit, so that it is more symbolisation than mythology, and that it in no manner exceeds what the eighth Proverb expresses about wisdom and what Job i. says about the sons of God. But even in Varuna not much of the mythical is left behind, and he is hardly a less ethical conception of God than Mazda Ahura, omniscient and all-seeing like the latter, severe in chastisement, and a formidable protector of justice and veracity. **Those who were familiar with a personified idea of God in Varuna had but to prolong the line a little to arrive at the presentment of Mazda.** But at all events this was somewhat modified very early in Iran, in fact as soon as the creed, with its spread over larger area, lost much of its purity and nobleness, represented by the singers of the oldest odes. Nevertheless, Mazda Ahura remained the great God, the only God proper.

(To be continued.)

THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL) IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.

1654—1670.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 178.)

I STANDINGE at a distance, the L^{d} my freinde p̃sented me & said, Allaa geere [*'Ālamgīr*], y^{t} is, may it please yo^{r} highnesse Emperror of the world, I haue brought y^{u} heere a Traveller that can Cast Gunns.

The Emp$^{r.}$ likt it well, & Questioned me whence I caime. I told him I was a traveller & an Englĩmman. Before I could speake againe, he s^{d} to his 2^{d}, y^{e} Duan, Am'ar'ra golum se'fect adam' me' is kee pass a mar' ra' ra veis [*Hamārah ghulām safēd admī, is ke pās hamārā ra'īs?*], My slave I thinke has whitemen as we are. In y^{t} tyme y^{e} L^{d} my fr^{d} w^{ch} stood by me whisperd, Je voc'cat Couch mut' cau [*Yeh waqt kuchh mat kaho*], Say nothing more at this tyme.

The Emp^{r} deld [delivered] me into y^{e} hands of y^{e} L^{d} my freind Scyat Cawne [Sayyid Khān], wth 20 Sarv^{ts} to attend on me, Appoyntinge me a larg place & Commanded w^{tt} ever I cald for to be given me, Gold, money, Brass, Copper & sarv^{ts} to worke at my appoynt^{m}ṭ.

When I had made 8 Moulds & my furnace, the Emper^{r} caime to see them & was much taken wth them. I told him My Moulds would be dry in 15 days; in y^{t} tyme he commanded me every day to Court & gave me 100 Moores [*mohars*] in gold, About 36s a ps Eng̃l money and had all pleasures in eating, drinking, Danceinge, Musique & w^{tt} hart could desire.

When my mould was drie & my furnasse made, w^{ch} did q^{t} [contain] 250 Tunns of mettle, Out of w^{ch} I did cast Eight whole cannon and 4 Morters, w^{ch} did carrie every one a shell of 160^{lb} pounds of poother, The weight of the shell beinge 450 pounds English, y^{e} thickness 9 inches threw. This beinge don of a ffryday morninge, I told y^{e} Emperror y^{e} Guns weere cast, but I wanted a Carpenter to make carrages. S^{d} y^{e} Emper^{r}, to morrow it cannot be don, it beinge theire Sabbath,[87] but next day it shall.

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[87] A mistake here. The Muhammadan Sabbath is kept on Friday.

I told him it was not vsuall in my Contrey to worke on that day. Sd he, does not my slave keepe yt day I doe. I said, we haue a rule from above, He sd, shew me yt rule. I said, if I may haue leave to speak for my selfe. He said, you haue & be not afferd, All his Lords being by. I then showed him Or bible. Sd he, then is this ye Evengell yt Issara Lau [*Īsā ar-rasūlu'llāh*] spooke, vizt. or Saviour. I sd, yes. Said he, haue yu Moyses law heere. Yes, sd I. With that he tooke the bible & Kist it, And said, I commend yu yt yu will keepe yt day appoynted.

Of Monday it was appoynted we should begin about ye Carrages. Of thursday after they weere redy, many hands imployed, I first haueing drowe ye figure for them to be made by. On fryday they weere butted by Ollyfants into ye feild and alsoe theire was Oxen.

Sd ye Emperrer, what vse are these Guns for. I told him they were for to breake downe Walls of Castles or stronge townes. Cann yu, Sd he, fyer them, Answer me. He cald for his owne Gunners. Sd ye Duan, Alla Geere [ʻAlamgīr], Ho' da' ne' go' dah [*Khudā nā kardā*], I haue red yt he wch makes a gunn must fyer hir himselfe. Ham' Catta' amarra but sonna' [*Ham kahtā hamārā bāt suno*], Doe as I bid yu, let my man fyer ye Gunns. 15 of them caime wch belonged to two Guns and a halfe, wch weere all yt he had in his Kingdome; ye Empr. required his Gunnrs to load ye gunns. They began, & wheere the Gunns should [have] had 50 lb poother, they gaue 20lb and put in ye shott first, filling ye touch hole full wth a horne poother. They loaded all 8 soe; yt don, they sd to ye Emperror, ye 8 Gunns are ready, But for ye Morters we know not how to medle wth them.

The Emperor out ragious against me, heareing wtt his Guard has sd, told me I had put him to great Charge & for noe purposs. I replied, let yor men fyer the Gunns they haue laden against a marke; ye Emperrer sd, what shall ye marke be. Sd I, noe fitter thinge then ye Ollyfants that brought them. Ke' te' na' dor' [*kitnā dūr*], at what distance. I said, Ada caas [*ādhā kōs*], wch is 600 paces. His Gunners fyred. The bals went 15 yds from ye Mouth of ye gunn. The Nobles cried, Bir'ka la [*barkatu'llah*], Its verry well don. The Emperror sd Noething, but seeinge ye smooke said, Dei' ca' a' mer ate' Morge [*Dekho hamārā izzat(?) mar-gayā*], Theirs none deade, Alla Geere ye catte [*ʻĀlamgīr yeh kahtā*]. The Emperror says, Bulla a' mer a' golum Ka, Go' lum [*Bulā hamārā ghulām kā ghulām*], call my slave. Ton' ca' ca' te' tom ouvall ny ca' te' ye' top durst Chellinga [*Tum kyā kahte! tum avval nahīṇ kahte yeh top durust chalenge?*] These Gunns yu said would Shoot well Against a marke. Durst ny Challinga to' mor' row seer Ja' my' ga [*durust nahīṇ chalenge tumhārā sir jāvēgā*], if they doe not shoot well yor heade shall goe. Ham' ca' ta' dar ou gulle deen [*ham kahtā dārū (bārūt?) gōlē dēn*], Give me poother and Shott. Sd ye Emperror, Bir' cal' la [*barkatu'llah*], in the naime of god thou shalt haue it. I loded these 8 Gunns and set them on theire right poynt, & then caime the Emperror & I told him I was redy. Ham ha zerha [*Ham ḥaẓir hai*], sd he, Hubber dar to morrow ser [*khabardār tumhārā sir*], which is, haue a care of yor heade. I shott ye first shott & shott ye Ollyfant throw the heade. Bass [*bas*], Sd ye Emperror, mat mor' mor' ra [*mat aur mārō*], doe not kill anie more of my Ollyfants; we will raise yu a wall against wch yu shall shoote, for we thinke this shott was by Chance. A sheete was sett vp against the wall wth a black spott in ye midle of it a foote squaire. I shott ye 2d shott and mist ye sheete, but at ye top of it shott into the wall a foote aboue it; the other two one after an other went into ye black spott.[88]

The Emperror reioyced at it and sd, It' in ne' ad'ame' bo gente, a' me' ra' Mu' lla'ck que ada'me'; it e' ne' ge'nte an mer'ra pass dalgere mut e mer' ra' paw pac' ca' ra' [*Itne ādmī bahut jānte, hāmāre mulk ke ādmī itne nahīṅ jānte, hamāre pās dalgīr mat, hamārā pāoṅ pakarō*], Engl thus, This man

[88] Mr. Irvine tells me that Manucci has a somewhat similar shooting story of an English gunner in Akbar's time, who, to get liquor, pretended he could not see the mark until he was drunk.

knowes much ; theires none of my Contrey knowes soe much. Be not afferd ; come to me & kiss my foote. This don, he p̃sented me wth 100 Moores [*mohars*] gold and told his Lords, haue a care of this man.

He calls his Gunnr to him & ye Cheife. He sd to him, are not yow ashamed that my slaue[s] slaue should doe better things then you can doe. Ham' bul gaa [*ham bhūl gayā*], Sd ye Gunnr, I am old & haue forgott.

Said the Emperor, theirs 4 Guns of his ladeinge. Take 2 of them and shoot one at the sheete, And if thou dost not hit it wth that, nor the Ollyfant wth the other, thou shalt be shot out of the Gunn : ffor its a shame a traveller should teach vs anie thinge in our Contrey, I beinge soe great an Emperror. The Gunner shott 2 shotts, but neither of them could be seene where they went, tho serch was mad by 100ds.

The Emperror cald me to him and sd, is ye two Gunns laden. Yes, sd I. Lash, Sd he, this man to ye Mouth of one of them. I told him it was not my profetion wth out I was forst. Sd ye Empr, wee forse none, we haue men enough to doe it, but, sd he, you will fyer ye Gunn. I replied, not wthout I am forst. Then cald ye Empr one of his L̃ds & commanded the Gunners sonn to be brought. He caime & sd, I am willinge to doe yr Command, but am affraid to goe neare the Gunn. The Emperror askt me if I could not make some thing yt he might stand at a distance, wch I did by a traine. The sonn fyred the Gunn, the father shot so in peeces as a bone of him was not to be found.

This beinge late, ye Emperror went to Court, & next morning com̃d [commanded] me to him. When I was come, Sd he, Toon' cob' cam geere [*tum khūb kām kīā*], Thou hast don verry good service.

Mdd They had noe poother till I made it. The Emperror desired me show him the vse of the little Gunns cald ye Mortar, wch I did ye next morninge ; & I caused Elleauen barrells of poother to be put into a little tower, wch tower I told the Emperror I would blow vp 700 paces from it. His answer was, its not possible. I sd he should see. The Emperror callinge all his nobles 2 days after, a multitude of people came besides. I had then all things redy, Advized the Emperror to retire to a hill at a distance. He sd he would stand by me, But p̃valed wth him to retire, But his 2d sonn said he would. I giveing fyer to my fuse wch was in my hand, ye Emperrors sonn run away. I fyred my shell, And 20 Minuts after my touch hole of my Morter, wch gave a great report & of a Suddan fell into ye topp of ye tower & ye shell split wthin ye tower among ye 11 Barrells of poother. Some of ye Nooble[s], standinge 1100 paces of, for 2 howers weere deafe wth ye report it gaue. Immediately ye Empr sent his Nobles to se if [I] weere not deade, And if alive to call me to him. When I caime to him, he rose vp & sd, ask a gift. I told him my desire was leave to Travell throw his Contrey. If it be, Sd he, to thy owne, its but a folly ; I will not part wth the. He beinge an Emperror, I durst say noe more. He gaue me An Ollyfant & said what estate yu demand it shalbe giuen. I said I was A traveller & what could I doe wth an estate.

He replied, he would take of those lingeringes and Content my Minde & soe returned to Court, giveinge his L̃ds command to take care I wanted not what I desired.

At 8 Clock At night I was sent for & feasted plentifully wth all sorts of drinks & meats & other greate temtations, a [s] Musick, dansinge weomen & singinge & sports ; yet I was Mallancholly, wch ye Emperror Observed. When ye Emperror rose to goe into the Maull [*maḥal*] or privey Chamber, I returned to my Lodgeings, But noe sooner theire, But a g̃rt Ld wth dansinge Weomen & Musique & 2 Ladys wch ye Emperror p̃sented to me to Chuse wch I liked for a wife. I Askt ye Old Ld, who I esteemed my freind, wtt it ment. Hee answerd, it was to make me a great man, ye Emperror delighting in yu. I wept, & told him my desire was for my Contrey, And yt my father

had sent for me & writt me if [I] did not come, I was ye cause to bring his gray haires in sorrow to ye graue. He askt if my frds weere Lords or what honor they had. I told him only Gentlemen & I a Tradsman.

Before this ye Emperror & ye Old Ld his freind tooke me privat And Exammoned Me in My religion vizt., If we had Moses Law, If we had ye Sacrifize of Abram And if we had ye p̃fetts, wch said Issara' sou' la law' [*Isā ar-rasūlu'llāh*] should come.

They haue litle of ye old testamt & vnderstand lesse. The Emp̃ askt of ye Creation from Adam. I had lernt my Cattechize and out of it, Mr Balls,[89] gaue them som̃e of or principalls. The Emperror caused it to be written in theire Language, And askt me what was ment by Orriginall sinn or Corruption of ye whole nature. For 6 days he & his Counsell debated it & at last Sd his Slaues slaue knew much. He askt how many wifes his slaue had, meaninge ye Kinge. I said but One. Issa' ra' sou' la 'law' [*Isā ar-rasūlu'llāh*] commands he should haue noe more. Wth that he smott his brest but sd noethinge in answer to yt, But said, Is'sa' ra soulalaw we read is to come. I said, he is alredy come & was in ye forme of Man, Relating his Birth, Sufferings, Merrackls And assention; & sd he will come againe, But it wilbe at the last day to iudgemt, ye good to life & ye bad to everlasting death. Wth that ye Emperr lift vp his eles to heaven & sd, Hodah mara cull [*Khudā hamārā āṅkh khōl*], Lord open my Eies, and Kist the Booke. He commanded me Seueral tymes to pray, Asking me to whome we praid, Sun or Moone. I told him we praid to God for all things throw ye Mediation of his sonn. He then caused me to show ye posture & to speake my prayer a Loud in their tong, & he & ye Ld my frd kneeled as I did & vsed the same postures I did in my prayer. This he commanded me often & kist ye bible & put it on his heade & would open it at venter & cause me read in yt place, And to tell him wtt it ment. I sd I was a tradesman & verry Ignorant in Is' sa' ra' la' sou' la' law' [*Isā ar-rasūlu'llāh*]. I know but little for my privat practice. Hee replied we knew much, & [was] might[y] Importunate to haue me instruct them in Issara sou la law, yts ye Gospell of or Savior. I did soe far as my weake Capassity served. The Emperror then sd, we never had anie to tell or teach vs in Issa' ra' la' sou' la' law', we would gladly be tought & importunate wth me. I said I would bringe wth me men, hable fully to instruct them to theire desire. The Empor had then granted me leaue to goe. He, ye Empr, sd they had herd theire weere xpians, but never one before was in his Contrey.

Mdd. Not only the Emperrer, but Gennerally all ye Court & Contrey, are Mightily inclined to be instructed, And are Gennerally affable, iust & witty, And a Contrey for plenty & riches, A good Climate And Grandure of State of ye Emperror. All yt ever I saw not to be Compared wth it, men & weomen Beautifull, & of stature, & white.

In this Contrey are abondance of Ollyfants bredd. They haue but one in 3 yeares, some tymes two they bring forth. They are verry loveing & intelligeable Creatures & will doe ought tought. I haue seene them weepe when they haue beene Commanded wtt theire strenth would not doe; they vnderstand words & will goe an errand.

The Emperror Kills in his Kitchin every day 3 : 4 : 5 : or 6, not yt he eats anie, tho they are rare food, but for Gandue [Grandeur] yt noe prince in ye world can doe ye like. Anie tought Ollifant theire is worth 6: 700 lb some 2000, but untought, anie size, 500 pounds.

Againe I was Importuned to stay, but as before wept & told them wtt I had don was for my liberty, elce I would [have] chosen rather to die. This Ld. replied, was it not better beinge made a Ld, And wthall told me ye Emperror would send for me & threaten me, but resenting [feeling for] my greefe, Sd to me, be not affraid, I will stand yor freinde, & tho ye Emperror threaten you

[89] John Ball, a Puritan Divine, was the author of "A short Catechisme," published in 1648.

continew yor resolution, for its not his Custome to forsse anie or ye Law or Custome of his Contrey against yor will, But haue a care of those weomen, for if you haue to doe wth them you must Marry & then you are tyed to ye Contrey for life.

A lord, a setter,[90] brought the 2 Ladys ye Emperrer had p̃sented to me to his howse, where he had invited me to be merry & tooke occatiô & all ye Men to goe out & Leaue them two wth me. The[y] talked to me, but I was sad, soe One [of] them came vppon my lap & kist me, On wch this Ld came in And said, now the business is don. The Old Ld, my freind, askt me If I had to doe wth either. I said noe. They then tooke ye Ladys to taske, And she yt Kiss me Sd she see me sad & would haue put me out of it, but only a Kisse she gaue past betwixt vs.

Eight days tyme this was theire play. But still I was firme in my resolution throw god that strenthened me, And when ye Emperror se it, he marveld, And said since I was not willing to serve him, did I thinke I could serve a better Maister. I said, if I served anie I would serve him. He desired, since I was resolued to travell, I would show one of his men the [way] to vse ye Morter, which I did for 14 days together, but all was lost laber, for we are sworne not to teach anie or art who servs not prentice to it. Soe the Gunns & Morters left are but as Charracters that an Englishman hath beene theire, a Subiect to the Kinge of England, Whose armes are cast vppon each of ye Gunns & Morters & vnder J. C., wth ye picture of a Lyon Over each Trunnell [trunnion].

Mdd I had one of his Maities great Seales from my Ld Belmount,[91] by wch I cast his armes.

The Emperror, seeinge the Kings armes, demanded what they weere. I was Jealous [afraid] he might be angry, But for my liberty did tell him that it was my kings armes. Sd he, is this my slaues print. He hath gotten as hansome armes as I. The nobleman who I tought ye use of the Gunns & Morter was wth my selfe sent for next morninge. The Emperrer askt him if he had lernt well. He said, yes. Sd the Emperror to me, is it trewth he says. Yes, sd I.

Then I begged ye Emperrs P̃don for my asking him a passe. Sd he, haue you a minde to goe. Yes, Sd I, wth leaue. He Sd, pan' o' hadan [*nām-i-Khudā*], Goe in ye naime of god. He askt me if I was intinded to travell wth my Ollyfant. I answerd, I could not travell in that state. He then commanded his secretary to give me a pass & wth it I had p̃sented a horss & 300 Moores [*mohars*] in gold wth 4 horssmen to gard me to ye next great Citty Cald Elba 220 Leagues from Paula van the Emperrors Court.

The Emperror yt morning I was to part caime wth his Nobles to my Lodging, haueing before beene told what I had don in my Chambers, And vewed the Kings Armes, wch Cost, those over ye Gate of ye howse assigned me & in my Lodgeings, Gilding 60 lb pounds Engl money vall.

He Commanded a great Cup of gold, set wth some stones of vallew, to be given him wth wyne, & Dranke, & sd to me, Tell my slaue, meaning ye King my Master, I drinke to him & houe [hove, threw] me ye Cup wch is yet in beinge; saying, I wonder my slaue will not soe much as write or send to me.

When he went away in his pattenkeene [palanquin] or Sedan, the Chaire of gold wth pretious Jemms & ye Barrs gold, Carried by 30 men, I being on foote, he beckned to me to get vpon my horsse or pattenkeene, for I had both, But I laid my hand on ye Barr of his chaire & went a foote as all his Lords did, & Comeinge to ye gate of his pallas, Sd the Emperror to his Nobles, See how my Slaues Slaue honors me. And askt me, does my slaue, meaning the King, goe thus, on mens shoulders.

[90] ? An on-setter, a tempter. See the use of the word in this sense later on.

[91] This was Henry Bard, created Lord Bellomont by Charles I. and sent by him on a mission to India as Ambassador. Bellomont died in India in June 1656. Mr. Irvine, who supplied me with these particulars, has collected all available material as to this mission.

My answer was, may I speak wth boldnesse, my Kinge is not to be carried but Rides on horss back to Charge his enemie. Yee' Cotta a' mar' ra go' lam sou' pa' ha [*Yeh kahtā hamārā ghulām sipāhī hai*]. Sd ye Emperror, My Slaue is a noble Soldier, Hodah a' ca' la [*Khuda ta'āla*], God blesse him. Too Ruxud ha [*Tū rukhṣat hai*], you haue leaue to goe, pan' oh' ada [*nām-i-Khudā*], Goe in the Naime of God.

That day, about 3 Clock in the after noon, I tooke my leave; 6 Engl mile 4 of his Lds conveyed me or accompanied me. Wee caime to a garden. They, haueinge brought Wine & store of pvitions, Wyne past freely & merry wee weere, And in my wyne tempted me ernestly to returne, Saying, The Emperror is vext at you, you hadd better goe back. Sd my Old Ld & freind, whome I pray god blesse, these are On setters.[92] I sd noe thing, But next morning, being Sunday, they staying all night, I tooke Leaue, And went towards a great Citty, Cald Car'ra'pa'. Wheere ever I caime, theire was not ought to pay. Att this Citty, Car'ra'pa [Kaḍapa, Cuddapah], wch is 250 Leagues from pau'lavan the Emperrors Court, They sent me out a tent, for its not the Custome of that Contrey for strangers to enter their towne.

The Governer, after pvitions was sent me, caime out to se my pass, haueing first herd wtt I had don at Cort, demanded of me wtt Nouells [news] I had seene in my travells. I answerd, None.

From Car'ra'pan [Cuddapah] to Grun'ca'nda' [Golconda] is 470 Leagues. Its a great Citty & wth much troble I past it, being on the borders of ye Contrey. When I caime, the Gouerner of it demanded my passe, wch I showed him. Sd he, ye Emperror is Emperrer where you had this pass, And I am kinge heere. You must give me Acct of yor Travells; To' mor' row kow' she' ha' shom' man ra' se ham ra' se hau' [*tumhārā khushī hai so maiṅ rāẓī ham rāẓī hōṅ*] yt is, yor wilbe don. We, Sd he, haue an ordr from ye Emperrer to stop you heere. I replied, I haue don service for ye Emperror. Sd he, I haue Order to put you in preson, And thinke not ye worss of me for obayinge my Maister. Ho' da' ca was tom such cau [*Khudā ke wasṭē tum sach kahō*], yt is, Will you say you will come hether againe. I sd yes, if I haue life & helth. Is wast tomorrora ruxud ley [*is wasṭe tumhārā rukhṣat le*], Because of this you haue yor leaue. I was not pmitted to come into his fort or Citty, but he put out a tent. On a fryday morning early, being ye 26 May 1668, When I caime, Sd he, hath my Prince del[t] nobly wth you. Ans: yes. Sd he, I had an order to stopp you wth civillity, but not by forsse. This Gouerner had herd what I had don at Cort, pvided me a banquet to tempt me, and after showed me some sport verry terrable for me to see.

A propper man as ever I saw, wth his eies in his neck, his face as I, only wthout eies. What thinke you of this. I sd it was not of man but of god, an Example. Sd he, is god in yor Contrey. Yes, Sd I, theirs but one god. Sd he, What merrackle hath yor god don or showne you. I Answerd, many. Sd he, does yor god speak to you. Sd I, or god does not speak to vs, but hath sent his son to instruckt vs, And others his Appostles, & hath left vs a written word wch wee beleive in. Sd he, I think you are a Generation of God, for or god tells vs noe such things.

The Casa [*qāzī*], vizt. high preist, & the Govr did consider of wtt I had said, And said, I pray god lead vs ye right way, for god hath raised vs vp an instrumt to teach vs ye right way; &, Sd ye Casa, who doe you tak to be yor Saviour. I said, Is' sa' ra' sou' la' law' [*Isā ar-rasūlu'llāh*], Jesus Christ. Sd they, Is' vo'ccatt han' but' cat' te [*is waqt ham bahut kahte*], he is not yet come.

When I had don speaking these words, In caime One wth two heads, at wch I was amazed, & askt what he was. Sd they, be not affraid. This is a man borne of a weoman as you weere & No Devell; yet I was terrefyed. The Casa [*qāzī*] & Gouerner, takeing notis of my feare, commanded the Man away. He gon, they said, haue you seene anie such thinge in yor Contrey. I sd, noe.

[92 Tempters, see *ante*, note 99, p. 207.]

This man, Sd they, yt you take to be Devell, hath gon wth his bow & arrowes & his Iron flaile & slinge against the Bloches [Baluchs] a lone, & kild 10000, Ten thowsand men, And brought 2000 presoners. I told them I could not beleive wthout I had seene it. The Casa replied, haue you noe beleife, Cotta Moyses Batt [*kahtă mu'azziz băt*], If you doe not See you will not beleive. This was of a Sunday that this discorse was. Of Monday we tooke horsse and went on ye border of ye Bloches Contrey, The Gouerner And Casa and 12,000 horsse And I, Jno Campbell. We went on to ye top of a Hill; plaines weere on each side. In the valley was soe many horsemen wth bowes and arrowes I could not number them. I desired of ye Gouerner to let me know what it ment, & sd, lets haue a care of or selfs. The Casa [*qāzi*] sd, we shall haue One by & by will haue a care of all. I was in great feare and Chainged Countenance. The Casa askt me what was ye Matter, doe you feare, Christ will come. Speaking these words, caime a Man wth two heads, wch I had seene before And sayd to ye Casa, Tou ka monte [*tū kyā māngte*], What would you haue don. Sd the Casa, poynting to me, this is an vnbeleiver. We haue told him what thou didest formerly, but or words had not Credit. Is voccat bet' ter kering' gar [*is waqt behtar karūngā*], Sd he, I will doe better now. Beinge On the hill, downe he went amongst them wth bow and arrowes sling & flaile, and kild before my eies Alone 11000 Men (I told them One by One) And brought 3000 p̃soners wch followed him, their hands bound behind wth withes; the rest run away. Bringing them to vs, Sd the Casa, haue you ever seene such a thing. I, beinge hugely amazed, he askt, can yor god doe such a thing. I answered, theirs but one God.

Said ye Casa, be not affraid, you are a traveller; This Man had his boddy as full of Arrowes stuck in his flesh as a Gamon backon wth Cloues. When puld out not a drop blood followed. In this tyme came p̃vitions, wch the Gouerner Ordered, being 23 Leagues at that tyme from Gruncondah [Golconda]. Sitting downe, Sd the Casa [*qīzi*] be not afferd. I Replied, I trust in Issara sou la law [*Isī ar-rasūlu'llāh*] wch is Christ. Thou saist well, sd he. The p̃vitions sett before vs and we eatinge, downe sitts this 2 headed man & I fell in a sound [swoon], But recovered p̃sently [immediately]. The Casa askt me leaue to lett him haue my Cutlase, wch lay before my tarket before me at meate, for soe is ye fashiõ for straingers. I gaue leaue. He rose vp & went behind ye 2 headed man & Cut of his speakinge heade, & sd Tom dall' geer' mut [*tum dilgīr mat*], be not afferd, To mor row pass vengell ny too kiss wast dall geer hey [*tumhare pās injīl hāi to kis waste dilgīr hai*], haue not you the scripture wth you, why are you afferd. This was about 3 Clock in the after noone. The man runn home wth one heade to ye Casays howse and Dyed at his door. A nobleman, his neighber, seing what was don did write ye Emperror of what was don to such a man who ye Emperror had herd of, And writt him what he had don in p̃sence of ye Traveller, And caused ye Casa [*qīzi*] to be dragd at a horse taile to Court. 23 days I staid wth the Gouerner, The Gouerner shakeing for fear, haueing Married ye Casays sister. We doe know, sd ye Gouerner to me, you haue don or Emperrer good service, yor word will pass heere being a traveller. Pray saue my Brothers life if you can. The Gouerner p̃vided 11 horsses. I writt in the Lingua of the Contrey to ye Emperror And put ye King of Englands seale to it, of wch I had 7, seaven.

When ye Emperror se it, he sd, this is my slaues print, my slaues slaue hath sent it to me, And for his sake I pardon the. I staid in all at Gruncanda [Golconda] 60 days, in wch tyme ye Casa returned And p̃sented me wth 500 Moores gold, & his doughter and all he had at my service. The Gold I received, but not his doughter, haueing refused ye Emprs offer.

Six dayes wee feested. This 2 headed man was about 8 feete in hight, his brothers [and] father was as other men, Nor could I vnderstand anie Devellish practis he had or vsed, haueing eate & drunke wth him. His heads weere as ours are, Only wth two necks; he eate but wth one Mouth nor spooke but wth One.

I askt him wheere his strenth lay. He showed me a lock of heare at ye top of his head and said it lay theire; it was on the heade yt spooke.

I parted from Grunconda [Golconda] after 2 mo. stay, they greiueing much at my deptũre, they saying they should never see me more, but caused me p̃misse to returne.

The Gouerner & Casa sent w^th^ me as a Convoy 200 horsse, w^ch^ brought me to Elsaneere, 220 Leagues from Gruncanda, on y^e^ border of y^e^ Bloches Contrey.

The Casa [*qāzī*] was trobled I would not marry his doughter, And s^d^, yo^u^ are a xpian & my Doughter noe moore.[93] We vse Moses Law, and if we had to instruct vs in Issara sou' la' law' we should think it better.

In this Contrey it will not Cost a strainger ought in Expence to travell, for soe soone as yo^r^ come into a towne, they will strive who shall ingrosse yo^r^ company.

M^dd^ Why the Casa Cut of one head of y^e^ two headed man was, y^t^ he had red in theire writeing such a man should be, and y^t^ he should Conquer the Contrey.

From Elsameer on y^e^ borders of y^e^ Bloches Contrey, I went to Elsa, 220 Leagues in the Bloches Contrey, but in the way I mett w^th^ 300 horsse w^ch^ had beene scouting out, and compeld me to stay w^th^ them. They haueing men wounded & could not cure them iudged I, being a traveller, had skill. I had seen tobacco salue made. I made some and applied it to theire grē [green, *i. e.*, fresh] wounds, w^ch^ had success, and by y^t^ means I past free till I caime to their Kings Court, Att a great Citty cald Crona. Its y^e^ Custome theire for travellers to stay 3 days before they can speake w^th^ the Kinge. His sarv^ts^ askt me from whence I caime. I told them I caime from Prester Johns Court. They told me it was a dangerous Contrey to travell in, how caime I saife throw. I s^d^, god p̃tected me. That night the Kinge had notis of my being in his Court, & though it was not vsuall, sent for me. When I caime before him, he looked verry lofty & proud & told me I was a spie, but w^th^all S^d^, thats noe Matter, One can Doe noe greate harme, And askt me what I could Doe. I answerd noethinge, I was a poore ffuckeere [*faqīr*], w^ch^ is begger. Said he, does beggers ride & keepe sarv^ts^ in yo^r^ Contrey. Consulting w^th^ y^e^ L^ds^ about him, they s^d^, he is a Coffer [*kāfir*], vizt. Heathen, lett him goe, But ask me what Contreyman I was. I s^d^, an Englishman, but he vnderstood not what an Eng̃l man was, Demanded of me what p̃vetions wee eate. We, s^d^ he, haue herd of a Cast of man that eate Mans flesh; are you of that Cast. I told him we eate such meate as Commonly other men eate. S^d^ one of his L^ds^, those people eate Doggs, Catts & ratts. I s^d^, noe. Jutt Cotta haram zabb [*jūṭh kahtā, ḥaramzādā !*], y^ts^ yo^u^ lie yo^u^ Rogue. A brave Old Gentleweoman, y^e^ Kings Mother, S^d^, w^th^ Anger to y^e^ L^d^, you must not abuse a traveller; y^t^ word I likt much but durst not speake. They caused vittells to be brought & me to sit downe y^t^ they might see me eate & my manner. I eate w^th^ many eies over me, but I minded only my vittells & not them, at w^ch^ y^e^ king marvelled & s^d^, those men look not as if they eate Catts but eate after a good fashion. This don, they tooke away what I left & caused it to be buried; It would [haue] suffized 10 Men More. I vnderstanding theire Lingua, y^e^ King askt his Mother if they should keepe this white man for theire slaue. Greeb hey ruxud hey [*gharib hai, rukhṣat hai*], He is a pooreman, let him goe for gods sake, & she houe [hove, threw] me 100 fanams y^e^ vallew of 25 Eng̃l shillings. S^d^ y^e^ Queene, will not yo^u^ now pray for me & askt me in w^tt^ manner I praid or to who, sunn or water. I S^d^, to God. S^d^ she, let me see. I did for feare fall vppon my knees. S^d^ she, yo^u^ must speake, w^ch^ I did in Eng̃l, at w^ch^ Lingua they Mervelld & would [have] don more at my prayer if they had vnderstood it, w^ch^ was y^t^ I might be delivered out of their hands. I tooke my leaue of this Court next morninge & had 112 Leagues further to get cleere of This Contrey into y^e^ Tellingays [Telingas], Goeinge towards Guzzaratt. I had not gon 12 Eng̃l Miles, but 2 horssmen followed me, & demanded y^e^ 100 fannams y^e^ Queene houe me & told me it was not Buckshees [*bakhshīsh*], given, but Bouter [*bhattā*], Lent. S^d^ my man, being p̃fect in y^e^ Contrey language. This man is a poore man, & reasoned y^e^ Case soe farr as w^th^ a knife & a little Tobacco he gaue, got me free. This Contrey is a verry wooddy Contrey & full of Sugar Caines, but noe tobacco planted; all y^e^ tobacco comes out of Prester Johns Contrey & brings this Kinge great store of money, cald Juncan money or Custome [*chungam*, customs].

(To be continued.)

[93] If, however, she was really a *qāzī's* daughter she must have been a "Moore."

CHINESE WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

IN studying **the Burmese form of Buddhism** we have hitherto been accustomed to look only to India for prototypes and influences. The possible influence of China as a factor in the religious development of the Burmese has been overlooked. The Northern form of Buddhism, which was crystallized by the fourth Buddhist Council held under Kanishka, the Scythian king, in Kashmîr, was, together with its Scriptures in Sanskrit, introduced into China, in 67 A. D., under the Emperor Ming Ti, who reigned at Loyang in Honan. Ball[1] says: "The first centuries of its arrival were marked by **the translation into Chinese of numerous Buddhistic works**; and there was considerable progress in making proselytes, for, in the fourth century, nine-tenths of the inhabitants of China were Buddhists."

Later on, Indian missionaries passed into China through Nepal and Tibet as well as Burma, and Chinese monks visited India and Ceylon by way of Central Asia and Afghanistan, with the object of studying Buddhism in the land of its birth and of making a collection of religious books for translation into Chinese. Buddhism was at the zenith of its power in China, in the tenth and twelfth centuries, not only being popular, but also exerting great literary influence.

It is extremely remarkable that **terms intimately connected with Buddhism should have been borrowed by Burma from China** and her translations from Sanskrit, rather than from Ceylon and her Pâli literature; and this circumstance alone is convincing proof that the Burmese are indebted to the Chinese for a good portion of their knowledge of Buddhism.

In the **sixth century A. D.** there was intercourse between China and Burma, and Edkins[2] says: "In A. D. 523, the king of Banban sent, as his tributary offering, a true *sharîra* (*she-li*) with pictures and miniature pagodas; also leaves of the Bodhi, Buddha's favourite tree. The king of another country in the Burmese peninsula had a dream, in which a priest appeared to him and foretold to him that the new prince of the Liang dynasty would soon raise Buddhism to the summit of prosperity, and that he would do wisely if he sent him an embassy. The king paying no attention to the warning, the priest appeared again in a second dream, and conducted the monarch to the court of Liang-Wu-ti. On awaking, the king, who was himself an accomplished painter, drew the likeness of the emperor, as he had seen him in his dream. He now sent ambassadors and an artist with instructions to paint a likeness of the Chinese monarch from life. On comparing it with his own picture, the similarity was found to be perfect."

The exchange of courtly amenities between the rulers of China and Burma must have been followed by a close religious intercourse, for we find it recorded in the Chinese annals that Subhûti, a Buddhist monk of Burma, was the translator of the **Mahâyânaratnamêghasûtra**, which was lost in 732 A. D.[3] Further, Śrîkshatra or Prome is mentioned in the records of their travels by both Hiuen Thsang and I-tsing, who were in India in 629—645 A. D. and 671—695 A. D., respectively.[4] When such intercourse began and how long it lasted, cannot, as yet, be determined with precision without examining the annals of the Later Han (25—589 A. D.) and T'ang (618—960 A. D.) dynasties. But, for practical purposes, it may be accepted that **Buddhism was introduced from China into Burma during the fourth century after Christ**, when nine-tenths of the population of the former country were Buddhist, and when the zeal and enthusiasm for the propagation of that religion had reached its highest point.

It is, indeed, remarkable that two **out of the three Burmese equivalents for the "Three Gems," namely, for Buddha and Dhamma, should be derived from a Chinese source. Śakra**, the Recording Angel of Buddhism, also reached Burma through China. The terms for such

[1] Ball's *Things Chinese*, p. 51.

[2] Pp. 104-105, *Chinese Buddhism*.

[3] Eitel's *Hand-book of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 161.

[4] Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II., p. 200, and Takakusu's *Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing*, p. 9.

religious buildings as **pagodas** and **monasteries** are undoubtedly Chinese. The **Tripiṭaka** of the Northern and Southern Schools of Buddhism, makes no mention of a **rosary**,[1] and yet **the Burmans imported it from China.** The most remarkable of all the coincidences is, that **the terms relating to the fundamental acts of the votaries of Buddhism**, namely, **pûja, dâna**, and **namaḥ**, should be borrowed from the Chinese language, rather than from Sanskrit or Pâli.

The above **facts** appear to **indicate** that: —

(i) Before the conquest of Thatôn by Anawrata, king of Pagan, in the **eleventh century A. D., the Upper Valley of the Irrawaddy** profes-ed the **Mahâyanist School** of Buddhism.

(ii) **At Tagaung, Prome and Pagan**, in the early centuries of the Christian era, **Chinese missionaries taught Buddhism in Chinese**, side by side with Indian missionaries who taught it in Sanskrit, but Chinese political influence being in the ascendant, Chinese monks were in greater favour and their teaching made greater headway.

(iii) **Indian missionaries** who visited China, and **Chinese missionaries** who visited India, reached their destination **through Burma**, their route being through Bassein and Bhamo.

(iv) **Burma**, being a half-way house between India and China, **received the converging influences of Buddhism**; but the latter country being the nearer neighbour, Chinese influences became predominant.

FOLKLORE FROM THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

BY MAIDERA N. CHITTANAH.

No. I. — The King and his Clever Guard.

मद न जाने कोई जात ।
भूख न जाने सूखी भात ॥
प्यास न जाने धोबी घाट ।
नीन्द न जाने टूटी खाट ॥

In the capital of a certain King there dwelt a lovely girl of the sweeper caste who was a servant in the royal palace. It was her privilege to remove the delicacies left on the royal table and take them home.

The king, in love with her beauty, used to visit her cottage every night, accompanied by one man as his guard. He spent the night there, ate with her the leavings from his own table, drank with her at the neighbouring washerman's *ghâṭ*, and slept on a broken cot. In fact, he broke every rule of caste.

At dawn he returned home and summoned his Court. He then sent for the guard and told him to say truly what he had seen during the night, on pain of death. Through fear the guard used to falter and was led out to death.

This went on daily until the King came across a clever man, who had to accompany him to the hut, but determined not to be killed, like the others. So when he was called upon to tell the truth, he plucked up courage and said: —

"Your Majesty, love is blind!"

"He is right," cried the King. "Let us hear more."

Encouraged by this the man went on: "Your Highness, hunger demands not delicacies."

All were impressed, but the subservient Court cried out: "Enough of your remarks, poor moralist."

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[1] [In the Plate attached, col. 4, No. 12, *P'u-t'o-tzu* should read *P'u-t'i-tzu*, and in col. 7, *Pû-tî* should read *P'u-t'i*. — ED.]

Serial Number	Burmese.	Meaning.	Chinese.	Sanskrit.	Pali.	Remarks.
1	Phu-rā (pronounced Pha-yā·)	Buddha	佛爺 Fu-ya (now pronounced Fo-yeh)	Buddha	Buddha	
2	Ta-rā: (also pronounced Ta-yā:)	Law	達而麻耶 Ta-erh-ma-ye	Dharma	Dhamma	The Chinese form is the transliteration of the Sanskrit term Dharma, and is abbreviated to Ta-erh, or Ta-rā: in Burmese.
3	Sanga	Assembly	僧伽 Sêng-chia, or Tsang-ka	Saṁgha	Saṁgha	*S* is pronounced *th* in Burmese.
4	Si-krā: (pronounced Sagyā:)	Indra or Recording Angel of Buddhism	釋迦 Shih-chia	S'akra	Sakka	It is remarkable that the vowel *i* after the consonant *s* in the Burmese word is derived from Chinese.
5	Neikban	Nirvāna	涅槃 Nieh-p'an	Nirvāna	Nibbāna	Neraban is an older form of the word in Burmese.
6	Pu-tô: (pronounced Pa-tô:)	A pagoda	佛陀 Fu-t'o	Chaitya	Cetiya	
7	Kyaung	A monastery	宮 Kung (pronounced Kiong in the Amoy dialect)	Vihāra	Vihāra	In the Tavoy dialect of the Burmese language, the word is pronounced Klong.
8	Rahan. or Yahan.	An ordained monk	羅漢 Lohan	Arhan	Bhikkhu	
9	Shan or Shin	A novice	上人 Shang-jên	S'ramanera	Sāmanera	Shang-Jen or the superior men denote, in Chinese, those who have renounced the world.
10	Kyam:	A canonical book	經 Ching	Sūtra	Sutta	
11	Pe	A palm-leaf	梖 Pei	Tālapatra	Tālapatta	The Sanskrit word patra became pei-to-lo in Chinese, which was shortened to pei.
12	Pu-ti-si (pronounced Ba-di-zi)	A rosary	菩提子 P'u-t'o-tzu	—	—	Bodhi became Pû-tî in Chinese; and tzŭ means a seed.
13	Kantaw or Kadaw	To return thanks; to make obeisance	感到 Kan-tao	Pūja	Pūja	
14	Kye:-zū:	To render assistance; to do a good turn	給助 Kei-chu (in Northern Mandarin) and chi-tsu (in Southern Mandarin)			
15	Hlù	To give in charity	賂 Lu	Dāna	Dāna	
16	Shi kò:	To worship; to seek refuge in	恃靠 Shih-k'ao	Namaḥ	Namo	

TAW SEIN KO.

Neverthless, he continued to talk: "Your gracious Majesty, thirst is unmindful of an unclean pool."

The King and his people were now lost in wonder and bade him continue: — "My Lord, sleep is unmindful of the mattressed bed."

The King was now so pleased that he cried out: " My man, your ingenious replies make you fit to be the chief man in the Kingdom."

Thus did the guard become Minister and wisely administered the State for many a day afterwards.

MISCELLANEA.

INDIAN "HALF-HEADS."

1. IN a version of the Legend of Gûgâ, occur the following lines:—

Text.

Bôle chêle: — " Kapre kî jhôlî lêngê khôs, jî'
Rêsham jhôlî, sône kâ banat banâdê, jî."
Âdhî kâyâ jôgî ne sône kî banâdî, jî,
Âdhî bajr kî banâdî, jî.

Translation.

The disciples said (to Gôrakh-nâth): "A wallet of cloth they will snatch from us,
Let us wear a silken wallet, and deck our persons with gold."
The *jôgî* (Gôrakh-nâth) changed half their bodies into gold,
And the other half into iron.

With this idea it would appear that the custom of painting half the body, or at least half the face, one colour, and the other half another, may be compared.

2. A somewhat similar custom exists in the Tôchi Valley, Northern Wazîristân, where some of the Dauris, who are all Muhammadans, are accustomed to shave one eye-brow, the moustache and half the beard, applying antimony above and below the eye, so as to completely disfigure their faces. The Daurîs also stain their faces, especially the eye-brows or eye-lids, red and blue to terrify their enemies.[1]

3. In a photograph, taken at Thânêsar, is the figure of a faqir, half of whose face is painted white.

4. Other instances of similar half or parti-coloured decoration or disfigurement would be of interest.[2]

H. A. ROSE.

4th December, 1905.

BOOK-NOTICE.

L'ART GRÉCO-BOUDDHIQUE DU GANDHÂRA: Étude sur les Origines, de l'Influence classique dans l'Art bouddhique de l'Inde et de l'extréme Orient. Par A. FOUCHER, Doct. és Lett. Tome premier: Introduction — les Édifices — les Bas-reliefs; avec 300 illustrations, une planche et une carte. PARIS, 1905.

Do we take any really scientific interest in the ancient and very remarkable sculptures found on the north-west frontier of India; and how do we show it? Beyond looking on them as 'curios,' what have we done to promote their study? Great numbers of the larger fragments of them have been housed in the Lahor and Calcutta Museums, and the mess-house of the Guides Corps at Mardān possesses some half a dozen statues used as wall decorations, and twenty-six bas-reliefs, justly "reckoned among the chef-d'œuvres of the Gandhāra school," are built into the fire-place; several of these being simply marvels of artistic finish and taste. This is how we treat such precious treasures of art belonging to the first or second century of the Christian era,

Attention was long since directed to the artistic and historical interest of these sculptures and of the structures where they were found, but it is the educated scientific mind that can rightly appreciate the use and value of such remains. Hence the German Government with its usual instructed intelligence, through the medium of the Royal Museums, in 1893, undertook the publication of an illustrated handbook of 'Buddhist Art in India,' prepared by Prof. A. Grünwedel and based on the collection of these sculptures at Berlin, but dealing scientifically with the history and details of the art and the mythology of the sculptures. Orientalists

[1] Capt. Keen, Political Agent in the Tôchi, describes the Daurî ornaments thus:— "The Dauri men used to dye the right eye with *black* antimony and the left with red, colouring half their cheeks also in the same way. The *men*, not the women, also used to wear coins sewn in the breast of their cloaks, as is commonly done by Ghilzai women."

[2] For an instance in Africa, *cf.* the 'half-heads,' *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 168.

hailed its appearance, and a second and enlarged edition was issued by the Museums authorities in 1900, of which a much-extended translation into English, with additional illustrations from the Lahor and Calcutta Museums, was again published by Quaritch in 1901.

More than twenty years ago General Sir A. Cunningham and Major Cole had planned a volume on these remains, but beyond selecting the subjects for 83 illustrations no more was done. Neither of them probably had the equipment to make a scientific exposition of the materials, and at that time the Indian Government took no practical interest in it.

It was reserved for the French School of the far East, however, to give us the first really exhaustive treatise on these remains. A mission was committed to Dr. A. Foucher, the author of this work, and in charge of it he was sent to India in 1895. There he travelled all over the Yūsufzai and part of the Swāt districts, examining all the sites where sculptures were found, excavating and photographing or obtaining photographs of the sculptures in the museums. In 1897 he returned to Europe with a collection of seventy sculptures, along with some plaster heads, &c. Since then he has worked up his materials, and now lays the results before his readers in justification of how he has carried out his mission. The first volume is ample proof of his success and capacity as a trained archæologist. He has discussed the whole subject with a skill and research that reveals his mastery of it in all its bearings: the work is monumental in its field.

The rich antiquarian remains buried in the Kābul valley and in the Yūsufzai district were brought to light, scarcely seventy years ago, by Mr. C. Masson, General Ventura, Capt. Court, and Drs. Gerard and Hönigberger, whose sole aim seems to have been to tear open every stūpa from Mānikyāla to Kābul in search of ancient coins and relic-caskets. Of sculptures or architectural structure there is little mention: their importance was not then considered. After the annexation of the Panjāb in 1849, the ruins in Yūsufzai district began to be exploited, "mostly," as Dr. Foucher remarks, "without any fixed plan and with motives not quite disinterested. The history of these depredations is a long and lamentable one, from the exploit of 'the Colonel Saheb' who, as Cunningham tells us, 'carried off on twelve camels the statues round the platform at Jamālgarhi' to those irresponsible diggings, the ravages of which, in the scarcely opened district of Swāt, Col. Deane so justly deplores. Nowhere, almost, were excavators at the trouble to unearth the buildings to the basements with a view to fix their plans and restore the scheme of their decoration; their only care has been to lay hands on the sculptures. Again, they did not trouble to preserve or protect pieces that might be too heavy or too fragmentary to seem worth removing. In many cases headless trunks and mutilated reliefs strew the clearings and testify to the ignorance and brutishness — if one may use the term — with which the excavations have been conducted, when most frequently they were left to the supervision of some native subaltern or even to the discretion of coolies from the nearest village." Thus they have been now reduced to "deliberate, not natural ruins." But we may ask "whether the remains have not suffered more within these latter years by the vandalism of amateur archæologists, than they had done in the course of previous centuries from the fanaticism of the Musulmans or the diligence of treasure-seekers and collectors of bricks and stone." And surely, as the author adds, "it is time that the enlightened Government of India should intervene to put an end to the caprices of would-be European antiquaries and a curb on the greed of natives. A new and still more menacing danger lies in the fact that the latter have learnt the market value of works of art, and the enticements of gain have quickly changed them from iconoclasts to vendors of images. At the present rate there will soon be left not a single historic site either beyond or within the British frontier sufficiently intact for the methodical research one would wish in future." The new Act for the Conservation of Ancient Monuments, if systematically and judiciously applied, however, may open a new era for the archæology of Gandhāra.

Dr. Foucher traces briefly the various official surveys that followed one another from 1879 to 1884, carried out by companies of Sappers and European officers, often without any satisfactory result, and of the expedition planned by Major Cole to the hill-country about Kharkai, and entrusted wholly to a native jamadâr under whom "the buildings were badly excavated and the plans most rudimentary," but who was successful in what he doubtless regarded as almost his sole duty, the securing of a numerous collection of sculptures after the old methods — without relation to original positions or care for fragments.

Against these is placed the excavation made by Colonel Sir H. Deane at Sikri in 1889 — "the first in Gandhāra to be methodically conducted, and from which, by an exception almost unique, we

possess the frieze or drum of a stūpa in its original state." This stūpa has also been made the subject of a special monograph by Dr. Foucher.

In 1895-96 Sir Charles Elliot deputed a mission to Swāt to obtain sculptures from the Loriyan-Tangai stūpas, the proceeds from which are now placed in the Calcutta Museum. In 1898 also Dr. Stein was deputed to Bunēr, the results of which he has published.

But the actual finds have far exceeded those that have been placed in public museums, — Indian, home, or continental. To no museum in England have gone any considerable number; many are in private hands, — and it is to be regretted we have not at least casts of these. The collections of the late Dr. Leitner, of between 400 and 500 pieces, have all finally gone to Berlin, to which Sir A. Cunningham also contributed as extensively as to the British Museum.

The influence of Greek art as it existed in the provinces about the first and second centuries A. D. presents itself very markedly in these sculptures; and though various writers have wrought out theoretical dates, they generally range chiefly between the first and fourth centuries, with the second and early part of the third as the most flourishing period of the art.

Further to follow the details placed before the reader in this volume would far exceed our limits. After a very complete introduction to the whole subject, the discussion falls into two parts: the buildings and the sculptures. In the first Dr. Foucher discusses the stūpa, — its purpose, structure and technique; the Vihāra and its roofing; and the evolution of the Sanghārāma or monastery, with the decoration of its constituent parts. The second part, dealing with the rich and interesting bas-reliefs, is subdivided according to the subjects of the sculptures — whether decorative or architectural, and their elements classical and Indian, and as representing legends of the Bodhisattva, Buddha's career, death and relics. Finally the volume closes with a general review on the whole and the historic interest of these remarkable antiquities.

Dr. Foucher has wrought out with remarkable sagacity and mastery, the identification of the subjects of the numerous scenes represented in varied forms in the sculptures. Scholars will look forward with the greatest interest to the appearence of the second volume concluding the work, with full confidence that it will still further extend our knowledge of a subject of which the author has here shown himself so complete a master.

A share of the credit of this excellent work is also due to L'École Française de l'Extrême Orient, under whose competent supervision this mission as well as the important archæological surveys in Anam and Cambodia are so ably carried out and their results published.

J. BURGESS.

PARVATI PARINAYA, with an introduction and footnotes, by Pandit R. V. KRISHNAMACHARIAR. Srirangam, 1906 (Sri Vani Vilas Sanskrit Series, No. 1). II, 18 + 71 pages, 8°.

THE new collection of Sanskrit texts, of which this work is the first instalment, has just been started by Mr. T. H. Balasubrahmanyam, B.A., of Srirangam. Although the drama *Pârvatîpariṇaya* has no poetical value at all, but is nothing but a tiresome and unsavoury rechauffé[1] of an old story that had been charmingly told by Kâlidâsa in his *Kumârasaṁbhava*, the new edition forms a very interesting contribution to literary history, inasmuch as the editor, Pandit R. V. Krishnamachariar, in his elaborate and flowing *bhûmikâ* or introduction, discusses at length the authorship of the *Pârvatîpariṇaya* and the date of its author. On the strength of æsthetical and historical arguments, Mr. Krishnamachariar disproves the popular belief[2] that the author of the *Kâdambarî* and *Harshacharita* composed the *Pârvatîpariṇaya* as well, and attributes this drama to a certain Vâmanabhaṭṭabâṇa, who lived in the fifteenth century A.D., Bâṇa being only the abridged form of Vâmanabhaṭṭabâṇa. That the *Pârvatîpariṇaya* belongs to a pretty late time, is first concluded by Mr. Krishnamachariar from the *argumentum ex silentio*: no writer on Sanskrit rhetorics or poetics ever cites the

[1] " Si c'est réellement l'auteur du *Harshacharita*, de la *Kâdambarî*, et du *Chaṇḍîśataka* qui a composé ce drama, on ne peut le considérer que comme un essai de jeunesse, tant l'ocuvre est pauvre d'invention et d'imagination. Il est impossible de concevoir une pièce plus entièrement dénuée d'intérêt. Les cinq actes sont vides d'action; des conversations, des récits, des messages et des descriptions les remplissent . . . Les personnages ne sont que des mannequins inertes " (Lévi, *Le Théatre Indien*, p. 195, 196).

On the other hand, Goḍbole, in his Marâṭhî translation, says:— हें नाटक प्रगल्भ व सरस असून सुलभ आहे. ह्यांत संविधानाची पूर्णता, रसांची परिपुष्टि, संदर्भाची चतुराई, आणि सभ्यांची मनोरंजकता हे गुण असावे तसे आहेत. But — *de gustibus non est disputandum!*

[2] M. R. Telang, in the preface of his edition, says:— केचिदाधुनिका बाणभट्टविरचितान्यग्रन्थेभ्यः पार्वतीपरिणयनाटकस्य रीतिवैलक्षण्यं पश्यन्तः, नेयं बाणभट्टकृतिरिति तर्कयन्ति ॥ Cp. Pischel, GGA. 1883; K. T. Telang, above Vol. III. p. 219.

Pârvatî-pariṇaya : — न खल्वा दशरूपकमा च साहित्यदर्पणादन्यतमे ऽपि लक्षणग्रन्थे गन्धो ऽप्यस्य नाटकस्य समुपलभ्यते (*Bhûmikâ*, p. 2). Of course, we could not rely on such an argument alone; but there are others, taken from inscriptions and literature, which show that Vâmanabhaṭṭabâṇa, the author of the *Vîranârâyaṇacharita*, the *Śabdaratnâkara*, the *Śṛiṅgârabhûshaṇabhâṇa*, &c., sprung from the Vatsa family, and bearing the *biruda* Abhinavabâṇa, is the author of the *Pârvatîpariṇaya* too. This poet was the protégé of the Reḍḍi king Vêma *alias* Vîranârâyaṇa, whose time is fixed by some inscriptions; see *Bhûmikâ*, p. 10 ff.

As regards the text of the present edition, I have found it to contain several good *variæ lectiones*, by comparing it with the previous texts of Parashurâm Ballâḷ Goḍbole (with Marâṭhî translation, Bombay, 1872, = Dakshinâ Prize Book Series, No. 5), of Glaser (*Ueber Bâṇa's Pârvatîpariṇayanâṭaka*, Wien, 1883, from the *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, CIV. Band, II. Heft, p. 575; a childish reprint of Godbole's text, full of grave blunders!) and of Mangesh Râmkrishṇa Telang (Bombay, 1892). It may be added here, that the readings of Mr. Krishnamachariar's edition often agree with those of a MS. in the Indian Institute, Oxford (No. 145 of Keith's catalogue), which in the following lines is marked O, while G corresponds to Goḍbole's and T to Telang's edition.

Page 5, stanza 9 b, K परितस्स्रोतस्विनीसंततिः, G T wrongly सरितां स्रोतस्विनी संततिः

Page 19, line 4 from bottom, GT omit सह after बृहस्पतिना.

Page 19, line 1 from bottom, GT omit the whole passage तारक°.

Page 21, KO attribute the words from यदादिष्ट to मनोरथसिद्धिर्भविष्यतीति to Bṛihaspati, not to Mahêndra, as does T.

Page 24, GT omit lines 9 to 14, which are found in KO.

Page 25, stanza 12, KGO correctly स्वस्त्र° for the wrong तत्त्र ° of T.

Page 26, lines 5 to 6, KO परिगणितो मुग्धचन्द्रचूडो for the bad reading of GT, परिगणितश्चन्द्रचूडो. The former reading is to be adopted, because it is a quotation from stanza 12, दनुजो वा मनुजो वा°.

Page 28, stanza 16 b, K यशश्च ते सुविपुलं लोकत्रये दीव्यतु, GT wrongly यशश्च ते ऽस्तु विपुलं लोकत्रये दीव्यतु. Cp. Glaser's reprint, p. 18, note 4.

Page 29, lines 1 to 3 are omitted in GOT.

Page 33, line 2 from bottom, GT तरक्षुचर्मनिर्मितायामहिमशिलावेदिकायामासीन°, KO तरक्षुचर्मनिर्मितायां [O तारक्षवचर्मनिर्मितास्तरणायां] हिम°

Page 47, stanza 6 t, K परिणमन्मातुलुङ्गीपिशङ्गी, GOT परिणमन्माननुङ्गी पिशङ्गी [O परणम°].

Page 48, line 5, K तदात्मानमपरक्तमिवावधारयामि, GOT तदैवमात्मानमपाकर्तुमिवावधारयामि [O तदैवमात्मानम°].

Page 53, stanza 14, T परं, a misprint for वरं in GKO.

Page 54, stanza 17, K correctly मण्डितपयोधरान्तामालिङ्ग्य, a bahuvrîhi compound belonging to अङ्कलतां; GT मण्डितपयोधरां त्वामालिङ्ग्य. O with *chhandôbhaṅga* आमण्डितपयोधरामालिङ्ग्य.

Page 55, line 7, KO correctly insert विहाय after कथमिमां.

Page 57, stanza 2 a, KO वन्दनमालिका for the senseless reading of GT, चन्दनमालिका. Glaser, p. 32, note 4, mentions वन्दन°.

Page 58, stanza 4 a/b, KO धवलारुणमेचकैरपाङ्गैरपरामारचयन्ति रङ्गवल्लीम्; cp. Glaser, p. 33, note 1. GT °पाङ्गैरपि रामा रचयन्ति रङ्गवल्लीः [c/d, K पूर्णकुम्भात्पुनरुक्तानिव, a misprint for पूर्णकुम्भान्पु°.]

Page 62, stanza 14 b, K (चरणकमलं...) अध्यास्त भृङ्गमाला वलभिन्मणिखचितनूपुरव्याजात्, GOT अध्यास्त भृङ्गमालावलिभिर्मणि°.

Page 63, stanza 16, K and Glaser, p. 35, note 1 हारलता परिणद्धा कुचकलशे; GT wrongly करतलयुगपरिणद्धे; O वरतरळा परिणद्धा.

[Page 63, stanza 18, GT मुखकमलमिव; KO wrongly मुखममलमिव.]

Page 65, stanza 24 b, K correctly वेधः स्वस्त्ययनान्यधीष्व, GOT °धीष्ट!! In c, KO चन्द्रार्कावपि चामरे विधुनुतं [O °नतं], GT विधुनुतां. In d, K प्रष्ठा, GT प्रष्टा, O प्रेष्टा ° प्रयांतु; Glaser, p. 36, note 1, *pṛshṭeraudra*°.

Page 65, stanza 25 a, KO अचार्मणानामपि, G आचार्म°, T आ चार्म°.

Page 68, line 4, KO वधूवरौ पावकं प्रदक्षिणीकुरुतम्, GT °प्रदक्षिणां कुरुताम्!!

Page 68, line 10, T जलाञ्जलिं, a misprint for लाजाञ्जलिं.

Page 68, stanza 31, KO म्लायद्वसंतकुसुमं, which is of course the correct reading for म्लायद्वसन्तकुसुमं in GT.

The publisher is quite right when he says that "The publication of this Sanskrit Series needs no justification," and "Readers of this edition of Pârvatî Pariṇaya will observe the various differences in the readings and also note what vast improvements have been effected thereby." Our thanks are, I consider, due to him and to the learned editor.

RICHARD SCHMIDT.

Halle S., Germany,
May 29th, 1906.

A NATIVE ACCOUNT OF THE THIRTY-SEVEN NATS.

Being a Translation of a rare Burmese Manuscript.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

Preface.

WHILE procuring information for an account of the Thirty-Seven Nats, published *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 117, 190, &c., and for the separate illustrated work on the subject, entitled *The Thirty-Seven Nats, a Phase of Spirit-Worship prevailing in Burma* (London: Griggs, 1906), I secured in 1892 a copy of a rare Burmese MS. of 1820 on the Nats from one Maung Kyaw Yan, a carver of Rangoon, and of this I now give a translation made in 1894. I very much regret that I overlooked the possession of this MS. and its translation when preparing the abovementioned article and work for the Press, as its contents would have been of material value to both. However, I now give the translation of the MS. in full for the benefit of students.

Accounts of the Thirty-Seven Nats.

Reverence to him that is Blessed, Holy, and Omniscient.[1]

In compliance with the commands of the Heir-Apparent[2] communicated on the 5th waxing of Tasaungmôn, 1167 Sakkarâj [1805 A. D.] Thìrîmahâjêyyathû, afterwards Atwinwun and Governor of Myâwadî, bearing the title of Mingyî Mahâthîhâthû, drew up an account of the Thirty-Seven Nats, treating of the manner in which ceremonies and festivals were held in their honour, the dress worn by the mediums at such festivals, and the music played on such occasions. The account was compiled on the 4th waxing of Thadingyut, 1182 Sakkarâj (1820 A. D.), in the southern apartments of the Palace, in consultation with the musicians Nga Myàt Thâ and Nga Tarôk, the head medium Kawidêwagyaw, and many other experts conversant with the subject.

The Thirty-Seven Nats.

1. Thagyâ Nat.
2. Mahâgîrî Nat.
3. Hnamâdaw Taung-gyîshin Nat.
4. Shwênabê Nat.
5. Thônbàn Hlâ Nat.
6. Taung-ngû Shin Mingaung Nat.
7. Mintarâ Nat.
8. Thàndawgàn Nat.
9. Shwê Nawratâ Nat.
10. Aungzwâmàgyî Nat.
11. Ngâzîshin Nat.
12. Aungbinlè Sinbyûshin Nat.
13. Taungmàgyî Nat.
14. Myauk Minshin Nat.
15. Shindaw Nat.
16. Nyaung-gyin Nat.
17. Tabin Shwêdî Nat.
18. Minyè Aungdin Nat.
19. Shwê Sitthin Nat.
20. Mèdaw Shwêsagâ Nat.
21. Maung Pô Tù Nat.
22. Yun Bayin Nat.
23. Maung Minbyû Nat.
24. Màndalê Bôdaw Nat.
25. Shwêbyin Naungdaw Nat.
26. Shwêbyin Nyîdaw Nat.
27. Minthà Maung Shin Nat.
28. Tîbyûsaung Nat.
29. Mèdaw Tîbyûsaung Nat.
30. Bayinmà Mingaung Nat.
31. Min Sîthû Nat.
32. Min Kyawzwâ Nat.
33. Myaukpet Shinmà Nat.
34. Anauk Mîbayâ Nat.
35. Shingôn Nat.
36. Shingwâ Nat.
37. Shin Nèmî Nat.[3]

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[1] *i. e.*, Buddha.

[2] *i. e.*, the Einshêmin. This prince was the son of King Bôdawphayâ (1781—1819) and never succeeded his father, but both his own sons, Bâjîdaw (1819—1837) and Thârâwadî (1837—1846), reigned — *ante*, Vol. XXI. p. 289.

[3] This list is exactly the same as to the order of the names as the list put forward by me in the works above quoted and almost identical as to the *form* of the names. These facts are of interest, as the correctness of my names and allocation has been disputed, and they are in strong confirmation of the other proofs of the accuracy of my list that I have already produced.

1. Thagyâ Nat.[4]

Thagyâ Nat is the Thagyâ [Ruler] of the Tâwadênthâ Heaven. In the festival of this Nat the medium wears a *pasô* [loin cloth] fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a jacket with broad sleeves, and a white shawl round the neck. He holds a conch-shell in the left hand, and *thabyê* twigs in the right. Holding the twigs, put together in the form of a *yak*-fan, and pacing gently and gracefully, he chaunts an ode, in which he admonishes all his worshippers to shun evil and do only good, threatening evil-doers with punishment and promising rewards to the righteous.

2. Mahâgîrî Nat.

Mahâgîrî Nat is the spirit of Nga Tindè, son of Nga Tindaw, a blacksmith of Tagaung. Being apprehensive of his strength and valour, the king of Tagaung tried to arrest him. He baffled such attempts by hiding himself in the woods. The king resorted to a stratagem, and made his sister, Swêmî, a queen, with the title of Thîrîchandâ, and made her inveigle her brother to the palace. He was then captured, tied to a *sagà* tree in front of the palace and burnt alive with the aid of bellows.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears a *pasô* and a jacket, both fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, and a reddish brown gilt hat. He holds a fan in his right hand and *thâbyê* twigs and a sword in his left. He fans himself three times and chaunts an ode, in which he bewails his own fate and the treachery of the king. After this he throws down the fan and the sword on the ground and dances.

3. Hnamâdaw Taung-gyîshîn Nat.

She was the daughter of Nga Tindaw of Tagaung. When her brother was being burnt alive, she asked the king's permission to pay her last respects to her brother. She then went to where he was, and, under the pretence of paying her respects, jumped into the fire and thus met her death. The attendants only just succeeded in saving her head, over which were afterwards performed the rites of cremation. After their death, both brother and sister became Nats on the *sagà* tree. They did much harm to the people by afflicting them with ailments and disease, and eventually the evil became so intolerable that the tree itself was uprooted and thrown into the Irrawaddy. It drifted down and was stranded on the shore of Pagân, near the Thàppâyànkâ Gate, during the reign of King Thinlègyaung. They then related their story to the king in a dream, and he made their images and placed them in a Nat shrine on the top of Mount Pôpâ.

In this festival, the medium wears a skirt fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a long jacket, and a shawl embroidered with gold and silver. The shawl is worn over the head. She holds a cup of betel-leaves in the left hand and a water-jug with a lid in the right hand. She lays down the jug after raising it three times, and then, holding *thabyê* twigs in both hands, she dances and chaunts an ode, in which she recounts her old happy days and bewails her fate and that of her brother, and the treachery of the king.

4. Shwê Nabê Nat.

Shwê Nabê Nat was, according to the usual story, a resident of Mindôn. She was married to a sea-serpent and gave birth to two sons, Taungmàgyî and Myaukmin Sinbyûshin. Being deserted by the sea-serpent she died of a broken-heart.

According to another story, she was the relative of a certain *nagâ* or sea-serpent. On a visit to her relative at Namàntâ Settawyâ, she brought her three daughters Shwêchû,

[4] I avoid explanations of the text, as they will be found in detail in the works already referred to.

Pànbyû, and Pattâmyâ with her. Leaving them at Namàntâ on the Màn River, she continued her journey up the River Irrawaddy, when she met Nga Tindè of Tagaung, who was then a refugee in the forests. She fell in love with him and became the mother of Taungmàgyî and Myaukmin Sinbyûshin. After a while Nga Tindè was put to death by the king of Tagaung, and became a Nat under the name of Mahâgîrî. She survived her husband, but after laying two eggs on Malè Hill, she died. She then became a Nat and returned to Sagû Mindôn.

Yet another tradition says that she went up the Bôntaungbôn-nyâ River after leaving her three daughters at Namàntâ, and, coming across a woodman on the way, they became man and wife. She laid two eggs, which she gave to her husband, when he took leave of her to return to his parents. The man floated the two eggs down the stream. After the departure of her husband, she died of a broken-heart and became a Nat.

In the **festival** to this Nat the **medium** wears a skirt fringed with a border of foreign manufacture and a long jacket with a shawl of parti-coloured design. Her hair is loosened and divided, a portion falling on her back, and another passing through the holes bored in her ears. She chaunts an ode and then dances with *thabyê* twigs in her hands. In the ode she recounts the events of her past life and bewails her death and the condition in which she is, and expresses regret at the faithlessness of her husband.

5. Thônbàn Hlâ Nat.

Thônbàn Hlâ Nat was the youngest sister of Nga Tindè. She was a native of Tagaung also. When her brother and elder sister met with tribulation, she fled to Arakan, where she was received and adopted as a daughter by the king of Arakan, who presented her afterwards to Thamaindaw, King of Ôkkalâbâ. She became a queen of Thamaindaw and gave birth to Shinnèmî. On her way to Tagaung to see her relatives, she died suddenly in Tabèdaukyit village, west of Ava. Her daughter Shinnèmî also died of grief at the same place. They became Nats and haunted the Pôpâ Hill, together with their relatives.

Another legend says that she was a native of Kazunnain in Hànthâwadî. Her beauty is said to change three times a day, hence her name Thônbàn Hlâ. On account of her surpassing beauty she was presented to King Duttabaung of Thayêkhettayâ [Prome]. Out of envy the senior queens bribed the attendants sent by the king to receive the new bride, and instructed them to give him a false account of her by saying that her person was not graceful, and was of large proportions. Accordingly, the attendants suggested to the king, that if the new queen was to be conducted into the palace, the doors of the palace and the gates of the city would have to be reconstructed and widened considerably. Thereupon the king ordered her to remain outside the city. A hut was built for her residence under a tamarind tree on the east of the city. She earned her living by weaving, and having accumulated a fair sum of money she erected a pagoda. But being thus neglected, she died of despair afterwards. The pagoda is known as the Kôgyîlôk Pagoda, the tamarind tree as the Lingômàgyî Tree, and the loom, which has turned into stone, as Thônbàn Hlâ's Loom, and are still [1820] existing in Thayêkhettayâ. In Hànthâwadî, however, there is no village called Kazunnain. The real name is Tâdundàt, which, by corruption, was turned to Kazunnain. In the Revenue accounts of Hànthâwadî, it is called [1820] by the name of Tâdundàt, which, interpreted into Burmese, means Tâdàngê [small bridge].

In the **festival** to this Nat the **medium** dances with a *mâtâlabî* skirt and a *pânnun* shawl. She then makes a change in her dress, wearing a skirt fringed with a border of Western manufacture and a spotted shawl embroidered with gold and silver. She afterwards makes a third change in her dress, wearing a scarlet silk skirt of the zigzag pattern, embroidered with gold and silver. After having danced three times with the three changes of dress, a dish of cooked rice is first offered, followed successively by dishes of plantains, custard-apples, guavas, &c. The musicians must first play

a Talaing air twice and then a Burmese air. After dancing three times she chaunts an ode, in which she recounts her own story, and expresses sorrow at the death of her brother and elder sister and at her own fate.

6. Taung-ngû-Shin Mingaung Nat.

He was the son of Minyèthingâthû of Taung-ngû [Tonghoo] by a lesser queen, who was a native of Northern Kadû. He succeeded his father in the kingdom of Taung-ngû, which he ruled under the title of Kôthàn Thaken Bayin Mingaung. When taken ill from a disorder of the stomach he removed his residence temporarily to the Paunglaung River. There the smell of onions was so strong that he was compelled to return to the city, on reaching the walls of which he died. In making offerings of food to this Nat, onions must be eschewed.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears a *pasô*, fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a jacket with broad sleeves, and a gilt hat coloured white and brown with either a white or gold fillet. In his left hand he holds a sword by the handle, with the blade away from him, and in his right hand a fan. He first chaunts an ode, in which he narrates his own story, and then walks about.

7. Mintarâgyî Nat.

Mintarâgyî Nat, known as Sinbyûshin Mintarâ, was the elder brother of King Mingaung I. of Ava. He is said to have died of fever.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears the same dress as that of the Taung-ngu-Shin Mingaung Nat. He chaunts an ode, narrating the story of his own life.

8. Thàndawgàn Nat.

Thàndawgàn Nat was a Secretary, by name Yèbyâ, of Taung-ngû Bayin Mingaung. He died of malarial fever at Myêdû, whither he was sent to repair the village, while collecting flowers in a jungle for the king in compliance with his master's wishes.

Another legend says that he died of snake-bite while collecting jasmine flowers at night from a jasmine tree in the courtyard, in compliance with the orders of the king, with whom he was holding a conversation.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears the same dress as that of the Mintarâ Nat. Holding a sword and a fan in his hands, he chaunts an ode in which he recounts his own story, bewailing the fate he met with, while still a faithful servant of the king, and enjoying the pleasures and honours bestowed upon him. The music must play a Talaing tune.

9. Shwê Nawratâ Nat.

He was the son of Mahâthîhâthû and grandson of King Mingaung II. of Ava. During the reign of his paternal uncle Shwê Nangyawshin, his servant Nga Thauk-kyâ rose in rebellion. In consequence he was captured by the king, while living with his mother, and afterwards thrown into a river. The story is also mentioned in the Burmese histories.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears a red *pasô*, a red jacket, and a gold embroidered turban, with a white shawl thrown round the neck. He holds a fan in the right hand and chaunts an ode. He then takes out a turban, or a piece of clean cloth, and, twisting it into the form of a cradle, rocks to and fro three times. Lastly, he makes gestures as if playing *gôn-nyin* [polo]. In the ode he traces his descent from the powerful kings and recounts the happy days of his life.

10. Aungzwâmagyî Nat.

He was the minister of Prince Narapatîsîthû, brother of King Minyîneyâthengâ. Wêlûwadî was the wife of Prince Neyâbadîsîthû. Her beauty had so fascinated the king that he became enamoured of her, and determined to make her his wife. In order to attain his object he gave out that a rebellion had broken out at Ngasaungchàn, and sent his brother, Neyâbadîsîthû, to quell it. During the absence of the husband he took Wêlûwadî to wife and made her his queen by force. Neyâbadîsîthû divined the evil design of the king and left his faithful groom, Nga Pyî, to watch the trend of affairs during his absence. The pony, Thûdawtî, was left for the groom to ride to his master. Nga Pyî was, however, delayed on the road, and was executed for tarrying on the way. Aungzwâ, a confidential servant of Neyâbadîsîthû, was then sent to encompass the ruin of the king, the reward being a queen from the harem. Aungzwâ succeeded, but was subsequently executed for reproaching Neyâbadîsîthû for failure to keep his promise. Aungzwâ then became a Nat.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears a *pasô*, fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a jacket with broad sleeves and a gilt hat coloured red and white. On his left shoulder he carries a sword with *thabyê* twigs in the form of a scroll on it, and in the right hand he bears a fan. He chaunts an ode and, putting down the sword and the fan, he dances. In the ode he narrates his own story and bewails his fate, exhorting other servants of princes to refrain from showing disrespect to their masters.

11. Ngâzîshin Nat.

He was Kyawzwâ, the governor of Pinlè, and son of Thîhâthû, the founder of Pinlè. He obtained five white elephants from Pinlè and inherited the kingdom from his brother Uzanâ, who abdicated the throne. He died of illness after a reign of nine years and became a Nat.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears a court-dress, holding a fan covered with one end of his *pasô* in the left, and twigs of *thabyê* in the right hand. As he recites an ode, in which he narrates his own story, he assumes the gestures of one riding on horse-back.

12. Aungbinlè Sinbyûshin Nat.

He was the son of King Mingaung I. of Ava, and brother of King Kyawzwâ, who died at Dallâ. After the death of his father he reigned as King of Ava. While riding an elephant and superintending the ploughing of a plot of land, south of the Aungbinlè Lake, he was treacherously assassinated by the Sawbwâ of Onbaung. He became a Nat under the name of Aungbinlè Sinbyûshin.

In the festival to this Nat the medium is dressed in high court-dress holding a gold elephant goad in the left hand, and a lasso, made of his white *pasô*, together with *thabyê* twigs, is held in the right hand. He chaunts an ode, recounting his own life, tracing his descent from a powerful line of kings, and promising to all cultivators his supernatural assistance in securing them rich harvests; and after exhorting them to strengthen the embankment of the lake, he holds the twigs of *thabyê* in his right hand, and mimics the sowing of seed in a field.

13. Taungmàgyî and Myauk Minsinbyû Nats.

They were the sons of a sea-serpent and Shwê Nabê, a native of Mindôn. According to one legend they were the sons of Nga Tindè, afterwards Mahâgîrî Nat, by the sea-serpent Shwê Nabê. They were born from eggs in the Malè woods after their parents had lived for some time as man and wife. After the death of their parents, these two eggs were picked up by a Rishi, dwelling near the Malè River. From these two eggs were hatched the two brothers, known by the names of Shin Byû and Shin Nyô. On their death they were deified on the upper reaches of the river, each being represented with six hands.

Another legend says that they were the sons of a woodman, by the sea-serpent Shwê Nabê. She laid two eggs and they were given to a hunter, who, being afraid to take them home to his relatives, drifted them down the Bôntaungbôn-nyâ River. They were stranded on a slab of stone, on which they were hatched, producing two children. They are said to have been suckled by a deer, which they followed as their mother. In the meantime it was declared in Thayêkhettayâ, during the reign of King Duttabaung, by royal astrologers that two powerful men would appear in that country. On enquiry they were discovered and directed to attend on King Duttabaung. Acquainted with their valour, the king became suspicious of their loyalty, so he ordered a boxing match between them in front of the palace, making them wear *pasôs*, each worth one *lâkh* of pieces of silver. The two brothers fought so fiercely and violently that they both died of exhaustion, the elder dying after the younger. When they became Nats, the younger, Shin Nyô, became the elder of the two under the name of Taungmàgyî Nat; the elder, Shin Byû, becoming the younger Nat under the name of Myaukmin Shin Byû. While in the service of the king, Shin Nyô's duty was to collect revenue from the northern parts of the kingdom, inhabited by the Shans and Chinese, and he was called the Myaukmàgyî. In like manner, and for performing similar duties, Shin Byû came to be known as Taungmàgyî. They are also known to the east of Prome as Kûdawshin, and are represented with six hands each.

In holding a **festival** in honour of Taungmàgyî the **medium** wears a *pasô*, fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a close-fitting military jacket, ear ornaments, and a red turban, and a red hat. **He** holds a sword in the right hand and a bunch of *thabyê* twigs in the left hand. He mimics the sharpening of his sword and, after cutting the *thabyê* twigs with it, he places it in his belt and chaunts an ode, in which he recounts the events of his life, dwelling on his accomplishments and feats, the cruelty of his mother, and the kindness of the Rishi who suckled him and his brother with milk from his fingers, and bewailing the state he has attained.

14. Myauk Minsinbyushin Nat.

For an account of this Nat, see that of the preceding Nat.

In the **festival** to this Nat the **medium** wears a *pasô*, fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a close-fitting military jacket, a black turban, ear ornaments, and black trousers. **He** holds a sword with both hands and chaunts an ode, in which he claims descent from Nga Tindaw, his grandfather, Mahâgîrî, his father, and Ma Swêmî, his aunt, and recounts the feats he performed while in the service of the king. After this he mimics the rowing of a boat and then dances freely and wildly as a Shan.

15. Shindaw Nat.

He was a novice, admitted into the order of monks by the King of Ava and entrusted to the care of the high priest of Kyauktalôn Hngetpyittaung. He died of snake-bite and became a Nat.

In the **festival** to this Nat the **medium** wears a yellow-dyed robe and dances with a fan in the right hand. In the ode **he** recounts his own life, extolling his accomplishments and bewailing his own fate.

16. Nyaung-gyin Nat.

He was one of the descendants of King Manuhâ of Thatôn. He died of leprosy in Pagân during the reign of King Nawratâ and became a Nat.

In the **festival** to this Nat the **medium** is dressed like that of Myauk Minsinbyu. **He** chaunts an ode and then dances with his fingers closed, to indicate that his hands are leprous. In the ode he claims descent from King Manuhâ of Thatôn and recounts his own story. He bewails

his fate as a man and Nat and the loathsome disease with which he is afflicted. As a leper he abstains from all flesh that tends to aggravate his condition, and in making offerings to him all flesh has to be eschewed. Even as a Nat his abode is in the hearth. Anyone possessed by him itches all over the body. He is propitiated by offerings of rice-cakes placed on the hearth. In Burma he is as familiar as Mahâgîrî and others.

17. Tabin Shwêdi Nat.

He was the son of King Kyînyô, the founder of Taung-ngû [Tonghoo]. While he was reigning in Hanthâwadî, he was advised by Thamain Sawdut to remove his capital, in order to escape from misfortune. He removed to a temporary residence, where he was treacherously murdered by one of his guards, the brother of Thamain Sawdut.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears a *pasô*, fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a gold embroidered turban, and a gold embroidered scarf and a white shawl round the neck. He also wears a jacket and a gilt purple hat. Holding an unsheathed sword in the right hand, he chaunts an ode, in which he recounts his own life. Lastly he thrusts the point of his sword into two bunches of plantain and lays them down, after lifting them up in the air.

18. Minyè Aungdin Nat.

He was the son of King Anaukpet Thalun Mindayâ and son-in-law of King Thalun Mindayâ. He died of excessive drinking and became a Nat.

In the festival to this Nat the medium is dressed in the same way as that of Tabin Shwêdi. He walks with a sword covered with the *pasô* in one hand and chaunts an ode, in which he bewails his own fate and exhorts others not to follow his example. After this he dances while playing on a harp.

19. Shwê Thatê [Sitthin] Nat.

He was the son of Sawmun of Pagân. He was sent by his father to suppress the rising of the Shans at Kyaingthin. On reaching Hlaingdet he proceeded no further, but amused himself with cock-fighting. He was in consequence punished by his father for disobeying his orders by having his legs buried in the earth. He died of grief soon after in that position and became a Nat.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears a scarlet *pasô*, one end of which is thrown round his neck, a scarlet jacket, a gold embroidered turban and a gilt purple hat, coloured red on the top. He takes off his turban and, laying it down on the ground, he bows down three times and chaunts an ode, in which he bewails the cruel fate he met with at his father's hands for disobedience of orders.

20. Mòdaw Shwêsagâ Nat.

She was the queen of Sawmun of Pagân and mother of the governor of Hlaingdet. She died of grief at the terrible fate of her son and became a Nat at Hlaingdet along with her son.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears a skirt, fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a long jacket (court-dress), a white shawl and a white scarf on her head. Walking with a rosary in her hand, she chaunts on ode, in which she narrates the story of her own life.

21. Maung Pô Tû Nat.

He was a native of Pinyâ. By profession he was a trader in tea. On his return from Thonzê, Mômêk, Thîbaw, Taungbaing and other places, with which he was trading during the reign of King Mingaung I., he was killed by a tiger at the foot of a hill near Ôngyaw and Lekkaung villages.

On becoming a Nat, he became friends with Shwêsitthì Nat, the Prince of Hlaingdet. They lived together and are generally known as Min Hnabâ Nats [the two princes]. His wife Mî Hnin È, a Shan, lived at Taungbaing.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears a scarlet *pasô*, with one end thrown round his neck, a scarlet jacket, and a scarlet turban. On his left shoulder he carries a sword with a piece of cloth, in the form of a bundle, suspended from it. He holds twigs of *thabyê* in the right hand and chaunts an ode, while mimicking the driving of oxen. Then he drinks water as a tiger. In the ode he recounts his own story, bewailing the cruel manner in which he met with his death. According to this story he died on account of his refusal to listen to the words of his wife, who strongly urged him not to proceed on his journey. It is said that, previous to his death, he dreamt that his top-knot tied up by his wife, and his right arm on which his wife used to rest her head, were cut off.

22. Yunbayin Nat.

He was King Byâthàn of Zimmè. When it was annexed in 920 Sakkarâj [1558 A. D.] by Sinbyûmyashin of Hanthâwadî he was taken captive to Hanthâwadî and kept there in honourable confinement. He died there of dysentery and became a Nat.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears a *pasô*, fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a jacket, a white turban, and a purple hat. Placing on the head a bundle of cocoanuts, plantains, betel-leaves and tobacco, tied in a scarf, so as to leave its corners free and raising it thrice, he chaunts an ode. He then thrice mimics a cock-fight, and, holding a sugar-cane in each hand, he strikes each with the other by turns as in fencing. Then he fills his pipe with tobacco and mimics the rowing of a boat.

23. Maung Minbyû Nat.

He was the son of the King of Ava by the daughter of a jailor at Ava. He died of excessive indulgence in liquor and opium and became a Nat.

In the festival to this Nat, the medium wears a *pasô*, fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a white jacket, and a gold turban. Covering his head with a piece of white cloth, embroidered with silver threads, he recites an ode, in which he bewails his own fate, repents his intemperance, and exhorts youths not to indulge in the same vice, which has worked his ruin in the end. He then plays on a flute, holding it in the left hand.

24. Màndalê Bôdaw Nat.

He was the son of a Brâhman, who was a minister of King Anawratâ of Pagân. By appointment of the king he was the guardian of the two Shwebyin brothers in their youth. When the two brothers were executed, he was also ordered to be executed as being their guardian, while encamping at Màndalê on their return from China. When the executioners came to arrest him, he made an attempt to escape by riding away on a stone elephant, which he had animated with life by throwing a charmed string over it. But it was too late. He was seized, was bound hand and foot, and was executed in Màndalê and become a Nat. Up till now a rock in the form of an elephant is still to be seen near Bôdaw Nat's Cave in Màndalê. His last words complained of injustice, and he is usually represented as holding up the tip of his fore-finger. As he was called Aphô [grandfather] by the two brothers he is now called the Màndalê Bôdaw.

In the festival to this Nat the medium is dressed in the same way as that of the Mahâgîrî Nat. Fanning himself thrice with a fan, he chaunts an ode. Then laying down the fan and the sword he dances.

25 and 26. Shwêbyin Naungdaw and Shwêbyin Nyîdaw Nats.

They were the sons of an Indian runner of Thatôn in the service of Nawratâ. The chief duty of this man was to supply the king with flowers from Mount Pôpâ. On one occasion he met an ogress whom he took to wife. By her he got two sons, whom he placed under the charge of the king. They had to serve the king under the name of the Brothers Shwêbyin, when the king marched to China to demand Buddha's Tooth from the Emperor. The tooth was obtained, and on his way back, the king built a pagoda at Taungbyôn, where they had encamped. By royal mandate every man was enjoined to furnish one brick for erecting it. Presuming on the good services they had rendered to the king, they paid no heed to the Royal command and spent their time in courting a girl of Taungbyôn. When the appointed time had lapsed, they were too late to furnish the required bricks, and were executed for disobedience of orders. On their death they became Nats under the name of Two Brother Nats.

In the festival to these Nats the medium wears a *pasô*, fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a jacket with broad sleeves, and a white and purple gilt head-dress. Holding sprigs of *thâbye* in the right hand he makes three paces forward and chaunts an ode. Then he changes his jacket for a short one of velvet, his *pasô* for a scarlet one, and his hat for one of felt and dances. Placing the plantains offered to him on a three-legged tray and arming himself with a sword in the right hand he mimics the hunting of rabbits and rows a boat with his sword. In the ode chaunted by the elder brother he narrates his own story, recounting the services he and his brother and their father (who was, according to the song, a *khalâsî*, sailor) had rendered to the king. In the ode chaunted by the younger brother he recounts the past good services they had rendered to the king, mentioning the heroic exploit they performed in the palace of the Emperor of China, whither they marched to get Buddha's Tooth. He dwells at some length on the meanness of the king in not making suitable offerings to them. After their death they revealed themselves to the king on his return on a raft by stopping the progress of it. At their request the king granted them Taungbyôn and the surrounding suburbs as their home.

27. Minthâ Maung Shin Nat.

He was the son of King Minyîzaw of Pagân, who founded Kyaukthànbàt and Pûtet. While a novice in a monastery, he died of a fall from a swing and became a Nat.

In the festival to this Nat the medium is dressed in yellow robes as a priest. He chaunts an ode first, in which he narrates his own story, and then dances, playing on a harp in his hand.

28. Tîbyûsaung Nat.

He was the father of Nawratâ of Pagân, and was deposed by his step-sons Kyîzo and Sôkkadê, and compelled to become a Buddhist priest. When his son Nawratâ had wrested the crown from his half-brother Sôkkadê, the dignity and rank of a king was conferred on the old priest, who continued to reside in his monastery, surrounded by his harem. On his death, he was deified as a Nat under the name of Tîbyûsaung Nat.

In one legend it is said that he resided in a monastery, south of Parainthâ village.

In the festival to this Nat the medium is dressed in yellow robes as a priest. He chaunts an ode, in which he says he taught poetry in his monastery to all learners. Then holding a fan in the right hand and an alms-bowl in the left, he walks as if he were receiving alms.

29. Tîbyûsaung Mêdaw Nat.

She was apparently the queen of King Tânnet [the foregoing Nat], though the legends are silent on this point.

In the festival of this Nat the medium wears a skirt, fringed with a border of foreign manufacture, a long court-dress, a white shawl, and a scarf embroidered with gold on the head. Holding a rosary she chaunts an ode. Then holding a fan in the right hand, she walks to and fro.

30. Bayinmâ Shinmingaung Nat.

He was known as King Kyîzô, son of King Kyaungbyû. While chasing a deer in the Nyuttàn woods of Chindwin, he was accidentally shot with an arrow by a hunter. He died and became a Nat.

In holding a vessel in his honour, the medium is armed with a bow and arrows, with which he takes aim in all directions. He is dressed in the same way as the medium of the Taung-ngû Mingaung Nat. Aiming with his bow in all directions, he chaunts an ode and dances. In the ode he says that he was killed with an arrow shot from his own bow, which broke. He exhorts other hunters to examine their bows before using them, lest they should meet with a similar fate.

31. Min Sîthû Nat.

He was King Alaungsîthû, the builder of the Shwêgûgyî Pagoda in Pagân. He is also said to have been Sithû, Prince of Kûkhàn, and elder brother of King Kyawzwâ.

In the festival to this Nat the medium is dressed in the same way as in that of the Taung-ngû Mingaung Nat. Holding up both his hands as if in the act of worshipping, he holds a fan and a sword at the inner bend of the elbow. Then bowing three times he dances and chaunts an ode, in which he calls himself Alaungsîthû and speaks of his voyage in search of Mount Meru. He adds that there were great portents at his birth, which foretold the greatness of his power.

32. Min Kyawzwâ Nat.

King Thênzî of Pagân had three sons: Sîthû and Kyawzwâ by the Northern Queen, and Shwêlaung by the Southern Queen. In preference to the first two sons, he desired the succession to devolve on the third, and banished the elder princes to Taungnyô Lèma. As their strength and valour became more and more bruited abroad, he ordered them to change their residence. They went to Taung-ngû [Tonghoo], whence they returned after fighting the Karens. On reaching Kûkhàn, which they founded, they constructed a canal. As a proof of their work, there are two villages which bear the names of Myaungdûbauk and Myaungdû-ywâ. Suspecting his brother's loyalty Sîthû put Kyawzwâ to death on the pretext of having failed to conduct the flow of water in the canal. Kyawzwâ then became a Nat, and, in revenge, possessed and killed his brother Sîthû, who also became a Nat.

It is also said that Minyè Kyawzwâ, the son of King Mingaung of Ava, and governor of Pakhân, also became a Nat in Pakhân, when he was killed at Dallâ. In support of this belief in Pakhân, there are still shown a monastery founded by him, and a temple dedicated to him.

Besides, in the month of Nayôn (June) every year, in honour of the Nat lamps are lighted and cock-fighting is held in the public streets.

Another legend says that Kyawzwâ was the youngest brother of the four ministers of King Alaungsîthû, who gave him in marriage to one Bômè, a girl of Pôpâ, the daughter of a toddy-drawer. While living with Bômè at Pôpâ, he died of excessive drinking. He then became a Nat. He himself was a native of Kuni village, east of Pakhân.

In the festival to this Nat the medium is dressed in a scarlet *pasô*, with one end round the neck, and a scarlet turban. He then mimics a cock-fight, amuses himself with fireworks, and slaps his arms as Burmese boxers do. He chaunts an ode, in which he confirms the last legend about himself.

He is said to be able to cure all affections of the stomach, and is generally propitiated with liquor, for which he has a decided preference.

33. Myaukpet Shinmâ Nat.

She was wet-nurse to Mintarâ Shwêdi and native of Northern Kadû village. She became the second wife of Minyè Thengâthû. On her return from her parents she was delivered of a son, to the west of Sagaing. She lived in a large shed built for her, but she soon died of the effects of child-birth. The child was safely taken to Taung-ngû and delivered into the hands of his father Minyè Thengâ. When Tabin Shwêdî abdicated the throne, Kyawdin Nawratâ, the son of Minyè Thêngâthû, became king and reigned in Hanthâwadi. His step-brother, the son of Myaukpet Shinmâ, was then made governor of Taung-ngû under the name of Mingaung. Thus the Nat was the mother of Mingaung of Taung-ngû. In memory of the shed in which she died in child-birth, the place on the west of Sagaing is still called by the name of Taigyîngâ-ywâ.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears a black jacket, with a black girdle and a shawl. She is also dressed as the medium of the Shwê Sagâ Nat, with the addition of a necklace. She chaunts an ode, and, holding twigs of *thabyê* in both hands, she dances. After this she mimics the sowing of the twigs as if she were sowing a field. She is supposed to cause all feminine diseases.

34. Anauk Mîbyâ Nat.

She was the Northern Queen of King Mingaunggyî, the son of King Mingyîzwâ. During a pleasure trip to a cotton field, West of Ava, with her maids, she met Min Kyawzwâ coming on horse-back. On reaching the palace on her return she died and became a Nat.

In the festival to this Nat the medium is dressed in the same way as that of the Shwe Sagâ Nat, but without a rosary. She chaunts an ode and mimics the picking of cotton pods, dresses and spins cotton, weaving it into cloth, which she then wears. She then dances.

35. Shingôn Nat.

She was the concubine of Sinbyûshin Thîhâthû, who died at Aungbinlè. She died at Ava on her return from Aungbinlè and became a Nat.

In the festival to this Nat the medium is dressed as that of the Anauk Mîbyâ Nat. Holding a fan in the right hand she bends herself, and, walking in this attitude, chaunts an ode.

36. Shingwâ Nat.

She was the sister of Màndalê Bôdaw. She was killed during the reign of Nawratâ of Pagân along with her brother.

In the festival to this Nat the medium is dressed as that of the Shingôn Nat. She holds a fan with both hands, and, walking on her knees, chaunts an ode.

37. Shinnèmi Nat.

She was the daughter of Thônbàn Hlà, Queen of Okkalâbâ. She died at Tabaidaukyit, after her mother, while travelling to Upper Burma, and became a Nat.

In the festival to this Nat the medium wears a gold embroidered skirt and a shawl. Placing a bunch of *Thàngêsà* plantains on her head, she chaunts an ode and dances. In the ode she is represented as a child, as she died at the age of two. She is credited with having a special predilection for playthings, toys, dolls, and cakes. If she is not provided with these, she will cause the children of her votaries to cry in their cradles without any cause.

TIRUMANGAI ALVAR AND HIS DATE.

BY S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., M.R.A.S.; BANGALORE.

PARADOXICAL as it may seem, it is nevertheless the fact that, although a great deal has been written concerning the **Vaishṇava Saints** and devotees, their history has yet to be written. There has, unfortunately, been too great a tendency in the writers, great and small, to refer them to periods, more as it suited their preconceived notions as to the recent origin of Vaishṇavism in general, than on any dispassionate examination of such evidence, imperfect in its nature of course, as is available. It would not be going over quite a beaten track to bring together here such **historical information** as has been brought to light, setting aside the extreme Śaiva arguments of Tirumalaikkoḻundu Pillai and his school on the one side and the ardent Vaishṇava view of A. Govinda Charlu and his school on the other. This is not because I do not appreciate their learning, but because the one school would deem nothing impossible of belief, while the other would see nothing that could not be made to lend itself to giving the most ancient of these saints a date somewhere about the end of the first millennium after Christ. Gopinatha Rao belongs to a different school, and in his recent ambitious attempt (in the *Madras Review* for 1905) at a **history of Vaishṇavism** in South India, he has come to certain conclusions, which would certainly have commanded assent but for a too transparent tendency to establish certain conclusions.

Without pretending to say the last word on the subject, I shall merely put forward **certain facts and arguments** I have been able to gather in my studies and the notes that I have made from the writings of some of my friends, who have been pursuing similar research, and leave it to my readers to draw their own conclusions, while not depriving myself of the pleasure of making such inferences as appear to me warranted. I may at the outset acknowledge my obligations to my friend, Paṇḍit Raghavaiyangar, Assistant Editor of the *Sen Tamil*, who has with remarkable courtesy placed some of his notes at my disposal, and has been of great help to me in looking up references, &c., to literature.

The Vaishṇavas, like their *confrères* of other sects, trace their hierarchy of *gurus* (preceptors in religion) from God himself. Putting the translunary part on one side and coming down to *terra firma*, their list consists of names divided into **two broad classes,** entitled, in Vaishṇava parlance, **the Âḻvârs and Âchâryas. There are twelve among the former and a large number among the latter,** which is being added to by each separate sect or unit at the decease of the existing *guru* for the time being. Without going into the details of the hagiology of these saints and preceptors, we are enabled to collect **the Âḻvârs,** from the traditional accounts alone, into **three groups** — the ancient, the middle, and the last.

The list of the Twelve Âḻvârs, with their traditional dates of birth, is as follows : —

Ancient.	Poygai Âḻvâr	B. C. 4203
	Bhûtattâr	„ 4203
	Pêy Âḻvâr	„ 4203
	Tirumaḻiśai Âḻvâr	„ 4203
Middle.	Namm Âḻvâr	B. C. 3102
	Madhurakavi	„ 3102
	Kulaśêkhara	„ 3075
	Periy Âḻvâr	„ 3056
	Anḍâḷ	„ 3005
Last ...	Tonḍaraḍippoḍi	B. C. 2814
	Tiruppâṇ Âḻvâr	„ 2760
	Tirumangai Âḻvâr	„ 2706

Disregarding these apparently definite dates, in which, however, most Tamil works, particularly those of a religious character, are peculiarly weak, it is still possible to regard **this traditional order** as fairly in chronological sequence. Even the Vaishṇava hagiologists have very little to say about the first group. Their information about the second is meagre, while of the third they have something to say that might be historical. The name at the head of the paper is the very last, and there are certain facts concerning him, which cannot lightly be passed over by any one who would try to examine the chronology of the Âḷvârs.

Tirumangai Âḷvâr is the author of the largest number (1,361 stanzas) of the 4,000 verses of the Vaishṇava *Prabhandam*, **Namm Âḷvâr** coming next with a number almost as great. He belonged to the **Kaḷḷar Caste** and was born at Kurugûr in Âli Naḍu in the Shiyâli taluka of the **Tanjore District**. There he pursued, when he grew up to man's estate, the profession of his father, which was of a duplex character, — the government of a small district under the reigning Choḷa and playing the knight of the highway, in both of which capacity he appears to have achieved great distinction. The critical stage of his life was reached when he fell in love with the **foundling daughter of a Vaishṇava physician**, who would not marry him unless he reformed and became a Vaishṇava. He went to **Tirunaraiyûr**, near Kumbhakônam, and there received the sacrament. He was not yet to gain the object of his desire, as the young lady insisted upon his feeding 1,008 Vaishṇavas a day for a whole year. This he could do only by plundering wayfarers, which he did, consoling himself with the idea that he was doing it in the name of God. A second transformation was yet in store for him. One night he waylaid a Brâhmaṇ bridal party, and was probably stricken with remorse for the very enormity of this deed. He there received from the Brâhmaṇ, who was no other than God himself come in human shape to fulfil his ends on earth, **that mysterious 'mantra' the name Nârâyaṇa.** On being thus blessed, he broke out into verse and his first 'decad' of verse makes this confession. Thereafter he began visiting all the shrines sacred to Vishṇu, and at last settled in **Srîrangam**, to spend the rest of his days in the service of God, and to rebuild some parts and remodel others of the great shrine, the funds for which he had to find by demolishing the great Buddhist shrine at Negapatam. Having done this to his satisfaction and provided for the recital of Namm Âḷvâr's *Tiruvaymoḷi* annually at Srîrangam he passed away. This, without any of the embellishments of the hagiologists, is the life-story of the man but not of the saint, for which the curious might read A. Govinda Charlu's *Holy Lives of the Âḷvârs.*

Let us now proceed to examine what historical reliance can be placed upon this story. The materials for the history of these sainted personages are entirely traditional and we can attach to the details only as much value as can safely be attached to mere traditions. The general tenor of the life may be correct, while we ought not to insist on details with too much certainty. Even in this modified sense the story does not enlighten us as to the age of the Âḷvâr and his actual doings. But there are **the monuments** of the labours of **Tirumangaimannaṇ**, *viz.*, his works in the *Prabhanda* and the buildings he undertook in **the temple at Srîrangam.** It is certainly very unfortunate that tradition has not preserved the Choḷa ruler whose vassal the Âḷvâr was. This omission is significant of the fact that he was not contemporaneous with any great Choḷa ruler, although even these latter are never named specifically enough under similar circumstances.

That he was the latest of the saints is amply borne out by the fact that he celebrates most, if not all, of the now well-known temples to Vishṇu in India, while others celebrate only a few. **The destruction of the rich Buddhist sanctuary at Negapatam** and the frequent references he makes to the Buddhists themselves in his works would refer us to times anterior to the centuries of Choḷa Ascendency, which is again indirectly borne out by the robber chieftain having been successful in his defiance of his Choḷa suzerain. That Negapatam was the headquarters of a Buddhist sect is borne out by the references to the place in such Tamil Classics as the *Permumbânâṛṛuppaḍai* and so on, and the fact is attested even to-day by a place not far off being known as **Buddankôṭṭam,** although

it is now a Brâhmaṇ village. These facts, in conjunction with references to the Pallavas in the *Periyatirumoḻi*, **would refer the Âḻvâr to the age of the Pallava Ascendency previous to the rise of that Choḷa Power which wielded imperial sway over South India from the tenth to the fourteenth century after Christ.**

The Pallava Ascendency was coeval with that of the early Western Châḷukya period and vanished not long after the rise of the Rashṭrakûṭas, who overthrew their enemies, the Western Châḷukyas. Before adducing positive evidence that tends towards this conclusion, we have to examine critically the opinions offered by others as to the age of the Âḻvâr. Bishop Caldwell and those that followed him could be excused if they held that these were disciples of Ramanuja, as now-a-days Gopinatha Rao is willing to believe that **Tirumangai Âḻvâr** and other later Âḻvârs **were contemporaries, if not actually disciples, of Âḷavandâr, Ramanuja's great-grandfather.** In support of this view he quotes a stanza from a work called *Koiloḻuhu*, which is a history of the Srîrangam Temple. In the stanza a street, called after Tirumangai Âḻvâr, comes after a street called after a Râjamâhêndra. This latter is identified with the son and successor of the Râjêndra who fought the bat le of Koppam in 1052 A. D. **Hence he infers that Tirumangai Âḻvâr must have lived in the latter half of the 11th century.**[1]

That **Râmanûja** had read and had derived much wisdom from the works of this last of the Âḻvârs is in evidence, so as to satisfy the most fastidious student of history, in the *centum* known as the *Râmanujanûṟṟandhâdhi*, a work composed during the lifetime of Râmanuja by a convert and pupil of his own disciple **Kûratt Âḻvâr.** This connection between Amudan, the author of the *centum*, and Kûratt Aḻvâr is borne out by stanza 7 of the *centum* and the old *Guruparamparai* of Piubaḻagya Jiyar, stanzas 8—21. The former acknowledges Râmanuja's indebtedness to all the twelve Âḻvârs and the two early Âchâryâs, Nâdhamuni and his grandson Âḷavandâr. This inconvenient piece of evidence has been accorded no place in the array of evidence and authorities passed in review by Gopinatha Rao.

To pass on to the positive evidence available, **the Vaishṇavas always regarded the Âḻvârs higher in spiritual estate than the Âchâryas, not merely as such, but also as being more ancient**, and they must have had some reason for making this distinction. If Tirumangai Âḻvâr and others of that class had been disciples of Âḷavandâr, why call this latter only an Âchârya and his disciples Âḻvârs, the idols of the Âḻvârs being placed in temples and worshipped, while those of most of the Âchâryas are not. Leaving this aside as the outcome of a most unreasonable partiality on the part of the Vaishṇavas, we have **other evidence** to fall back upon. Inscriptions of Rajârâja II., about the middle of the 12th century, contain the unusual name **Araṭṭamukki Dâsan** — the first part of which is a special **title of Tirumangai Âḻvâr.** Next, prince Choḷa-Kerala, about the middle of the 11th century, made provision for the recital of *Tirunedṇudâṇḍaham*,[2] one of the works of Tirumangai Âḻvâr, which would be extraordinary if he had been living at the time and working to accumulate merit and earn his title to saintliness, especially as his life was, during the greater part of it, far from saintly.

That **Tirumangai Âḻvâr was not a disciple of Âḷavandâr** is also made probable by a stanza in praise of his work by Tirukkôṭṭiyâr Nambi, from whom Râmanûja had to learn, which goes to show that this Âḻvâr's works had been regularly studied and handed down from preceptor to disciple for some time at least. Again, the conquering Choḷa brothers, Râjâdhirâja, who fell at the battle of Koppam, and his younger brother Râjêndra who succeeded him, had an elder brother by name Âḷavandân. If this name had been given to him because of the Âchârya, the latter must have been anterior to him by a considerable interval, as even now the name is specially Vaishṇava.

1 *Madras Review*, Feb. and May, 1905. — History of the Srivaishṇava Movement.

2 Epigraphist's *Report* for 1900, p. 10.

This would make Âḷavandâr's grandfather Nâdhamuni much prior to the age ascribed to him by Gopinatha Rao. He lays much stress upon the fact that Nâdhamuni was accustomed to going to Gangaikoṇḍa Choḷapuram, founded by Gangaikoṇḍa Choḷa, in 1024 A. D. This is a detail which cannot be looked upon as a crucial piece of evidence, as it is possible that the hagiologists alone are responsible for it. When the earliest among them wrote the lives of their saints, they were so accustomed to Gangaikoṇḍa Choḷapuram as the Choḷa capital, that when they heard that Nâdhamuni visited the Choḷa ruler, they naturally put down Gangaikoṇḍa Choḷapuram as the Choḷa capital. It certainly would not be unreasonable to ascribe Nâdhamuni to a period in the earlier half of the 10th century A. D. This is exactly the conclusion warranted by the proper understanding of the traditional account, which is that Nâdhamuni was born in A. D. 582 and that he was in what is called *Yoga Samâdhi* for 340 years. This would give the date 922 A. D. for the death of Nâdhamuni, which is not at all improbable, taking all circumstances into consideration. But why did the hagiologists then ascribe this long life or long death in life to Nâdhamuni? The explanation is not far to seek. They believed, and the Vaishṇavas do believe even now, that there was an unbroken succession of these saints, and unfortunately they found a gap between Nâdhamuni and the last Âḻvâr. This they bridged over this clumsy fashion.[3]

If the above view of the connection between the Âḻvârs and the Âchâryas is correct, then we shall have to look for Tirumangai Âḻvâr a two or three centuries earlier than Nâdhamuni, and this would take us to the seventh or the eighth century of the Christian era. This is certainly warranted by the frequent references to the **Pallavas**[4] and by none at all to the modern Choḷas, even to the Choḷa Râjamâhêndra, who did so much for the Śrîrangam Temple. According to Gopinatha Rao, the only Choḷa that is referred to by the Âḻvâr, and referred to elaborately, is the ancient **Choḷa Kôchchengaṉ** in the decad regarding Tirunaraiyûr. This, in combination with references to the Śangam in the body of the work, brings him later than the age of either. But another decad in praise of the Paramêśvara Viṇṇagar at Kânchî gives in great detail the achievements of a Pallava ruler, whom Dr. Hultzsch considers to be identical with **Paramêśvaravarman II.**, from the name of the shrine. This is not a necessary inference, as any other Pallava paramount sovereign might have had the title Pallava Paramêśvara, and the foundation, when contracted, might have become Paramêśvara Viṇṇagaram, *e. g.*, Vidya Vinîta Pallava Paramêśvaram. And notwithstanding the details given in the decad, it does not find support from what is known of Paramêśvaravarman II. This Pallava sovereign, whatever his name, won victories over his enemies at Maṇṇai, Nenmeli, and Karûr. At Karûr he fought against the Pâṇḍya and at Nenmeli against the Villava (Chêra), but the enemy at Maṇṇai is not specified. If these names could be identified with places where Udaya Chandra won victories for his master Nandivarman Pallavamalla or Nandipôttarâja, then the Âḻvâr must have lived after **Nandivarman,** or, at the earliest, during his reign.

Among these victories we find mention of a defeat of the Paṇḍyas at **Maṇṇaikkuḍi** and the taking of **Kâlidurgâ.**[5] Maṇṇaikkuḍi may be the Âḻvâr's Maṇṇai, and Kâḷidurga the Âḻvâr's "Kunrail." Karûr as such does not find mention in the inscriptions. It may be that this name refers to an incident in which Udaya Chandra played no part. Then comes Nelvêli, where Udaya Chandra won a victory; but the Âḻvâr speaks of Nenmeli, and the war was between the Pallava and the Chêra (Villavan). It is probable that these separate incidents refer to different Pallava princes who worshipped Vishṇu at the Paramêśvara Viṇṇagaram shrine. Whatever be the real nature of these references, whether they refer to one Pallava Nandivarman or to several, such as Simha Vishṇu, Paramêśvaravarman and Nandivarman (in fact, all the Vaishṇava Pallavas), **it is**

[3] If Kalhaṇa, the professed historian of Kaśmîr, did the same with respect to early rulers of Kaśmîr in the first centuries A. D., is it wonderful that these hagiologists fell into such a trap?

[4] See p. 486, Vol. III., *Sen Tamiḻ*, Pandit M. Raghavaiyangar's article.

[5] Vide *S. Ind. Ins.* Vol. II. Pt. III. No. 74. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Pt. II. pp. 326-327.

clear that we have to look for the date of the Âḷvâr while the Pallavas were still in power and the Choḷas had not come into prominence.

There is one reference, however, which should give us a narrow enough limit for his time, and that is, in the last stanza of the decad immediately preceding that just considered in celebrating the shrine of Ashṭabhujakaram in Kânchî, he makes what, in his case, appears as a somewhat peculiar reference to a certain **Vairamêghan 'bowed down to by the ruler of the people of the Toṇḍa country, whose army (or strength) surrounded Kânchî.'** In all references made to rulers, he has been specifying people who had made special donations to Vishṇu, whether with respect to Chidambaram, Triplicane or Tirunaraiyûr. In this case alone is the reference made in a secular fashion. Besides, the language indicating the connection would warrant the inference that the reference is made to a living person. In the commentary of Periya Âchan Pillai, Vairamêghan is explained by the term Chakravarti (emperor). Thus it is clear that at the time referred to, there was a Pallava ruler who was under the protection of an imperial personage whose name (or rather title) was Vairamêghan. This again warrants the inference of the decline of the Pallava power.

Among the inscriptions so far brought out, we have not often come across the name, but the **Rashṭrakûṭa Dantidurga II.** of the genealogical table of the family, in Fleet's *Kannaḍa Dynasties*, is given this name from the Kaḍaba Plates published by Mr. Rice.[6] This was the personage who overthrew the natural enemies of the Pallavas, *viz.*, the Western Chaḷukyas of Baḍâmi, and in their stead established the Rashṭrakûṭa power. According to the Ellora Inscription referred to by Dr. Fleet,[7] "Dantidurga completed the acquisition of sovereignty by subjugating the ruler of Sandhuhbûpa (?), the lord of Kânchî, the rulers of Kalinga and Kôsala, the lord of the Sriśaila country (Karnûl Country), the Sêshas (?), and the kings of Mâḷava, Laṭa and Taṇka (?)." This Dantidurga was deposed by his uncle Krishna I., about **755 A. D.** The king of Kânchî (during the period including 754 A. D., the only known date for Dantidurga Vairamêgha) was **Nandivarman** who ruled for fifty years from about 710 A. D.[8] He is regarded as a usurper and is so far **the last great Pallava ruler known in South Indian History.** It is highly probable that when the Chalukya power was overthrown, the Pallavas advanced in the direction of Karnûl. The **Rashṭrakûṭa records, therefore, together with the statement of the Âḷvâr, would lead us to believe that Dantidurga beat back the enemy and was in occupation of Kânchî,** Nandivarman was a Vaishṇava, and Tirumangai Âḷvâr's praise of him is admissible as that of a brother-devotee, but any reference by him to an enemy would be far from complimentary. Hence, it could only have been made in the manner in which it is, under circumstances when he could not get out of an unpleasant reminiscence such as the above. An inference, therefore, seems to be warranted that the Âḷvâr flourished in this period exactly, and it would certainly be in keeping with the most cherished tradition of the Vaishṇavas that the arrangement made by the Âḷvâr for the recital of the *Tiruvoyemoḷi* of Namm Âḷvâr had fallen into desuetude in the days of Nâdhamuni and he had to revive it at Srîrangam after much ado. **The date of Tirumangai Âḷvâr then has to be allotted to the earlier half of the eighth century of the Christian era.**

We have now to dispose of **another Vaishṇava tradition** which has often proved a red herring across the path of many a Saiva scholar of repute, and made him lose his balance of mind. It is the story **that Tirumangai Âḷvâr held a successful disputation with the Saiva sage Tirujñâna Sambanda.** It does not concern us here to examine whether the disputation was successful to the Vaishṇava or the Saiva; but our only business is to examine whether the two could have been contemporaries. A late revered Saiva scholar, in a letter to a friend of mine, who enquired if there was anything to warrant this, promptly wrote back to say that it was "as false as any Vaishṇava tradition." If Sambanda paid a visit to the man who destroyed Badâmî in 642 A D., it might have taken place about the end of the seventh century, and so, if Tirumangai Âḷvâr had been at the height of his religious devotion about the middle of the eighth century, it is possible they were

[6] *Epigraphia Carnataka*, Gb. 61, Vol. XI., Tumkûr.

[7] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 389.

[8] *Sen Tamil*, Vol. I. p. 80.

contemporary. Besides, they were both natives of the same place nearly; the Saiva was born at Shiyaḷi, and the Vaishṇava at a village not far off. The dispute is said to have taken a curious form. It was not a religious question, but was only one of title to ability in composing poetry. The Âḷvâr's disciples went about shouting "here comes *nâlukaviperumal* (he that excels in composing the four kinds of poetry)." The Aḍiyâr's disciples objected and ushered the Âḷvâr to their preceptor's presence. The Âḷvâr was asked to compose a *kuraḷ*, and burst out with a decad in praise of Srî Rama of Shiyaḷi, beginning with "*Orukuraḷ*" (unparallelled dwarf), a sense entirely different to that which the Âḍiyâr would have given to the word. The story further goes on to state that Sambanda was satisfied and not only acquiesced in the titles of the Âḷvâr, but even made him a present of the trident he used to carry. It is of no use to enter into the details of the story, as, so far, it has merely led to annoyance, but one particular, however, cannot be passed over here. And that is, that the Âḷvâr, who generally gives himself one of the titles in the concluding stanza of each decad, breaks out at the end of this one into a rather provoking and assertive enumeration of all of them.

It would appear, therefore, after all has been said, that tradition combined with the result of the historical research, as far as it bears upon the subject, would **allot Tirumangai Âḷvâr to the earlier half of the 8th century** after Christ; and thus possibly he was a younger contemporary of Tirujñâna Samba, and perhaps an elder of Sundaramurti Nâyanâr.

MISCELLANEA.

A SUCCESSION CUSTOM AMONG SIKH CHIEFS IN THE PANJAB.

At p. 21 of Sir Lepel Griffin's *Law of Inheritance to Sikh Chiefships* (Lahore, 1869) occurs the following passage:—

The elder son loses his position should he be married subsequently to his younger brother. The unanimous opinion of all the chiefs above referred to (? the cis-Sutlej chiefs) was as follows:—

"If there be two **uterine brothers** betrothed in two families, and if from any cause the marriage of the elder brother cannot take place, and the parents of the girl to whom the younger brother is betrothed be importunate for the marriage, the father will not permit his younger son to be first married, because **the performance to his forefathers of the funeral rites, &c, from the hands of an elder son could not take place unless he had been married prior to his younger brother.** The marriage of the elder must, therefore, precede. If the younger son, from the importunity of the girl's parents, be first married, and his elder brother afterwards, then the performance of the funeral obsequies to his forefathers are prohibited to him, and it may be said **the younger takes the place of the elder by reason of his being first married.**"

I have failed to trace any such custom in the published records of the *Punjab Customary Law.* The limitation of the present rule to **uterine brothers**, if correct, is peculiar.

H. A. Rose.

5th December 1905.

CUSTOMARY LAW REGARDING SUCCESSION IN RULING FAMILIES OF THE PANJAB HILL STATES.

In continuation of the article on this subject, *ante*, Vol. XXXIV. p. 226, I give here another instance of the rule that **the son first recognised as heir**, not necessarily the first-born son, is entitled to succeed to the throne. This instance comes from the Katôch family, a Râjâ of which, Udê Chand, had three sons, Dilâwar Chand, Bhîm Chand, and Kirpâl Chand. In a rhymed *Chronicle* of the Katôch family it is recorded that:—

Dôhâ (Couplet).

Dilâwar Chand and Bhîm Chand were born on the same day,
The Râjâ heard of Bhîm Chand's birth first.

Chaupâî (Quatrain).

Udê reflected to himself:—
That both his sons were alike (*i.e.*, equal),
'**He, of whom I first heard is entitled to the throne.**'

Dôhâ (Couplet).

When Bhîm Chand became Râjâ,
Dilâwar Chand became a subordinate Râjâ.

I have, so far, not been able to obtain a copy of the original manuscript of which the above is a translation.

H. A. Rose.

4th December, 1905.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE JAIPUR OBSERVATORY AND ITS BUILDER. By LIEUT. A. ff. GARRETT, R. E., assisted by PANDIT CHANDRADHAR GULERI (Gold Medallist of the Maharaja's College). Published under the Patronage of H. H. the Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh of Jaipur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Allahabad: 1902.

THE five Observatories or Mânamandiras erected by Jayasingh (1699—1743) at Benares, Ujjain, Mathurâ, Dehli, and Jaypur have been long known, by report at least, to Europeans. In the 18th century Sir Robert Barker gave an account of the one at Benares in the Philosophical Transactions (Vol. LVII.), and in Bernoulli's edition of Tieffenthaler's "Description de l'Inde" (1786) was published an account of those at Jaypur and Ujjain. Dr. William Hunter accompanied the Agra Resident's expedition to Ujjain in 1792-3, and prepared a description of the observatories at Dehli, Ujjain, Mathurâ, and Benares, with a translation of the introduction to, and an enumeration of Jayasingh's astronomical tables, which was published in the Asiatic Researches, 1797 (Vol. V., pp. 177—211). Since then, however, but scanty notice has been taken of these very interesting structures, of which the finest was that at Jaypur; indeed the only mention we remember worth notice is a short one in 1865 of the Benares observatory by Bâpû Deva Śâstrî.

Early in 1901 the Mâharâjâ of Jaypur decided 'to completely restore" the observatory there, and the work was carried out and completed in February 1902, by the Public Works officials, in the usual way. The book under notice — 76 pages of text, two photographs, and ten lithographed plates — gives some account of the builder and his astronomical theories, together with a chapter of 8 pages descriptive of the observatory and another of 32 on the instruments, and some calculations, the results of which may be received with caution. On p. 70 we are told that Jayasingh found the precession in 297 (lunar) years to be 4° 8′ or 50·″1 annually, "which agrees almost exactly with the modern determinations," but 297 lunar years are scarcely 288·3 tropical ones, so that the annual precession is not so close to the truth as he assumes. How the table on p. 44, repeated on p. 73, giving the sidereal mean time of culminating for the twelve zodiacal signs, was computed, requires some explanation: to the six signs are assigned exactly the same times, in the reversed order, as to the first six, — which may be a Hindu method of reckoning (*Jour. A. S. Beng.*, Vol. VIII., p. 835), but cannot be quite correct.

Restoration for restoration's sake seems to have been the guiding motive of the operations; and we have an example of its usual results in the treatment of the twelve instruments called Râśivalayas, formed of gnomons with graduated quadrants on each side. No description of these instruments by Jayasingh or his assistants, we are told, could be found; but as they were "twelve in number, it seemed probable that one was connected with each of the signs of the zodiac," and this mere assumption being accepted, one of two theories dependent thereon followed, — *viz.*: either that one of the twelve instruments was to be used "as each sign of the zodiac" rose on the horizon; — or, that they were to be used as each "sign" culminated. One would have expected that the Hindu *yoga* stars, not quite on the ecliptic, would have been chosen rather than the space of 30 degrees occupied by a sign — without any celestial object to mark either its precise commencement or end. But as neither case was responded to by the positions of the gnomons, it was summarily "decided to make the necessary alterations in the altitudes only in conformity with the hypothesis" that they were to be used successively as each sign culminated. Whether the hypothesis is partially correct or not, it does little honour to Sawai Jayasingh's capacity, thus to interfere with his instruments because they do not accord with it. Surely he may have had some reason for making the radius of eight of the quadrants just three-fourths of that of the other four, and for placing the gnomons differently from what this merely conjectural use might imply. The instruments are not now to be required for use; why then, we ask, were they at all meddled with? But even if the *insanabile mutandi cacoethes* could not be restrained, yet had only the actual positions of these gnomons been carefully ascertained before this foolish alteration was carried out, it might even yet have been discovered what really was Jayasingh's purpose in so arranging these twelve instruments: but now that opportunity is for ever lost.

Throughout the book references are sparse, and we find little or no acquaintance with the literature of the subject. Dr. W. Hunter's account and Brennand's 'Hindu Astronomy' appear to be the only works distinctly referred to, and these are very insufficient guides for anyone taking in hand to deal with the instruments of a man of Râja Jayasingh's astronomical knowledge and skill.

Professor J. Riem, an astronomer interested in Indian astronomy, remarks on this work that he 'is very much astonished to observe how completely Hindu Paṇḍits of to-day have lost touch with the astronomical knowledge of their forefathers, so that they no longer understand the use of instruments which are only 200 years old.' The author's account of the Râśivalaya he thinks 'forced, and without a close examination of the instruments as they were, it would hardly be possible to form an accurate opinion of them, — all the more as the description given is clearly adapted to the writer's theory.'

In the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*, 1893 (p. 737, note), a bibliographical list of papers on Hindu astronomical instruments was given, which it may be useful for students to repeat here in an extended form: —

1. Sir Robert Barker's 'Account of the Observatory at Benares,' with 3 plates: *Philosoph. Transactions*, Vol. 67 (1779), pp. 598—607.

2. 'Further particulars respecting the Observatory at Benares.' *Phil. Trans.*, Vol. 83, pp. 45—49,

3. Tieffenthaler's *Description de l'Inde*, ed. Bernoulli, tome I, pp 316 f., and 347 f., has short notices of those at Jaypur and Ujjain.

4. W. Hunter's 'Account of the Astronomical Labours of Jayasinha,' in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V. (1799), pp. 190—211, gives some account of the observatories at Dehli, Ujjain, Mathurâ, and Benares.

5. J. J. Middleton's 'Description of an Astronomical Instrument presented to the Government of India by Râja Râmsing of Kotâ,' *Journal Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VIII. pp. 831—838.

6. Paṇḍit Bâpû Deva Śâstrî, in the *Transactions, Benares Institute* (1865), pp. 191—196, described the Mânmandra at Benares.

To these Dr. Riem now adds: —

7. William Daniell's *Twelve Views* from drawings, fol. London, 1800 (2 plates from Dehli).

8. Baden Powell's *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Panjab* (1872), pp. 260-61, gives a list of instruments.

9. E. Burgess 'On the Origin of the Lunar division of the zodiac represented as the Nakshatra system of the Hindus,' in *Jour. of the American Oriental Soc.*, Vol. VIII. pp. 309—334. This paper does not treat of the nature of the instruments.

10. J. Call on a zodiac carved on the roof of a temple in S. India. *Philos. Trans.* 1772, pp. 353-54.

11. W. Brennand, *Hindu Astronomy* (1896), pp. 106—111.

12. W. del Mar's *India of To-day*, p. 129.

J. B.

Parijatamanjari or Vijayasri, a Natika composed about A. D. 1213 by Madana, the preceptor of the Paramâra king Arjunavarman, and engraved on stone at Dhârâ. Edited by E. Hultzsch, Ph.D. Leipzig; Otto Harassowitz; 1903. Sole Agents for India, Bombay Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay.

The Pârijâtamañjarî is a Nâṭikâ of the same pattern as other Nâṭikâs, and, as such, it must have contained four acts. Only the two first acts, however, have as yet been recovered. They are engraved on a slab of black stone which has been found at Dhâr, the old capital of the Paramâra kings. The Nâṭikâ was composed in honour of the Paramâra king Arjunavarman, of whom we possess copper-plate grants from the years 1211, 1213, and 1215 A. D. The Pârijâtamañjarî can accordingly be dated at about A. D. 1215. It has already been published by Professor Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII. pp. 96 ff., and it is now republished in handy book-form by the same scholar.

The Pârijâtamañjarî is not the first Sanskrit play which has been found engraved on stone. Fragments of two other plays, the Lalitavigraharâjanâṭaka and the Harakêlinâṭaka, have already been found on some basalt slabs in Ajmere and published by Professor Kielhorn (Göttingen, 1901, in the *Festschrift zur Feier des 150 jährigen*

Bestehens der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften; compare also *I. A.* XX. pp. 201 ff.; *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1893, pp. 552 ff.). There is further an old tradition to the effect that the Hanumannâṭaka was originally engraved on stone. This tradition receives a new support from the find of the Dhâr inscription.

The Pârijâtamañjarî is also of interest in other respects. Its poetical value is small, though it contains several beautiful passages. Of greater interest is the fact that it has been composed as a kind of panegyric on a living person, the king Arjunavarman, who figures as the hero of the play. It is possible, though it cannot be proved, that Professor Hultzsch is right in assuming that his queen, Sarvakalâ, and the heroine, Pârijâtamañjarî, are likewise real persons and not invented by the author, and that the latter was not of royal blood, but owed her elevation only to her personal charms. This latter supposition certainly receives some support from the play itself. It is a well-known fact that the heroine of a Nâṭikâ should be a princess (see, *e.g.*, Daśarûpa, ed. Hall, III. 427). That is also the case with the heroine of our play. She is not, however, said to be born in a natural way in a royal family, but we are asked to believe that the daughter of a Chaulukya king of Gujarât, whom Arjunavarman had defeated, found her death in the struggle but was reborn as a cluster of Pârijâta-blossoms, which was afterwards transformed into a woman. This fantastic tale becomes very reasonable under the supposition that the poet wanted to introduce a really living lady, who was not of royal blood, as the heroine of his Nâṭikâ, without infringing the rule that the heroine must be a princess.

The Pârijâtamañjarî contains several passages in Prâkrit. Only two Prâkrit dialects are used, *viz.*, Śaurasênî in prose passages and Mâhârâshṭrî in verses. The two dialects are not always correctly distinguished. Thus we find forms such as *piñjarijjanta, mihuṇa, caüraṅga, kavalidammi, pechchha,* &c , in Śaurasênî, and *sahidô, nijjida, êdê,* &c., in Mâhârâshṭrî. On the whole, however, the Prâkrit is fairly correct. This fact is of some interest, because it shows that the art of writing a comparatively correct Prâkrit had not been lost in the 13th century, though the Prâkrit dialects themselves had ceased to be spoken vernaculars centuries before that time.

Professor Hultzsch has edited the Prâkrit passages as he found them on the stone. Thus he has retained the *ya-śruti* where it occurs, and has left the dental *n* in cases where a cerebral *ṇ* would have been more correct. In doing so, he is in agreement with grammarians such as Hêmachandra. The *ya-śruti* is generally used by Jainas, and the change of an uncompound dental *n* to the cerebral *ṇ*, which is prescribed as a general rule by Vararuchi (ii. 42), cannot, at any time, have prevailed in the spoken vernaculars. Hêmachandra excepts such cases where the *n* is initial. Old Prâkrit inscriptions and modern vernaculars seem to show that Hêmachandra was nearer to the truth than Vararuchi. The Prâkrits, as we know them from plays, had early become literary languages which must be learnt from books. Their base, however, was the actual speech of the people in very old times. That is the case not only with Śaurasênî, but also with Mâhârâshṭrî, which dialect cannot be characterized as an attempt to imitate the indistinct language of singers. That is proved by the use of a dialect which can, with the same right as Mâhârâshṭrî, be described as "emasculated stuff" by an important Indian sect in their religious books, and by the fact that the dropping of unaspirated single consonants between vowels must necessarily be presupposed in order to explain the vocabulary of Marâṭhî, the modern descendant of Mâhârâshṭrî. With regard to the use of the dental and cerebral nasals, Marâṭhî agrees with Hêmachandra's rule: an old uncompounded *n* between vowels becomes *ṇ*, while an initial *n* and a double or compounded *n* is retained as dental. I therefore think that Professor Hultzsch is quite right in not correcting every *n* to *ṇ*. In such cases the author has been influenced by the practice in the actual vernaculars.

Professor Hultzsch's edition of the text is excellent, as might be expected from so careful a scholar. He has introduced the spelling common in modern critical editions, but has made some slight alterations in a few places. I am not sure that he is right in altering *pamphulla* on p. 2, l. 10, and *muhayanda*, p. 3, l. 6. On the whole, however, I think that everybody will be thankful to the editor for his sound criticism. A Sanskrit translation of the Prâkrit passages, which has been added by the editor, will prove to be a great help to students. The book will, on the whole, be a most convenient text-book for University lectures and examinations.

STEN KONOW.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN WESTERN TIBET.

KHALATSE.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

IN the pursuance of my duties as a missionary stationed at the little village of Khalatse, 52 miles from Leh on the trade road, I have often to travel between these two places. My journeys have afforded me an opportunity of accumulating material of a certain archæological and historical value, and my collection of historical records on rock and stone comprises at least 80 inscriptions, dating from c. 800 A. D. to c. 1800 A. D. Mostly out of this collection I now select some of the most interesting records and treat them in a series of articles.

INSCRIPTIONS AT KHALATSE.

(A) The Record of the construction of the present Khalatse Bridge.

On the left bank of the Indus, just underneath the end of the longer one of the two bridges, there is a boulder of granite with a somewhat polished black surface. Half of this boulder was blasted away in the most ruthless manner, when the bridge was repaired about three years ago. The inscription, however, escaped destruction. The present Commissioner, Captain Patterson, has taken particular care of the stone, but there ought to be a law against the destruction by road-builders of any boulder bearing an inscription. On the above-mentioned boulder is an inscription of six lines. The characters employed are of the ordinary dBu-can type and very small, and have apparently been executed with steel implements. Like many other ancient inscriptions it can only be read when the sun is in a certain position. The orthography employed in it (*e. g.*, *myig* for *mig*) bears witness to the age of the inscription, which cannot, in any case, be placed much after 1000 A. D.

Tibetan Text.	Translation.
1. brugkyi lo dbyar zla tha chungkyi thses bcupala rgyalpoi yab rgyalpo chenpo	1. In the dragon year on the 10th day of the last of the [three] summer months, the king's father, the great king . . . .
2. . . . . cadkyi sku rnamsla blonpo . . . . blonpo chenpo garkas kalatseyi zampa byaspas	2. . . . . for all the bodies (idols ?) the minister . . . . the great minister Garka having made the Kalatse Bridge,
3. rgyalpo chenpos semscan thamscadkyi dondu byaspa 'adila sus snyingla logpa	3. the great king made it for the benefit of all creatures. Whoever thinks evil of it in his heart,
4. samsna snying rulcig lagpas regna lagpa chad cig myiggis log	4. Let his heart rot; whoever stretches his hand towards it, let his hand be cut off; whoever harms it with his eye,
5. par byasna myig long shig . . . . sus zampala nganpa byedpa	5. may his eye become blind . . . . whoever does any harm to the bridge,
6. semscan dmyalbar skyeshig.	6. may that creature be born [again] in hell!

Note.

Although the names of the royal personages, father and son concerned, are not given in the inscription, I feel almost certain that it goes back to the times of king Lha-chen-nag-lug, who reigned about 1150 A. D.

My reasons are as follows :—

(1) The inscription is approximately of that date, as is proved by its orthography.

(2) Of all the ancient kings, only king Lha-chen-nag-lug's name is mentioned in connection with Khalatse, which he is said to have founded, though this can hardly have been the case, as the Dard colony of Khalatse, with a petty Dard king of its own, was already in existence in his time. But he probably built the Brag-nag Castle above Khalatse, the bridge, and perhaps a few official houses, and he was the king who made Khalatse into a real dependency of the kings of Leh. That we find two kings, father and son, mentioned in the inscription, is quite in accordance with a custom often practised by the royal families of Western Tibet, by which the heir-apparent, on reaching manhood, became the assistant of his father in the government.

(3) The dragon year, named in the inscription, is identical with that mentioned in the *rGyal-rabs* as the year of the foundation of Khalatse. As the cycle is only of twelve years, this does not count for much, but in such a case as this the coincidence is worth remarking.

(4) From a technical point of view this inscription is very much superior to the many which surround it, as it is the only one which suggests the use of steel. All the rest were probably wrought with stone implements.

(B) Inscription of king Shirima.

A boulder very close to that just mentioned is covered with a royal inscription. It is of similar age, because it includes an instance of the ancient orthography, writing *myi* for the later *mi*. A great part of it is unfortunately illegible. The characters are of the ancient dBu-med[1] type and are large and roughly executed, probably with some stone implement.

Tibetan Text.	Translation.
1. rje rgyalpo	1. The lord, the great king
2. chenpo shirima myi tham	2. Shirima [for] all men
3. . . . . lo rgyangba dung rgyud bod	3. . . . . year, the rGyangba-dung family [from] Tibet
4. . . . . yang dzadpai	4. . . . . also made . . . .
5. . . . . Khala[tse] . . . . shin	5. . . . . Khala[tse] . . . .

Notes.

There . . . . is no king Shirima mentioned in the *rGyalrabs* of Western Tibet, so it is not likely that the king of the inscription belonged to the royal family of Leh. The name Shirima does not even appear to be of Tibetan origin, and the inscription probably alludes to one of the last petty kings who held Khalatse before the advent of the Central Tibetans, or to one of the vassal chiefs they set up in accordance with their policy of not exterminating the petty kings whom they subdued.

These kings or chiefs may have resided at the castle now in ruins on the banks of the Indus, at the end of the cultivated area of Khalatse. It was surrounded by a deep ditch on the land side, and is the only one I have seen in Ladakh not built on an eminence. Underneath it, just above the river, are the remains of the piers of a bridge, making the third bridge built at Khalatse.

The history of the three bridges seems to be as follows. The first bridge was at Balu-mkhar to reach which merchants had to travel on the left bank of the Indus for four miles over very uneven ground. The kings of Khalatse therefore built a second bridge underneath their castle to save four

[1] Similar characters occur at Alchi-mkhar-gog.

miles of bad road. The king of Leh, who made Khalatse into a Tibetan town, built a third bridge on the present site and saved the trying journey on the left bank altogether. The Balu-mkhar Bridge and the second bridge then lost their importance and decayed, but the castle of Balu-mkhar seems to have been kept up down to about the Balti invasion in 1600.

(C) Inscription of king rGya-shin.

On another boulder, in the near neighbourhood of the preceding inscriptions, is one of a similar type to that inscribed by king Shirima. It is written in **dBu-med characters** and very roughly executed. The lower part is illegible, as a more recent inscription has been carved straight across it. The first lines run thus: —

Tibetan Text.	Translation.
1. rgyalpo chenpo	1. The great king.
2. rgya shin[sk]u γzhon	2. rGya-shin-[sk]u-γzhon
3. Khala[tse]	3. [of] Khala[tse] . . . .

Notes.

We have here possibly a record of another petty **king of Khalatse of the line of Shirima.** This line has, perhaps, been ignored in local history for having given offence to the suzerain kings of Leh. At any rate it seems to have disappeared about **1200 A. D.** The last witnesses of its existence, besides the ruined castle on the banks of the Indus above-mentioned, are a number of **stûpas**, partly in ruins, but still the highest in Khalatse. These *stûpas* go to prove that, during its last days, the dynasty had become Lamaist, while traces of several graves close to the ruined castle go to prove that these kings, before they came into touch with the Leh Dynasty, were **true Dards,** whose custom it was to bury their dead.

There is **another Dard Castle** on the brook of Khalatse, about a mile above the Indus. This castle seems to have escaped destruction from the Tibetans. It was deserted later on, when its inhabitants joined the Khalatse people and became Tibetanized.[2]

(D) The Lost Stone Inscription of King bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, c. 1650—1680 A. D.

A little below the **Brag-nag Castle** at Khalatse, there used to be an inscribed stone, which was destroyed only a few years ago. As there are many people alive, who have seen and read it, and have a good reason for accurately handing down its contents, I give them as told to me.

Tibetan Text.

Chos rgyal chenpo bde ldan rnam rgyalgyis Khalatsepala; sabon 'adebspai dus ni, lcangrinas ltaste, nyima bragkhungla nubna btabdgos; drongpa chu drenpai res ni, dangpo bsod rnams phelpa dang grong dponpa dang gongmapa γsum; γnyispa snumpa dang starapa dang dragchospa γsum; γsumpa ni sabipa dang sherabpa dang bedapa γsum; bzhipa ni rkang chagpa dang khrollepa dang rallupa γsum; lngapa ni dragchospa dang gadcanpa dang grambucanpa γsum; drugpa ni byabapa dang phanba dang bragcanpa γsum; bdunpa ni rkyallupa dang skamburpa dang monpa γsummo.

Translation.

The religious **king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal** [tells] the people of Khalatse: This is the time for sowing: when the sun sets in the cavity in the rock, looking from the Willow Hill, you must sow. The order of watering the fields (irrigating) for the peasants is this: bSod-rnams-phelpa and Grong-

[2] Besides the ancient Tibetan inscriptions, there are several ancient non-Tibetan inscriptions at Khalatse. One of them was reproduced *ante*, Vol. XXXI. p. 401, Plate III., fig. 1, and Vol. XXXII. p. 361, Plate II., fig. 1. My collection of non-Tibetan inscriptions (mostly from Khalatse) numbers ten inscripions. Three of them were sent to Dr. Ph. Vogel, Archæological Surveyor, Panjab, who pronounced one of them to be Kharoṣṭhî, and another ancient Brahmî of the first century. Thus the theory of the presence of the ancient pre-Lamaist Buddhism in Ladakh is becoming an established fact.

dponpa and Gongmapa, these three, first; sNumpa and sTarapa and Dragshospa, these three, second; Sabipa and Sherabpa and Bedapa, these three, third; rKangchagpa and Khrollepa and Rallupa, these three, fourth; Dragshospa and Gadcanpa and Grambucanpa, these three, fifth; Byabapa and Phanba and Bragcanpa, these three, sixth; rKyallupa and sKamburpa and Monpa, these three, seventh.

Notes.

The "cavity in the rock" (*brag khung*) is a peculiar rock formation, which, to a person looking towards it from the "Willow Hill" (*lcang ri*), has the appearance of a window. This "Willow Hill" is in the middle of the village and is completely covered with houses, but the name seems to indicate that in by-gone times there existed on it a clump or wood of willows. The time for sowing is determined at Khalatse still in the way given in the edict. In other villages it is determined by the *lamas* or *onpos* (astrologers), who find a day of good omen for it.[3] The order of watering the fields is still the same as that above given. Administrative work of this kind is never recorded in the *rGyalrabs*, and for this reason the evidence of the stone inscriptions is of particular value to the student of history.

(E) Manuscript Decree of king Nyima-rnam-rgyal, c. 1700—1730 A. D.

In the possession of **the Dragchos family** there are **two decrees in MS.** One of them was issued by **king Nyima-rnam-rgyal**, and the other by king **rDorje-thse-dpal-mi-'agyur-dongrub-rnam-rgyal.** I now give the text and a translation of **the first.** King Nyima-rnam-rgyal was celebrated for his wisdom in pronouncing judgment, and this decree is an interesting example of his manner of deciding difficult cases.

From very ancient times the **Gongmapa family** had held the highest position in the village, the oldest member being honoured with the title 'Wazîr.' But apparently **king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal**, whom we know from the preceding edict, made **Drag-chos** the chieftain of the village, without deposing the old Wazîr. The people of Khalatse did not like having two superiors, and were in doubt which of the two was the person really to be treated as such, and king **Nyima-rnam-rgyal** had to decide the point. The following decree embodies his decision of the matter.

Tibetan Text.

Sa skyong mi dbang phyug nyima rnam rgyalba lhai bkā.

mNgā 'ogtu γtogspai rgyal khams spyi dang bye phragtu Khalatsei rgan mi mangs yar mar 'agrim 'agrulgyi sku thsab zhi draggi donla mngagspa thamscad la springspa: 'aGangba rgya mthso pha mes rgyud γsum nas Khalatse drag shos byed bzhinpalas, bar zhig Dongrub bsod rnam dang 'athab rtsod byungnas sler khrims sar yongsnas 'athabpar, ladvags stod bshamskyi rgan γsum rnamskyis zhib γsal nyannas, bden brdargyi bar rgyan btangnas, rgyalpoi mnā byedpar byasnas, 'aGangba rgya mthso rgyalnas, mnā thsigtu: nga pha mesnas dragshos bkā drin skyangsnas yod byinpa las dran krab laggi[s] byaspa yinri, de yang dragshoskyi thob khungs gral 'ago dang γsangma kyithsir, grongpa dgu spo reskyi yado rkang ya gong phud, phug rkyas'ol rngas rnams thob nges sngar khrims yin zhes rnam rgyal rtsemo dang γyutur zhugsnas mnā skyelnas, γtsang dag byas, sngar mal dragshoskyi dbang ris bdag thob, gong γsal dang bcas γnaspa bkā drin skyangspa yinpas, khyod gong 'akhod rnamskyi[s] snyod 'athse bkā 'adod sogs γtannas, ma byedpa bdebar γnas bcugpa galche, galsrid phyag rgya 'adi mthong bzhin rtsis med byasna, rtsad γcod dragpo yongbai sosor goba bgyis, zhubapo bsodnam lhungrub yin, ces shing spre zlaba 8 pai thses 29 la phobrang thsemo slel mkhar rtsenas 'abris.

Translation.

[This is] the word of the protector of the earth, [who is] rich in power over men, **Nyima rnam-rgyal**, the god.

[3] I was told later on, that also this edict contained a hint about fixing a day of good omen, when the sun was in the position described above. But that part of the inscription has been forgotten.

It is proclaimed to all those under[my] government in general, and to the elders of Khalatse in particular, as well as to the messengers who are sent up and down on errands either of peace or of punishment (literally : peaceful and rough). **'aGongba-rgya-mthso,** whose family has been **Dragshos at Khalatse** for three generations, on a certain occasion had a quarrel with **Dongrub-bsod-rnams** (the head of the **Gongmapa family**). They came to the court at Leh and disputed. The elders of Upper and Lower Ladakh, having carefully listened [to the case], cast lots to find exactly the truth, and made the king swear an oath. — 'aGongba-rgya-mthso won the case, and my oath is [this]: I have shown kindness to Dragshos since [the days of] my forefathers, and [Dragshos] has always done his work in a clever way. Thus it is suitable for Dragshos to receive: — The place of honor (at festivals), the dish of honor, a share of the game from nine peasants [who are] to offer it in turns, [a share] at the harvest of straw and lucerne. As has been the former custom, I swear by the existence of the rNam-rgyal-rtsemo (Hill) and γYutur, and have made it clear that Dragshos receives the authority he has had before. As my mercy also extends to letting him rank with the nobility, it is important that you noblemen neither despise him nor give him any commands, &c., but let him live in peace. Whoever, when seeing this letter, does not heed it, will be sternly brought to judgment. This must be understood by everybody. The petitioner is bSodnam-lhungrub. Thus it is written on the 29th of the 8th month of the wood-monkey year **[about 1705]** at the Leh Palace, Phobrang-thsemo.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

bye phragtu, is the same as classical *bye bragtu*, the Ladakhi word being probably the more original.

'agrim 'agrulgyi sku thsab, are the aides-de-camp of the kings.

bar shig, at an opportunity.

brdar, is the classical *bdar*.

dran krab laggis, means 'in a clever way.'

kyi thsir, is a plate filled with more flour pudding than ordinary people receive.

rkang ya gong phud, taking off a leg, or the upper part (when game was brought); this used to be the right of chieftains of villages.

rnam rgyal rtsemo, is the name of the hill behind Leh, on the southern slope of which the royal palace stands.

γyutur, seems to be a place-name ; I do not know where it is.

gong γsal, were the noblemen, who were allowed to enter into the presence of the king. Other people had to speak to the king through one of them who was called the 'petitioner.' So Dragshos (probably *dragchos*, sorcerer) had to get his case started through a petitioner, as is shown at the end of the document.

Note on the English Translation.

The matter of special interest in this case is that even by this king, who was particularly famous for his wisdom in pronouncing judgment, lots were cast, previous to coming to a decision.

Seals of king Nyima-rnam-rgyal.

There are **two red seals** attached to the decree. **The first** is printed to the right of the first line in which it is stated that the decree is to be taken as the word of the king, and seems to be of an ornamental character only. **The second** seal is placed at the bottom of the document. It is a square, containing in the centre the second part of the name of the king, rNam-rgyal, which is also the name of the dynasty. It is in **Hor-yig, or ancient Mongolian characters.** These characters are a square form of Tibetan and are written from top to bottom, after the manner of Mongolian writing. They are occasionally used for ornamental writing in Tibet. The name rNam-rgyal is written in two vertical columns, the left column containing the first, and the second column the second syllable of the name.

(To be continued.)

HINDUISM IN THE HIMALAYAS.

BY H. A. ROSE.

I. — Vaishṇava Cults.[1]

Hindu Cults in the Sirmûr State, Pâñjab.

IN the Sirmûr State, Pañjâb, the Hindus have two chief cults, one Vaishṇava, the other Saiva. The former of these two is represented by the cult of **Paras Râm** and his derivative deities, which centres in **Rainkâ-jîo**[2], in the Rainka *tahsîl* of the State, at a great lake. Paras Râm's brothers are usually supposed to have become water, but, according to one local variant, **Jâmdaggan called his brothers cowards and turned them into women,** so that now they are *dêvîs* or goddesses, to wit: **Lâ Dêvî, Dormaî, Bhadwachhrî** or **Bhâdarkâlî,** and **Kamli,** all of whom have temples in the State. The local cult and ritual of Paras Râm are described in the forthcoming *Gazetteer of Sirmûr*, and to that description may be added the following *mantra* or prayer, and the *kabits* or couplets which are given below :—

The Mantrâ.

Sambhâde Srî Ragunâth sahansar nâm, jin kî kirpâ sê Harî gun gawên.

Om! Om! Om! Aunkâr kî nirmal jat! Nirmal jat se nâbh; nâbh se kaṅwal; kaṅwal se Brahmâ ôtpati bhaê. Le ḍanḍ karmandal ashnân ko gaê. Shankhâsûr Dânav otpatî bhaê.

Brahmâ tahân Vêd paṛhâê, tâ kâran Brahmâ chalâê Shivlôk kô. "Shivjî, tû hîn Hartâ, tû Hîn kartâ, tû hîn jânê Châr Vêd kâ matâ."

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[1] Compare from Vol. XXXII. p. 376, "Hinduism in the Himâlayas."

[2] *Jîo* is apparently an old form of *jî*, and the localised form of the legend runs that Jâmdaggan Rishî used to practise austerities at a peak called Jambu-ki-Dhar, near Jambu, where a *mârî* or temple still exists at the spot where the *rishî* had his *dhunî* or fire. The *pujârî* of Jambû still visits this *mârî* every Sunday and *sankrânt* day to worship there. Jâmdaggan's wife, Rainkâ Jî, had a sister Bainkâ who was married to Râjâ Sahnsâr-bâhu ('of the thousand arms'), and once when the *rîshi* celebrated a *jag*, Bainkâ asked Rainkâ to invite her to it. Rainkâ begged the *rishî* to do so, but at first he refused, because he could not afford to entertain a *râjâ* and his queen. He yielded, however, to Rainkâ's reiterated request and asked the god Indra to grant him Kâm-dhan, the cow of plenty; Kalp-brikhsh, the tree of paradise which yielded all manner of gifts; and Kuber, *bhandârî*, the celestial steward who could supply all kinds of luxuries. When the *râjâ* arrived with all his court, the *rishî* was thus enabled to entertain him sumptuously, and the *râjâ* was so mystified as to the source of the *rishî's* wealth, that he deputed his barber to find out whence it came. Learning that Kâm-dhan was the main source of supply, the *râjâ* asked for the cow as a gift, which the *rishî* refused, and so the *râjâ* determined to take her by force, but the *rishi* sent her into the sky to Indra. Thereupon the *râjâ* shot an arrow at the cow and wounded her in the foot, so the cow returned and attacked him. The *râjâ*, attributing this to the *rishî's* sorcery, put him to death and returned home. Rainkâ taking the *rishî's* body in her lap, was bewailing his death, when she was divinely told that Kuber, *bhandârî*, had the *amrit* or elixir of life, and that a drop of it placed in the dead *rishî's* mouth, would bring him back to life. So the *rishî* was restored to life and ordered his younger sons to kill Rainkâ, thinking that she had instigated his murder with the intention of marrying Sahnsâr-bâhu, but they refused. Then the *rishî* summoned Paras Râm, his eldest son, who was then practising austerities in the Konkan, and who appeared in an instant. Paras Râm killed his mother, and then, in consequence of the divine curse which fell upon him, went to the plains (*des*), and swore to kill all the Chhatrîs and to swim in their blood, deeming Sahnsâr-bâhu the cause of all his misery. Waging his war of extermination against the Chhatrîs he had reached Kuru-kshetr, where Indra learnt what blood-shed he was causing in fulfilment of his oath and sent rain until the water rose to the height of a man, and caused the upper currents to turn red. Meanwhile Jâmdaggan had been searching for his son, and meeting him with his axe on his shoulder, was so pleased with his performances that he asked if he had any desire. Paras Râm in reply begged his father to restore his mother and brothers to life, and performed his mother's funeral rites. The *rishî* replied that his wife and sons had become *jal sarup* or water, and that the former was in the larger and the latter in the smaller of the tanks at Rainkâ.

Kahên Mâhâdev : "ham gun vichâren, mângen bhikhshâ, kahen Harî. Wohî hartâ! Wohî kartâ! Wohî jânê châr Ved kâ matâ.

"Tâ kâran prithmên Machh Autâr ottrê. Machh kî mâtâ Shankhâwatî, pitâ Purav Rishi, gurû Mândhâtâ, khêtar Mânsarôwar purpâtan nirdhalante. Shankhâsûr Dânav lîo dharantê.

"Dutîâ Nârâin Kurm Autâr ottrê. Kuram kî mâtâ Karnâwatî, pitâ Bilôchan Rishi, gurû Dhagisat Bâwâ Rishi, khêtar Dungarpurî purpatan nirdhalante. Madho Kîtav Dânav lîo dharantê.

"Tritiê Barâh-rûp Autâr ottrê. Barâh kî mâtâ Lîlâwatî, pitâ Kaul Rishi, gurû Sahaj Rishi, khêtar Kanakpur purpatan nirdhalante. Hirnâkâshap Dânav lîo dharantê.

"Chatôrthê Nârain Narsingh Autar ottrê. Narsingh kî mâtâ Chandrâwatî, pita Harî-brahm Rishi, gurû Kaship Rishi, khêtar Multânpurî purpatan nirdhalante. Hirnâkash Dânav lîo dharantê.

"Pancham Nârain Bâwan Autâr ottrê. Bâwan kî mâtâ Langâwatî, pitâ Bilôchan Rishi, gurû Kâshap Rishi, khêtar Banaras purpaton nirdhalante. Chhalkê Balrajâ lîo dharantê.

"Khashtam Nârain Autâr ottrê Paras Râmjî. Paras Râmjî kî mâtâ Rainkâjî, pita Jamdagganjî, gurû Âgast Munijî, khêtar Kôpâlpurî purpatan nirdhalante. Sahansar-bahu Dânav lîo dharantê.

"Saptam Srî Râm Chandarji Autâr ottrê. Râm Chandarjî kî mâtâ Kaushalyâ, pita Dasrath, gurû Bashîsht Muni, khêtar Ajudhiâpuri purpatan nirdhalante. Dashâsur Râwan lîo dharantê.

"Ashtam Srî Nàrâin Krishan Autâr ottrê. Krishan kî mâtâ Dêwkî, pitâ tô Bâsdêv, gurû Durbhâshâ Rishi, khetar Muthorâpurî purpatan nirdhalante. Kansâsur lîo dharantê.

"Naveme Nârâin Budh-rûp Autâr ottrê. Budh kî mâtâ Padmâwatî, pitâ to Bilôchan Rishi, gurû Dhagesat Bâwâ Rishi, khêtar Parsotampuri purpatan nirdhalante. Gayâsur Dânav lîo dharantê.

"Dâshmîe Nârâin Daswân Autâr ottrêngê. Kab ottrêngê? Ab ottrêngê Mâghê Mâshê shukal pakhshê, Rewatî Nakhshatrê, Shanî-wârê, tith ashtamî. Batîs gaj kâ manush hôgâ: athârâ gaj kâ kharag hogâ; nau gaj kî chaurî hôgî, mûsal dhâra nîr barsêngê. Swait ghaurâ, swait pâlân, santâ gyâlâ malo mêghâ, dumbar sir chhattar brâjê. Khârâ jal mîthâ hôgâ. Hastnî dûdh dêgî. Dudh atal mîthâ hôgâ. Nishkalank kî mâtâ Mâtangî, pita Dhanuk Rishi, gurû Sahaj-rûp Rishi, khêtar Sambhêlânagrî purpatan nirdhalantê. Nîskalank Dânav lîo dharantê.

Translation.

The story of Srî Ragunâth of the thousand names, by whose grace we sing the praises of Harî.

Om! Om! Om! The stainless light of the letter Om![3] From the light the navel; from the navel the lotus; from the lotus was born Brahmâ. He took his staff and bowl[4] and went to bathe. Shankâsûr, the Dânav, was born.

Brahmâ then taught the *Vêdas*, and for that purpose Brahmâ went to Siva's abode. (Said he): "Shivjî, thou art the Slayer, thou art the Creator, thou knowest the meaning of the Four *Vêdas*."

[3] *i. e.*, first came the stainless light.

[4] *i. e.*, the *ḍanḍ* and *karmanḍal* carried by *faqîrs*.

Said Mahâdêv (Siva): "I meditate on the virtues (of God), I ask alms, I repeat (the name of) Harî (Vishṇu). He is the Slayer! He is the Creator! He knows the meaning of the Four *Vêdas.*

"For this he first assumed the Machh (Fish) Incarnation. The mother of the Fish was Shankhâwati, the father Purav Rishi, the teacher Mândhâtâ, the birth-place Mânsarôwar (Lake). He slew Shankhâsûr, the Dânav.

"Secondly, Nârâin (Vishṇu) assumed the Kurm (Tortoise) Incarnation. The mother of the Tortoise was Karnâwati, the father Bilôchan Rishi, the teacher Dhagisat Bâwâ Rishi, the birth-place Dungarpurî. He slew Mâdhô Kîtav, the Dânav.

"Thirdly, he assumed the Barâh-rûp (Boar) Incarnation. The mother of the Boar was Lîlâwatî, the father Kaul Rishi, the teacher Sahaj Rishi, the birth-place Kanakpur. He slew Hirnâkâshap, the Dânav.

"Fourthly, Nârain (Vishṇu) assumed the Narsingh (Man-lion) Incarnation. The mother of the Man-lion was Chandrâwatî, the father Harî-brahm Rishi, the teacher Kaship Rishi, the birth-place Multânpurî. He slew Hirnakhâsh, the Dânav.

"Fifth, Nârâin (Vishṇu) assumed the Bâwan Incarnation. The mother of the Bâwan was Langâwatî, the father Bilôchan Rishi, the teacher Kâshap Rishi, the birth-place Benares. He deceived Balrâjâ and slew him.

"Sixth, Nârâin (Vishṇu) assumed the Paras Râmjî Incarnation. The mother of Paras Râmjî was Rainkâjî, the father Jamdagganjî, the teacher Âgast Munijî, the birth-place Kôpâlpurî. He slew Sahansar-bahu, the Dânav.

"Seventh, he assumed the Srî Râm Chandarjî Incarnation. The mother of Râm Chandarjî was Kaushalyâ, the father Dasrath, the teacher Bashîsht Muni, the birth-place Ajudhiâpurî. He slew Dashâsur Râwan.

"Eighth, Srî Nârâin (Vishṇu) assumed the Krishn Incarnation. The mother of Krishn was Dêwkî, the father Bâsdêv, the teacher Durbhâshâ Rishi, the birth-place Muthorâpurî. He slew Kansâsur.

"Ninthly, Nârâin (Vishṇu) assumed the Budh-rûp (Buddha) Incarnation. The mother of Budh was Padmâwatî, the father Bilôchan Rishi, the teacher Dhagesat Bânû Rishi, the birth-place Parsôtampurî. He slew Gayâsur, the Dânav.

"Tenthly, Nârâin (Vishṇu) will assume the Tenth Incarnation. When will he assume it? Now[5] he will assume it in the month of Mâgh, in the light half, in the Rêwatî Nakshatra, on Saturday, the eighth of the month. He will be a man thirty-two yards (in height): his sword will be eighteen yards (long): his swish will be nine yards (long). It will rain heavily. White his horse, white his saddle, heavy clouds about him, an umbrella over his head. Salt water will become sweet. The elephant will give milk. Sour milk will become sweet. The mother of Nishkalank[6] is Mâtangî, the father Dhanuk Rishi, the teacher Sahaj-rûp Rishi, the birth-place Sambhêlânagrî. He slays Nishkalank (?), the Dânav."

The following are some of the couplets or *kabits* addressed to Paras Râm at Rainka-jio:—

The Kabits.

1.

Parbat chîr tâl banâ nîr gharâ jahân bhar manḍ hai,
Bâdshâh gharîb dhiâwen kalah jahân par chanḍ hai.
The hill was broken, and the lake made full of deep water,
Kings and the poor worship (there), and the miracle is known far and wide.

[5] At the following conjunction of the stars.

[6] The name of the Tenth Incarnation.

2.

Ashnân kîê pâp jât, dhiân kîe tâp jât,
Darshan kîe sarâp jat, mâyâ jahân aisî akhanḍ hai.
By bathing sins fly away, by devoutly meditating trouble flees,
By looking at (it) curses depart, where such prosperity is.

3.

Chanan samân kâshaṭ jahân,
Kanchan samân pâkhân jahân,
Shîr samân nîr jahân aisâ adhbat manḍ hai.
Wood is like sandal,
Stone like gold,
And water like milk at this wondrous place.

4.

Rainkâ samân tîrath nahîn, lôk tarî lôk bhawan meṅ,
Gupat jagah bâs kîṭo chârôṅ tarf jahân ban khanḍ hai.
There is no place so sacred as Rainkâ,
The place that is holy and densely wooded all round.

5.

Kitnî hî tîrath bâsî aisâ rakhte hain agyân,
Jinko ashnân karnâ phânsî ke barâbar ḍanḍ hai.
Some pilgrims are so foolish,
That to bathe is to them as great a penalty as hanging.

6.

Man men dhiâweṅ aur kâm mukh se bôlen jaî Paras Râm,
Din rât paṛe karên ârâm, jinkô darshan karnâ zihr hai.
They are thinking of other things, while with their lips they say 'Jai Paras Râm.'
They take their ease night and day, but to visit a temple is poison to them.

7.

Kahe Dêwâ Hîrâ Lâl, man pâpî kâ chhoṛ khial,
Hôt Paras Râm diâl, jin par unkî mihr hai.
Says Dêwâ Hîrâ Lâl, 'Take no thought of your sin,
Paras Râm favours those to whom he is gracious.'

II. — Saiva Cults.

(A) The Cult of Shirigul or Shrigul.

Siva is not extensively worshipped under that name in the Pañjàb Himâlayas, but two cults, those of **Shirigul** and **Mahâsu**, appear to be derivatives of Saivism. That of Shirigul is especially interesting and is described below. The home of this god is on the **Chaur**[7] **(Chûr) Peak** which is visible from Simla.

[7] See article in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.

Shirigul (or **Sargul**,[8] fancifully derived from *sard*, cold) has special power over cold, and, according to one account, is propitiated by a fair in order to avert cold and jaundice. In some dim way this attribute appears to be connected with the following version of the Shirigul legend :—

Shirigul's expeditions to Delhi were made in quest of the colossal vessels of brass which the Muhammadans had taken away. On his return his mother's sister-in-law brought him *sattu* (porridge) to eat, and, as he had no water to wash his hands and feet according to custom, he stamped on the ground so that water gushed out near a field at Shâyâ, a village in the Karli *ilâqa*. Having washed he was about to eat the *sattu* when suddenly he saw some insects in it and at once refused to eat it. After rescuing his kinsmen from the snake he went again to Delhi and attacked the Turks single-handed, killing great numbers of them, but suddenly seeing a stone tied to a *bor*, or banyan tree, he knew that it had been sent by the wife of his servant (*bhûṛ*), by name Chuṛu, as a signal of distress. Shirigul at once returned and found that all the members of Chuṛu's family, except his wife, had been transformed into one body by the serpents, and even to this day any branched stone is supposed to be Chuṛu's family and is much venerated.

The following is another legend which is current regarding the origin of the cult: — One Bhakaṛû, a Râjput, of Shâyâ had no offspring, and desiring a son he journeyed to Kashmîr where dwelt Pânûṅ, a *paṇḍit*, whose house he visited in order to consult him. The *paṇḍit's* wife, however, told Bhatkaṛû that he was sleeping and that he used to remain asleep for six months at a stretch. Bhakaṛû was disappointed at not being able to consult the *paṇḍit*, but being himself endowed with spiritual power, he created a cat which scratched the *paṇḍit* and awoke him. Learning that Bhakaṛû had thus had power to disturb his sleep, the *paṇḍit* admitted him and told him he was childless because he had committed *Brahm-hatiâ*, or Brâhmaṇ-murder, and that he should in atonement marry a Brâhmaṇ girl, by whom he would become the father of an incarnation. Bhakaṛû accordingly married a Bhâṭ girl of high degree and to her were born two sons, Shirigul and Chandêsar, both the parents dying soon after their birth. The boys then went to their maternal uncle's house and Shirigul was employed in grazing his sheep, while Chandêsar tended the cows. But one day their uncle's wife in malice mixed flies and spiders with Shirigul's *sattu* or porridge, and when he discovered this, Shirigul threw away the food and fled to the forest, whereupon the *sattu* turned into a swarm of wasps which attacked and killed the uncle's wife. Shirigul took up his abode in the Chûr Dhâr, whence one day he saw Delhi, and, being seized with a desire to visit it, he left Chuṛû, a Bhôr[9] Kanêt by caste, in charge of his dwelling, collected a number of gifts and set out for the city. Halting near Jhîl Rain-Kâ, "the lake of Rainkâ," his followers were attacked by a tiger which he overcame, but spared on condition that it should not again attack men. Again, at Kôlar in the Kiârda Dûn, he subdued a dragon which he spared on the same terms. Reaching Delhi he went to a trader's shop who weighed the gifts he had brought, but by his magic powers made their weight appear only just equal to the *pâsang* or difference between the scales, but Shirigul in return sold him a skein of silk which he miraculously made to outweigh all that the trader possessed. The trader hastened to the Mughal emperor for redress and Shirigul was arrested while cooking his food on his feet, because in digging out a *chulâ* he had found a bone in the soil. In the struggle to arrest Shirigul his cooking-vessel was overturned and the food flowed out in a burning torrent which destroyed half the city. Eventually Shirigul was taken before the emperor who cast him into prison, but Shirigul could not be fettered, so the emperor, in order to defile him, had a cow killed and pinioned him with a

[8] The name is probably a corruption of Srî-Gûru.

[9] Probably *bhûṛ*, 'servant,' is meant, and if so, we should read "Chuṛû, the *bhûṛ*, a Kanêt by caste."

thong of its hide. Upon this Shirigul wrote a letter to Gûgâ Pîr of the Bâgaṛ in Bîkânêr and sent it to him by a crow. The Pîr advanced with his army, defeated the emperor, and released Shirigul, whose bonds he severed with his teeth. Shirigul then returned to the Chûr Peak.

During his absence the demon Asur Dânûn had attacked Churû, completely defeating him and taking possession of half the peak. Shirigul thereupon cursed Churû, who was turned into a stone still to be seen on the spot, and assailed Asur Dânûn, but without success; so he appealed to Indra, who sent lightning to his aid and expelled Asur Dânûn from the Chûr. The demon in his flight struck his head against a hill in Jubbal, and went right through it; the Ul cave still exists to testify to this. Thence he passed through the Sainj Nadî and across the Dhârla into the Tons river, by which he reached the ocean. The Dhârla ravine still remains to prove the truth of the legend.[10]

Another account says nothing of Shirigul's visit to Delhi, but makes Bhakarû the Rânâ of Shâyâ. It further says that Shirigul became a *bhagat* or devotee, who left his home to live on the Chûr Peak upon which Śiva dwelt. Gaining greater spiritual power from Śiva, Shirigul caused all the boys of the neighbourhood to be afflicted with worms, while he himself assumed the form of a Bhâṭ and wandered from village to village, proclaiming that if the boys' parents built him a temple on the Dhâr he would cure them all. The temple was built on the Chûr Peak and Shirigul began to be considered a separate deity.

The temple of Shirigul at Churidhar is square and faces east. It has but one storey nine feet in height, with a verandah, and its roof consists of a gable, the topmost beam (*khinwar*) of which is adorned with brass vessels (*anda*) fixed to it by pegs. Outside the temple is hung a necklace (*mâlâ*) of small pieces of wood (*kharôṛî*). There is only one door, on which figures, &c., have been carved. Inside this temple is another smaller temple, also of *deodâr*, shaped like a dome, and in this is kept the *ling* which is six inches high and four inches in circumference. It is made of stone and is placed in a *jalahrî* or vessel of water, which, too, is of stone. No clothes or ornaments are placed on the *ling*.

A worshipper brings with him his own Bhâṭ, who acts as *pujârî*. The Bhâṭ must not eat until he has performed the worship and made the offerings. He first bathes in the adjacent spring, puts on clean clothes and lights a lamp, burning *ghî*, not oil, before the idol. Then he takes a brass *lôṭâ* of fresh water, and sprinkles it over the idol and the floor of the temple with a branch of the *chikhon* or *chhânbar* shrub. He next fills a spoon with fire, *ghî*, and the leaves of the *katharchâl* and *lâhêsrî*, odoriferous plants found on the Dhâr, and burns them before the idol, holding the spoon in his right hand, while he rings a bell with his left, and repeats the names of *tîraths* and *avatârs* only. After this office he blows a conch, terminating it with a prostration to the idol. It may be performed at any time. The *jâtrî* or worshipper now bathes, puts on clean clothes, and prostrates himself before the idol. After this he may make the offerings which consist of a *rattî*[11] of gold or silver, money, *ghî*, (but not more than

10 An instance of the countless legends which explain natural features by tales of Śiva's prowess, or attribute them to his emanations. Below is one attributed to Shirigul himself. The Sikan Kâ Pânî legend says that in the old times an inhabitant of Jhojar village went to Shirigul at the Chûr Peak and asked the Dêotâ to give him a canal in his village. He stayed three days at the peak and did not eat or drink anything. Shirigul appeared in a monk's garb and gave him a *tumbâ* full of water, which the god covered with a leaf telling the man not to open it on his way home, but at the place where he wanted the canal to run. On reaching Sikan the man opened the *tumbâ* and found a snake in it which sprang out and ran away. Water flowed behind the snake, and a small canal still flows in Sikan and waters several villages. Being thus disappointed, again went the man to the Chûr and the god again gave him a *tumbâ*, telling him to throw the water and say, '*Niche Jhojar, upar jhajal* — Jhoja, village below and a waterfall above it,' and he should have plenty of water. But the man again forgot and said '*Upar Jhojar, niche jhajal*' — Jhojar above and the waterfall below.' This mistake caused the water to flow *below* the village and that only in a small quantity.

11 *Rattî* is a weight equal to eight grains of rice or 1⅞ of a grain (English weight).

two *chhittâks,*) a pice or two, small vessels, *andas,* of pewter or copper, which are hung on the temple, and a he-goat. The benefits sought are secular, not spiritual, and the worship is expected to ward off evil.

Jâgâ or uninterrupted worship for a whole night can only be performed at the temple, as the *ling* must not be removed from it. A lamp in which *ghî,* not oil, is burnt, is placed all night before the *ling*, and in the course of the night three offices are performed, one at evening, another at midnight, and the third at morn. At this last the *pujârî* feeds the god: water is poured over the back of a he-goat, and if the animal shivers it is believed that the god has accepted the offering and the goat is killed. The head is offered to the god and taken by the *pujârî* on his behalf, the remainder being cooked and eaten. Or the goat is not killed but let loose, and it then becomes the property of the Dêwâ.[12]

Another account says that two men, a *pujârî* and a Dêwâ, accompany the worshipper, the former receiving the goat's head, and the latter the other offerings.[13]

Other Temples to Shirigul.

1. At Mânal.

Shirigul also has a temple at Mânal, which was built by Ulgâ and Jojra, Dêwâs, as the following **legend** tells :—

In order to enhance his sanctity Shirigul made an effigy. This he placed with some lamps in a basin which he floated on the Jalâl stream in Bhâdon. The basin reached Shakôhal village in Pachhâd Tahsîl, and there a Râjput of the Sapâla (= *sapêla* or snake-charmer) family of Chanâlag saw it. Struck with amazement, he challenged it to float on if a demon, but if a deity to come to the bank. The basin came to the bank where he was standing and the Râjput took it to his home. Some days later it was revealed to him that the image was that of Shirigul, that it would never be revered by the Râputs who were ignorant of the mode of worship, and that it should be taken to Bakhuta in Pachhâd or he would suffer a heavy loss. Accordingly, he removed it to Bakhûṭa, where it was duly worshipped, and hence a Dêwâ, Bidan by name, stole it and brought it to Mânal.

A fair is held on the Haṛiâlî,[14] and another on any three days of Sâwan at Gelyon, a small plateau in the lands of Nahra, at a *kôs* from Mânal. Men and women here dance the *gî,* a hill dance, and people exchange *môṛâ* (wheat parched or boiled), maize, rice, &c.

The **temple** at Mânal is square, 24 cubits high, with three storeys, each provided with a stair to give access to the one above it. The property of the god is kept in the middle storey, Outside the door there is a wooden verandah, on which figures are carved and which is furnished with fringes of wooden pegs. *Andas* are also fixed on to it. The highest storey contains the idol, and has the *khinwar* or gable like the Chûr temple. The whole of the wood-work is stained with *gêrû.* The temple faces south-west.

The temple contains 12 **images** of Shirigul, all placed on wooden shelves (*gambar*) in the wall, and the principal of these is the idol brought by Bidan. This is made of *asht-dhât*[15]

[12] The Dêwâs are a class of Kanêts or Bhâts, held to be peculiarly the men of the god.

[13] The *pujârî* kindles fire on a stone and offers incense, made of *ghî*, *pâjî* and *katarchâr* leaves, while he recites the following *mantra*: — '*Âo aur wanaspatô punarwar biriô makhṭô, sarb sûch, sojî . . . . barchhak bhâ nang, nomi, nam, ganâ ṣognam, châre hôtî, narsângnûn, namo nâmi jantô, mashnô, jiyâ bhamôn, nandar nôn, odarkas tarî gabre, merî masnî, miyâ sâgam, bhâgam, jismâr, jisanbâṛ, bhôshô jamandwâr, nibat hâr, parbûm, parchanûn, hasht pharô, parbarsâî, korshânti, shâmân shânti, nesh kôlî, deôna shântî, bhorâtarî, pâtrî jhaṛî, kâṛû ḍabêle, sargal deotâ kî kâṛû ḍabêle, Bijal. Bijâi kî kârû ḍabêle Chûṛ, wa muṛ wa Dilîgaḍh kâṛu dabêle, Châr bhâî Mahâsho, kâṛû ḍabêle, Ganga, Hardwâr, Badrî Kidâr kâṛû ḍabêle, pâtrî jhaṛî.*'

[14] Haṛiâlî is the last day of Hâṛ, and the Sankrâṇt of Sâwan, and derives its name from *hârâ* 'green.'

[15] *i. e.*, eight metals.

(bell-metal), and is 5 fingers high by 2 fingers broad, with a human face. It is clothed in *masrû* or silk cloth, with a piece of broad-cloth, studded with 100 rupees and 11 gold *mohars*, round its neck. The remaining 11 images are of brass, and are of two classes, four of them being a span in height and 9 fingers wide, with a piece of *masrû* round the neck: the other seven are 10 fingers high and 7 broad. The images are thus arranged :—

3, 3, 3, 3   2, 2   1   2, 2   3, 3, 3,

the original image being in a silver *chauki* (throne), with a small umbrella over it.

2. At Deona and Bandal.

The temples at Deôna (Dabôna) and Bandal are similar to the one at Mânal. Each has a *bhandâr* or store-room, in charge of a *bhandârî* or storekeeper. These *bhandârs* are rich, and from them the *pujârîs*, *bâjgîs*, and *bhandârîs* are paid, and pilgrims and *sâdhûs* fed. The Dêwâs also are maintained from the *bhandârs*.

The second-class images of the Mânal and Deôna temples can be taken home by a worshipper for the performance of a *jâgâ*, as can the first-class image from that of Bândal. The image is conveyed in a copper coffer borne by a bare-footed *pujârî* on his back, and followed by 10 or 12 Dêwâs, of whom one waves a *chaurî* over the coffer. The procession is accompanied by musicians and two flags of the god.

On arrival at the worshipper's house, the place where the image is to be placed is purified, being sprinkled with Ganges water. The image is removed from the coffer inside the house and placed on a heap of wheat or *mandwa*. The arrival should be timed for the evening. The *jâgâ* ritual is that already described. Next day the god is fed and taken back to his temple. The worshipper has to pay to the *pujârî* and *bâjgî*, each Re. 1, to the *bhandârî* annas 4, and to the Dêwâ, Rs. 2 or 3.

3. At Jâmnâ.

There is also a temple of Shirigul at Jâmnâ in Bhôj Mast. Here the god is worshipped twice daily, in the morning and evening. The *pujârî* is a Bhâṭ, who, with the *bâjgî*, receives the offerings. When a he-goat is offered, the *pujârî* takes the head, the *bâjgî* a thigh, while the rest is taken by the *jâtrî* himself. The temple is like an ordinary hill-house, having two storeys, in the upper of which the god lives. The door of the upper storey faces west and that of the lower eastward. There is also a courtyard, 15 feet long by 10 feet wide, on this side. The forefathers of the people in Jâmnâ, Pobhâr, Kânḍon, Châwag and Ṭhâna villages brought a stone from Chûṛ Dhâṛ and built this temple as a protection against disease. It contains an image which was obtained from Jûnga, and is furnished with a palanquin, canopy, *singhâsan* or throne and an *amratî* or vessel used for water in the ritual. The Bîsû fair is held here from the 1st to the 5th of Baisâkh, and both sexes attend. It is celebrated by songs, dancing, and the *thôdâ* or mock combat with bows and arrows.

4. In the Pâontâ Tahsîl.

Shirigul has no special *mandar* in Pâontâ Tahsîl, but he has several small *mandars* in villages. These contain images of stone or a mixture of lead and copper. He is worshipped to the sound of conchs and drums, leaves, flowers and water being also offered daily, with the following *mantrâ*:—

Namôṅ âd âlâ, namôṅ brahm balâ
Namôṅ âd Nâthî, namôṅ shankha chakra
Gadâ padam dhârî.
Namôṅ machh kachh barâh awatârî
Namôṅ Nâhar Singh kurb kî dhârî
Namôṅ asht ashtangî, namôṅ chhait kârî
Namôṅ Srî Suraj deotâ namôṅ namskârâ.

'I salute thee who wert in the beginning, who art great and supreme Brahma, who wert Lord of all that was in the beginning, who holdest the conch, mace, quoit

and lotus (in thy four hands), who revealest thyself in the forms of a fish, a tortoise, a boar, and a man-lion, who hast eight forms and who art beneficent. I also salute thee, O Sun ! thou art worthy of adoration.'

5. At Naonî.

There is another temple of Shirigul at Naonî village in the Tahsîl of Nâhan. A fair is held here on the day of Hariâlî or first of Sâwan. He-goats, *halwa* or *ghî* are offered. The people dread him greatly.

6. At Sanglâhan.

There is also a *dêôthalî* or 'place of the god,' Shirigul, at Sanglâhan. The *pujârî* is a Brâhmaṇ and the mode of worship and offerings are similar to those at Jawâla Mukhi's temple. Goats are, however, not sacrificed here, only *halwa* being offered. The fair is held on the Gyâs day, the Kâtik *sudî ikâdshî* of the lunar year, and the 30th of Kâtik in the solar year. Only men and old women, not young girls, attend this fair.

In Jaitak also there is a temple of this god.

Story of Srî Gul, dêota of Chûri Dhâr in Jubbal.

In the Jubbal State, which lies to the north and east of the Chaur Peak, a variant of the Shirigul legend is current. This variant is of special interest, and it appears worth recording in full: —

In the Dwâpar Yuga Krishna manifested himself, and, after killing the *râkshasâs*, disappeared. Some of them, however, begged for pardon, and so Krishna forgave them and bade them dwell in the northern hills, without molesting god or man. This order they all obeyed, except one who dwelt at Chawkhat, some seven miles north of Chûri Dhâr. In the beginning of the present age, the Kalî Yuga, he harassed both men and cattle, while another demon, Neshirâ, also plundered the subjects of Bhokrû,[16] chief of Shâdgâ, in the State of Sirmûr. The former *asur* also raided the States of Jubbal, Tarôch, Balsan, Theôg, Ghônd, &c. The people of these places invoked divine protection, while Bhokrû himself was compelled to flee to Kasmîr, and being without heirs, he made over his kingdom to his minister Dêvî Râm. For twelve years Bhokrû and his queen devoted themselves to religious meditation, and then, directed by a celestial voice, they returned home and performed the *aswamedha*, or great horse-sacrifice. The voice also promised Bhokrû two sons, who should extirpate the demons, the elder becoming as mighty as Śiva, and the younger like Chandêshwar and saving all men from suffering. Ten months after their return, Bhokrû's queen gave birth to a son, who was named Srî Gul. Two years later Chandêshwar[17] was born. When the boys were aged 12 and 9½ respectively, the Râjâ resolved to spend the evening of his life in pilgrimage and went to Hardwâr. On his way back he fell sick and died, his queen succumbing to her grief, at his loss, three days later. Srî Gul proceeded to Hardwâr to perform his father's funeral rites, and crossed the Chûri Dhâr, the lofty ranges of which made a great impression on his mind, so much so that he resolved to make over his kingdom to his younger brother and take up his abode on the peak. On his return journey he found a man worshipping on the hill, and learnt from him that Śiva, whose dwelling it was, had directed him to do so. Hearing this, Srî Gul begged Chuhrû, for this was the name of Śiva's devotee, to wait his return, as he too intended to live there. He then went to Shâdgâ and would have made over his kingdom to Chandêshwar, but for the remonstrances of his minister, who advised him to only give his brother Nahûla village, *i. e.*, only a part of his kingdom and not the whole, because if he did so his subjects would certainly revolt. To this Srî Gul assented, making Dêvî Râm regent of Shâdgâ during his own absence.

Srî Gul then set out for Dehli, where he arrived and put up at a Bhâbra's shop. The city was then under Muhammadan rule, and once when Srî Gul went to bathe in the Jamnâ, a butcher passed by driving a cow to slaughter. Srî Gul remonstrated with the man but in vain, and so he cut him in two. The emperor sent to arrest him, but Srî Gul killed all the soldiers sent to take him, and at length the emperor himself went to see a man of such daring. When the emperor saw him he

[16] The Bhakaṛû of the Sirmûr version. Shâdgâ and Shâyâ would appear to be one and the same place.

[17] The Chandesar of the Sirmûr variant.

kissed his feet and promised never again to kill a cow in the presence of a Hindu. So Srî Gul forgave him. He was about to return to the shop when he heard from Chuhrû that a demon was about to pollute the Chûr Peak, so that it could not become the abode of a god. Srî Gul thereupon created a horse, named Shânalwî, and, mounted on it, set out for Chûri Chaudharî. In the evening he reached Bûria, near Jagâdhrî, next day at noon Sirmûr, and in the evening Shâdgâ, his capital. On the following day he arrived at his destination by way of Bhil-Kharî, where he whetted his sword on a rock which still bears the marks. Thence he rode through Bhairôg in Jubbal, and halting at Kâlâbâgh, a place north of Chûrî Chotî, he took some grains of rice, and, reciting incantations, threw them on the horse's back, thereby turning it into a stone, which to this day stands on the spot. Srî Gul then went out to Chûrî Chôtî and there he heard of the demon's doings. Next morning the demon came with a cow's tail in his hand to pollute the Peak, but Chuhrû saw him and told Srî Gul, who killed him on the spot with a stone. The stone fell in an erect position, so the place is called Aurîpotlî[18] to this day. It lies eight miles from the Chûr Peak. After the demon had been killed, the remainder of his army advanced from Chawkhat, to attack Srî Gul, but he destroyed them all. Then he told Chuhrû to choose a place for both of them to live in, and he chose a spot between Churî Chotî and Kâlâbâgh. Srî Gul then sent for Dêvî Râm and his (the minister's) two sons from Shâdgâ, and divided his kingdom among them thus: — To Dêvî Râm he gave, *i.e.*, assigned, the State with the village of Karlî:[19] to the elder son Rabbû he gave Jornâ, the *pargana* of Bhâhal, Jalkhôli in Jubbal State, Balsan, Theôg, Ghond and Ratêsh States, and *pargana* Pajhôta in Sirmûr; and to Chhînû, the younger son, he allotted Sarâhan, with the following *parganas*: Hâmil, Chhattâ, Chandlôg, Chândnâ, Satôtha, Panôtra, Nêwal, Shâk, Chânjû, Bargaon, Sunthâ, in Jubbal State, and Tarôch, with Lâdâ and Kângra, in the Sirmûr State, as far as that part of Jaunsâr which is now British territory. Dêvî Râm and his two sons built a temple to Srî Gul between Chôtî Chûrî and Kâlâbâgh, which is still in existence, and the younger brother also built a *baolî*, which held no water until Srî Gul filled it. When the three new rulers had finished building their *râj-dhanîs*,[20] Srî Gul sent for them and bade them govern their territories well, and he made the people swear allegiance to them. On Dêvî Râm's death, his third son, by his second wife, succeeded to his State. Srî Gul bade the three rulers instal, when he should have disappeared, an image of himself in the temple at each of their capitals, and side by side with them to erect smaller temples to Chuhrû. He also directed that their descendants should take with them his image wherever they went and to whatever state they might found, and there instal it in a temple. With these instructions he dismissed the ministers and their subjects. After a reign of 150 years, Srî Gul disappeared with Chuhrû, who became known as Chuhrû Bîr, while Srî Gul was called Srî Gul Dêotâ.

Two centuries later, when the descendants of Rabbû and Chînû had greatly multiplied, those of them who held Jornâ migrated to Mânal in the Bharmaur *ilâqa*, where they built a temple for Srî Gul's image. The Râjâ of Sirmûr assigned half the land of the *pargana* for its maintenance. Some of Chînû's descendants settled in Deônâ, a village in Sirmûr, where they, too, built a temple.

According to this quasi-historical legend Srî Gul was a king, who was, we may conjecture, supplanted in his kingdom by his chief minister's family. This minister's sons divided the kingdom into three parts, each of them ruling one part — precisely what happened about a century ago in the State of Bashahr. The old capitals of Jorna,[21] Sarâhan[22] (in Jubbal State), and Shâdgâ (apparently in Sirmûr) are, with Deônâ, to this day the centres at which the grain collected on behalf of the god is stored. *A patha*[23] is collected from every house.

Every year the descendants of Rabbû and Chînû who settled in Sirmûr, take the god's image from Sarâhan or Jornâ in Jubbal to their own villages, in which temples have been built to him.

[18] *Aurî* means an erect stone; *potlî*, the hide of a cow or buffalo. It is also said that the cow's hide, which the demon had in his hand, as well as the stone which Srî Gul threw at him, are still to be seen on the spot.

[19] Should probably read: 'To Dêvî Râm he assigned his own State of Shâdgâ, with the addition of Karlî; to Rabbû, Jornâ, as his capital, with Bhâhal, &c.; and to Chhînû, Sarâhan as his capital, with, &c.

[20] Royal residence or capital.

[21] The god in Jornâ is called Gôvânû, from *gon*, 'sky,' in the Pahârî dialect. He has one eye turned towards the sky and hence is so named.

[22] The god in Sarâhan is called Bijat.

[23] The *patha* is a basket-like measure made of iron or brass and holding some two *sêrs* of grain.

Some 50 *kârdârs* (officials) and *begârîs* (corvée labourers) accompany the god, and each house offers him Re. 1 and a *patha* of grain, but if any one desires to offer a gold coin he must give the *kârdârs*, musicians and *pujârîs* Rs. 6, 12, or even 25. Anyone who refuses to make a *dhiânkra* or offering will, it is believed, meet with ill-luck.

Like many other gods in the hills, Srî Gul exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction. Anyone doing wrong in his capital has to take the god to Hardwâr, or, for a petty offence, pay him a gold coin. Oaths also are taken on the god's image at Sarâhan and Jornâ, in cases in which enquiry has failed to elicit the truth, by parties to cases in the States of Jubbal, Balsan, Tarôch, and Sirmûr. The god reserves judgment for 3 or 6 months, during which period the party who is in the wrong is punished by some calamity.

(B) The Cult of Mahâsû.

The head-quarters of this god is at Sion, a village in Rainkâ tahsîl, where he has a temple on a small hillock, at the foot of which flows the Girî. It is close to the village and shaped like a hill-house with two storeys only. The ground floor has a door facing to the north, while the upper storey has no door, and one ascends by small steps through the first storey. It is only lighted by sky-lights. The gods are kept on a *gambar* or wooden shelf. There is one large brass idol and several smaller ones. The idols are shaped like a man's bust. The big idol is in the middle, the others being placed on either side of it. On the left the second place is held by the god Sirmûrî, who is the god of Sirmûr, but who is not independent, being always found in the company of bigger god, and has no temple of his own. There is also an image of Dêvî Shimlâsan. The idols on the immediate right of the big one only go to Hardwâr and other places, while the rest are stationary. They go out because they are kept clean for that purpose. The others are in a dirty state. All these idols, except those of Sirmûrî and Shimlâsan, represent Mahâsû. The middle one is the most important, and there is no difference in the others. Milk and goats are offered in the temple, which is only opened twice every Sunday and Wednesday and on a Sankrânt. Worship is held at 11 A.M. and at sunset in the same way as in Shirigul's temple, but there is one peculiarity in that the devotees of Mahâsû who own buffaloes generally offer milk on the day of worship. If there is a death or birth in the family of the Dêwâ, the temple must be closed for 20 days, because neither a *jâtri* nor a Dêwâ can enter the temple within 20 days of a domestic occurrence. The Dêwâ must not indulge in sexual intercourse on the day of worship or two previous days, and hence only two days in the week are fixed for worship. The morning worship is called *dhûp dênâ* and the evening *sandhiâ*. Legend says that one morning the god Mahâsû appeared in a dream and told the ancestor of the present Dêwâ to seek him in the Girî and build him a temple in the village. Accordingly the Dêwâ went to the Girî and found on its banks the big idol, which is also called *jalâsan* (*i. e.*, set up in water). Mahâsû is not so widely believed in as Shirigul or Paras Râm. The present Dêwâ says he is 12th in descent from the man who found the idol.

The Jagra of Mahâsû.

This festival, which is peculiar to Kângra in Tahsîl Rainkâ, is celebrated on the 4th and 5th day of the dark half of Bhâdon. On the 3rd of the same half the *dêotâ's* flag is erected on the bank of a stream, and on the 4th people arrive, who are served with free dinners. On the night between the 4th and 5th the people do not sleep the whole night. On the 5th at about 3 P.M. the *dêotâ* is taken out of the temple. But if it is displeased, it becomes so heavy that even four or five men cannot remove it. Then music is played and prayers offered. At this time some men dance and say an oracle has descended on them. They show their superior powers in curious ways. Some play with fire, others put earth on their heads. They answer questions put by those who are in want of the *dêotâ's* help. Some one among these dancing men explains the cause of the displeasure of the *dêotâ*, and then pilgrims and *pujârîs* make vows, whereupon the *dêotâ* gets pleased and makes itself light and movable. Now a procession is made, headed by the *dêotâ's* flag, which, when brought to the stream, is sprinkled with water, after which the procession returns to the temple where he-goats are sacrificed. All the pilgrims stay the whole night in the temple, where dancing is kept going till morning. A good dinner with wine is given to the people in the temple yard.

(*To be continued.*)

A THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE DEVANAGARI ALPHABET.

BY R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A.

CHAPTER I.

IT has been a matter of considerable dispute whether the origin of the Devanâgarî Alphabet is indigenous or foreign. The majority of Oriental scholars have held the latter view and have based their theories on resemblances of the Devanâgarî to some of the foreign alphabets. Those letters of the Devanâgarî, which withstood this test, have been supposed to have undergone modifications, due either to cursive hands or to intentional changes made by the borrowers. Prof. Bühler was of opinion that the alphabet imported into India was made to assume native Indian forms and disguised so cleverly that one would swear it was a native invention.[1]

An independent and indigenous origin for the Indian Alphabet has, however, been suggested by General Cunningham, Prof. Dowson, and others; but since their suggestion was not so much based on positive historical evidences as on the futility of the attempts of others to derive the alphabet from any foreign source, it found no supporters. That the above is a correct presentation of the case with regard to the theories and the evidence, on which the theories accounting for the origin of the Devanâgari are based, will be clear from the following extract from Issac Taylor's *The Alphabet* :—

"Three theories have been propounded: Prinsep, followed by Otfried Müller, was inclined to attribute the peculiarities of the Aśoka Alphabet to Greek influences, an opinion upheld by M. Senart and M. Joseph Halévy. Dr. Wilson's guess was that Aśoka's Buddhists derived their letters from Greek or Phœnician models.

"A Semitic origin had, however, been already suggested by Sir William Jones in 1806 and supported by Kopp in 1821. In 1834 Lepsius published his adhesion to this opinion, which was afterwards espoused by Weber, who was the first to bring forward in its favour arguments of real cogency. Benfey, Pott, Westergaard, Bühler, Max Müller, Friedrich Müller, Sayce, Whitney, and Lenormant have given a more or less hesitating adhesion to the Semitic hypothesis, but without adding any arguments of importance to those adduced by Weber. The most recent advocates on this side are Dr. Deeke, who has marred what might have proved a valuable contribution to the controversy by the introduction of the untenable theory of an ultimate derivation from the Assyrian Cuneiform, though the South Semitic Alphabet which may, he thinks, have been used in Persia or rather in Babylonia.

"A third theory, that of an indigenous origin, is upheld by specialists of nearly equal authority. This solution was first suggested by Lassen. He was followed by Mr. Edward Thomas, who decisively rejects every Semitic source, attributing the invention to the Dravidian races of Southern India. General Cunningham has propounded an elaborate scheme as to the mode in which, as he considers, the Aśoka Alphabet may have originated out of a primitive Indian picture writing. The final contribution to the argument is from the pen of Prof. Dowson, whose opinions are entitled to great consideration. His conclusion is 'that the peculiarities of the Indian Alphabet demonstrate its independence of all foreign origin' and that 'it may be confidently urged that all probabilities and inferences are in favour of an independent invention.'

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XI., p. 270.

"A Greek source may be dismissed without serious examination, as it is beset by difficulties, both chronological and phonological, of a most formidable nature. Benfey's conjecture that it came direct from the Phœnicians is open to fatal objections. The trade of the Phœnicians with India, which commenced in the time of Solomon, ceased as early as the year 800 B. C. If the alphabet had been communicated at this early period, a variety of Indian Scripts would in all probability have sprung up during the long interval which elapsed before the time of Aśoka, whereas, in the third century B. C., a uniform alphabet prevailed over a vast Indian area. A further difficulty, which seems conclusive, is the want of any appreciable resemblance between the Aśoka Characters and the early Phœnician types.

"General Cunningham argues that if the Indians did not borrow their alphabet from the Egyptians, it must have been the local invention of the people themselves, for the simple reason that there was no other people from whom they could have obtained it. Their nearest neighbours were the peoples of Ariana and Persia, of whom the former used a Semitic Character, reading from right to left, and the latter a Cuneiform Character formed of separate detached strokes, which has nothing whatever in common with the compact forms of the Indian Alphabet. Mr. Thomas rejects a Semitic origin for the Aśoka Alphabet — (1) because of the different direction of the writing; (2) because of the insufficient resemblance of the forms of the letters; (3) because the Indo-Bactrian, which is of Semitic origin, is inferior to the Aśoka for the expression of the sounds of Indian languages. Prof. Dowson, in like manner, boldly challenges those who claim a foreign origin for the Indian Alphabet 'to show whence it came.'"

But in his own view of the matter, Issac Taylor goes as far as any of his colleagues declaring a foreign origin for the Indian Alphabet. He suggests some unknown South Semitic Alphabet as the probable source. He says that, in comparing the Indian and Sabean forms, it must be borne in mind that no South Semitic inscriptions have as yet been discovered of a date sufficiently remote to supply the absolute prototypes of the Aśoka letters. It must therefore be remembered that it is only possible to compare sister-alphabets derived from a common but unknown source. The actual ancestral type of the Aśoka Alphabet is unknown, but there is no reason why it should not be ultimately discovered in the unexplored regions of Oman, or Hadramaut, or among the ruins of Ormus, &c.[2]

While thus Issac Taylor became content with only pointing out the probable source of the Indian Alphabet and did not go so far as to make this or that alphabet the parent of the Indian, Prof. Bühler took the field and marshalled powerful arguments to identify all the twenty-two Semitic letters in the Brahmâ Alphabet and to explain the formation of the numerous derivative signs which, in his opinion, the Indians were compelled to add. It is merely an appearance of resemblance on which he has based his theories. As to actual resemblance between the North Semitic and the oldest Indian Alphabet, there is none. He thinks that the forms of the alphabet were intentionally modified by the Brâhmaṇs. He attributes these modifications to their pedantic formalism, a desire to have signs well suited for the formation of regular lines, and a strong aversion against all top-heavy characters. He says further on: "The natural result was that a number of the Semitic signs had to be turned topsy-turvy or to be laid on their sides, while the triangle or double angles occurring at the top of others had to be got rid of by some contrivance or other. A further change in the position of the signs had to be made when the Hindus began to write from the left to the right, as in Greek. Instances where the oldest position had been preserved are, however, met with both in borrowed and derivative signs."[3]

But the question is whether the desire to have letters well suited for the formation of a regular line precedes or succeeds the introduction of an alphabet. As the hypothesis presupposes

2 Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, Vol. II., p. 312.

3 Bühler, *The Origin of the Brahmâ Alphabet*, p. 58.

DEVANAGARI ALPHABET

Plate I.

OLDEST SEMITIC AND INDIAN ALPHABETS.

	Archaic Phoenician	Mesa's Inscription	Assyrian weights	Intermediate forms	Original Brâhma	Derivative Brâhma
1						
2				*		
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8				*		
9						
10				*		
11						
12						
13				*		
14				*		
15				*		
16						
17						
18				*		
19						
20						
21						
22						

Vide Bühler's *Indian Brahma Alphabet*, Plate I. and p. 58ff., and also Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, p. 11.

an alphabet, and as that kind of desire must necessarily be the result of long experience of disadvantages arising from writing in irregular lines, it follows that that desire is subsequent to the introduction of writing. Then where are those top-heavy Semitic letters which must, if they had been borrowed at all, have been in use in India prior to chopping off their tops, as imagined by Prof. Bühler? To hold that this process went on simultaneously with the borrowing of Semitic letters and the manipulation of derivatives from them, is an assumption beyond the sphere of science or history. Anyhow, the difference between the North Semitic and the Devanâgarî Alphabets can more easily be perceived than any semblance of resemblance between them. How far Prof. Bühler strains his arguments to explain away the actual differences and endeavours to establish some connection between the alphabets will be clearly seen from Plate I.

As **my theory of the indigenous origin of the Devanâgarî Alphabet** is based not so much on negative evidence disproving the theories of foreign origin held by others, as on positive documentary evidence, it is quite unnecessary for me to deal at length with the fallacies in the arguments of Prof. Bühler. The only apology for my attempt to disturb the conviction of Oriental scholars lies in the abundance of material which, while explaining all that is left untouched by Prof. Bühler and others, and throwing a flood of light on the origin of Tantric literature, not inferior in its bulk to any branch of Sanskrit literature, provides us with a fairer and a more reliable solution of the origin of the Devanâgarî than the Egyptian Papyrus scrolls do regarding the rise of the Phœnician or Semitic Alphabets.

Prof. Bühler has not explained, and could not, if he persisted in his theory, have explained **why** the Indian Alphabet has been called by such names as **Brâhmî, Mâtṛikâ, Devanâgarî, &c.,** and why each individual character of the alphabet has been designated by the name *akshara.* Moreover, the fact of **each letter of the Devanâgarî having one or two dozen names** — names which **signify one or the other of the Hindu gods or goddesses** — cannot, if Prof. Bühler's conclusions are to be accepted, admit of any satisfactory explanation.

The fact is that just as idols are now worshipped, so pictorial symbols of gods or goddesses were objects of worship in ancient India. As they called their goddess Mâtṛi, mother of the world, the symbol which stood for her has been called **Mâtṛikâ, picture of the mother.** Just as in the words, Râmaka, Lakshmaṇaka, &c., the suffix expresses, according to the rule of Pâṇini (5-3-96), the picture of Râma, Lakshmaṇa, &c., so the suffix *ka* in Mâtṛikâ must express no other meaning than the picture of the mother. But as this kind of recognition, even in words of the distinction between symbols and the symbolised, died out in the course of time, the very names of gods or goddesses were, with no distinguishing mark, applied to their symbols. Hence, the **names of Vedic gods, Akshara, Brahmâ, &c., became the names of the pictures** as well. It is a well-known fact that names of gods were intentionally applied to goddesses and that the names of goddesses were *vice versâ* applied to gods. This interchange of names might, perhaps, be due to the influence of the Monistic doctrine elaborated both in the later portions of the *Vedas* and in the early *Upanishads,* as well as to the fact that the Creator of the world was, as we shall see, worshipped as an hermaphrodite deity.

On the plate or leaf, on which the hieroglyphics were written for worship, some big circles and triangles were drawn, and the symbols of gods or goddesses were inscribed in the middle of such figures. The whole combination of the symbols and the circles has been, in the words of the *Taittirîya Upanishad,* called the **City of the Gods,** देवानां नगरम्.[4] Hence, it stands to reason that the Indian Alphabet, many letters of which can, as we shall see, be identified with these hieroglyphics, has been called the **Devanâgarî,** or the Alphabet derived from the city of the gods. Hence, it is that the **letters of the Devanâgarî came to bear the names of the hieroglyphics,** which, in their turn, had appropriated to themselves the names of gods and goddesses.

[4] 1, 27; 1, 31. *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka.*

The symbols were coloured with saffron powder, bile of a cow or blood. The colouring process was called *lepa* or *lipi*, from the root 'to *lip*,' 'to daub.' The attempt to derive the Sanskrit word *lipi* from the Semitic *dipi*, to write, seems to be far-fetched, and cannot be philologically supported. Such an attempt can only find its support in the theory of the Semitic origin of the Devanâgarî.

The origin of the Indian hieroglyphics.

The Monistic doctrine, so elaborately preached in the later portions of the *Rig-Veda*, the *Atharva-Veda*, and the earlier *Upanishads*, seems to have exercised so much influence over the minds of the ancient Hindus, that they came to regard the Universe as identical with its Creator. Each of the two constituents of the Universe, Pindânda, microcosm, and Brahmâṇḍa, macrocosm, was further separately considered as one with Brahmâ, the Creator. Of this purport is the passage in Hymn XI. 8, 30, of the *Atharva-Veda* : —

"The waters, the gods, the Virâj with Brahmâ entered into man. Brahmâ entered into his body. Prajâpati presides over his body. The sun occupied the eye and the wind the breath of man. Then the gods gave his other soul to Agni, fire. Wherefore one who knows man thinks 'this is Brahmâ'; for all the gods are in him as cows in a stable."

The ancient Hindus felt, therefore, no difficulty whatever in picturing to their minds the form of either the macrocosm, or its Creator, in terms of the members of human body. The sky was believed to be his head; the atmosphere, his lungs ; the fiery region, *i. e.*, the region where the sun appears, his belly; the cloudy region, his waist and loins ; and the ears, his legs. But this kind of notion regarding the form of god did not, as will be presently seen, drive them at once to contrive a complete picture of the Creator in human likeness ; but only helped them to have for worship some tangible symbols, drawn after the models of the five divisions of human body, corresponding to the so-called five elements. (See Plate VII.)

The *Kulaprakâśatantra* says : —

आकाशमण्डलं धूम्रं वर्तुलं परिकीर्तितम्
षट्कोणमण्डलं वायोः कृष्णषड्बिन्दुलाञ्छितम्.
सस्वस्तिकं त्रिकोणं तु रक्तं वह्नेस्तु मण्डलम्.
अर्धचन्द्रमतिस्वच्छं पद्मद्वयविराजितम्.
आप्यमण्डलमाख्यातं चतुरस्रं महेश्वरी.
अष्टवज्रयुतं पीतं धरामण्डलमीश्वरी.
तत्तद्बीजसमायुक्तं मण्डलं पूजयेत्क्रमात्.
तत्तद्वर्णेन निर्माय द्रव्येण परमेश्वरी.

'The sky is said to be blue and circular. The atmosphere is represented by a six-petaled figure containing within it six dots. A red triangle with a *svastika* figure in it, is the region of fire. A bright-white semi-circle, decked with two lotus symbols, is the sphere of water. A brown rectangular figure, O Goddess, with eight symbols of Vâjra, the weapon of Indra, is the globe of the earth. Having drawn all the above figures with the symbols of their seeds (*bîja*), O Goddess, one should worship them.' (See Plate VII.)

The *Sivârchana Chandrika* is still more plain in its description of the identity of the Universe with its Creator or with human body. It says : —

पादाभ्यां जानुपर्यन्तं चतुरस्रं सवज्रकम्.
जान्वोरानाभि चन्द्रार्धनिभं पद्मद्वयसमायुतम्.
. . . .
नाभितः कण्ठपर्यन्तं त्रिकोणं रक्तवर्णकम्.
. . . .
कण्ठाद्भ्रूमध्यपर्यन्तं कृष्णं वायोस्तु मण्डलम्.
. . . .
भ्रूमध्याद्ब्रह्मरन्ध्रान्तं वर्तुलं ध्वजलाञ्छितम्.

'A rectangular figure with symbols of Vâjra represents the part of the body beginning from the legs as far as the knees. A semi-circle with two lotus symbols represents the part from the knees as far as the navel. A red triangle represents the portion from the navel to the neck. A black figure represents the part from the neck to the middle of the brows. A circle with the symbol of a flag represents the head, stretching from the middle of the brows to the *brahmarandhra*, a hole supposed to be at the centre of the head.' (See Plate VII.)

These **symbols of** the so-called five elements, which constitute **the Universe,** are evidently approximate **representations of the five divisions of human body,** which are believed to correspond to those elements in nature. The ancient Hindus were, therefore, satisfied with this kind of invention of some tangible form for their god. It is probable that in this way the worship of idols, *i. e.*, worship of gods in human likeness, originated. Anyhow, it is certain that long **before idols were set up in India, hieroglyphics of the above or similar description were objects of worship.** There is reason to believe that before the time[5] of Yâska, the author of *Nirukta*, there were no idols in existence in India, for he mentions the prevalence in his time of endless controversies as to whether gods have any form or not.[6] It may, therefore, be presumed that before his time hieroglyphics were the only objects of worship with the exception of fire, and that those hieroglyphics were, as pointed out above, paving the way for the formation of the pictures of gods in human likeness. There is no reason to believe that the people of old, however ignorant and savage they might have been, had the audacity to presume that gods had the same form as they themselves had. It is only an indirect process of representing gods with symbols that led them to think that gods might not unnaturally have the same form as man. Idols appear to have sprung up in India in the 4th or 5th century B. C., for while commenting on the *sûtra* (5-3-99) of Pâṇini, Patanjali mentions the manufacture and sale of idols as the invention of the Maurya princes who lived 327 to 130 B. C.

While Prof. Max Müller held that the worship of idols in India was a secondary formation, a later degradation of the more primitive worship of ideal gods, Dr. Bollenson found clear references in the hymns to images of the gods. He writes "from the common appellation of the gods as *divo-naras*, men of the sky, or simply *naras* (*lares*), men, and from the epithet *nṛipeśas*, having the form of men (*R.-V.* III., 4, 5), we may conclude that the Indians did not merely in imagination assign human forms to their gods, but also represented them in a sensible manner. Thus, in *R.-V.* II. 33, 9, a painted image of Rudra is described :—

स्थिरेभिरङ्गैः पुरुरूप उग्रः
बभ्रुश्शुक्रेभिः पिपिशे हिरण्यैः ।

'With strong limbs, many formed, awful, brown, he is painted with shining golden colours.'

"*R.-V.* I. 25, 13 (where it is said of Varuṇa that, 'wearing a golden coat of mail, he veils himself in his radiance; spies sit round him') appears also to refer to a sensible representation. . . . . still clearer appears the reference to representations in the form of an image in V. 52, 15 :—

नु मन्वाना : एषां देवान् अच्छ.

'I now pray to the gods of these Maruts.'

"Here it seems that the Maruts are distinguished from their gods, *i. e.*, from their images . . . . . Besides the common expression 'Vapus,' 'Tanu,' 'Rûpa' (body and form), there is in the oldest language one which properly denotes an image of the gods, *viz.*, Sandris.[7]"

[5] 6th or 7th century B. C.

[6] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. III., p. 331.

[7] *Journal* of the German Oriental Society, XXII. 587 ff., quoted in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V., p. 453.

As has been briefly pointed out above and will be shown at some length later on, these and other **references to visible gods** must be taken to **apply** more **to hieroglyphics** than to any idols in complete human likeness.

The description of the Hindu hieroglyphics, the use of which in worship is not a feature peculiar to one or other of the many sects of the Hindus, can be found at large **in Tantric or Âgama literature.** Different kinds of hieroglyphics are described in the literature of the 'Sakti worshippers, the 'Saivas, the Vaishṇavas, the Jainas and even the Buddhists. It is not now possible to ascertain whether the Jainas and the Buddhists borrowed the Tantric practices during the decline of their respective creeds, or whether they had them in common with the Brâhmans. The latter view is the more probable, inasmuch as mystic figures appear to have been carved in ancient Buddhistic architecture here and there in India. But, as the hieroglyphics which gave birth, as we shall see, to the Devanâgarî Alphabet, are nowhere described so fully as in Tantric writings, it is necessary to turn our attention to a brief survey of that literature and its date.

The **Tantric literature** is as large as, if not larger than, any other branch of Sanskrit literature. Innumerable works composed in the style of aphorisms, poetry and prose, are still available. Many of them are believed to have been composed by god 'Siva, because they are in the form of a dialogue between 'Siva and his consort Pârvatî. There are also some *sûtras* still available attributed to Paraśurâma, Agastya and Gauḍapâda. There is, perhaps, no Brâhman philosopher, who was not a follower of the Tantric system in one or another of its various forms. Thanks to the printing press, a number of Tantric texts, with or without commentaries, fathered upon several reputed authors, have already been printed. But still a large mass of Tantric literature is lying unprinted in the many libraries of India, both private and public.

The **main theme** of the Tantric literature appears to have been originally the **worship of the combined form of 'Siva and 'Sakti.** In its earliest aspect it appears to have been no other than **Phallic worship,** since the god 'Siva and the goddess 'Sakti are described in authoritative Tantric texts as being **represented by Phallic symbols.** Siva is regarded the male Creative principle, and 'Sakti the female:—

अह्मण्डादिकटाहान्तां तां वन्दे सिद्धमातृकाम्
यदेकादशमाधारं बीजं कोणत्रयात्मकम्.

P. 2, *Kâdimata.*

'I bow to the goddess, who is the mother of the blessed, who pervades the whole Universe, who is the eleventh basis (of the world), and who is the seed in the form of a triangle.'

त्रिकोणरूपा योनिस्तु . . . .
शक्तिरेकादशस्थाने स्थित्वा सूते जगत्त्रयम्.
विश्वयोनिरिति ख्याता सा विष्णोर्दशरूपकम्

Chap. X., *Jñanarṇava.*

'The goddess 'Sakti, taking the form of a triangle and being the source (of the world) takes her seat on the eleventh pedestal and brings forth the three worlds. She is, therefore, known as the source of the Universe and the ten incarnations of the god Vishṇu.'

While **Sakti** is thus said to be **represented by a triangular symbol,** the symbol to represent 'Siva (see Plate VII.) is thus described :—

बिन्दुद्वयान्तरे दण्डाश्शिवरूपो मणिप्रभः ।.

Part II., *Nityâshoḍaśikârṇava.*

'A rod between two dots shining as a precious stone is **the form of 'Siva.'**

अण्डद्वयमध्यवर्तिनी सीरा.

Part II., *Varivasyârahasya.*

'The plough-share between two eggs (is 'Siva).'

अण्डद्वयस्थानीयौ द्वौ बिन्दू. सिरास्थानाया रेखा. शिवो मुष्कद्वयमध्यवर्ती नाडी मणिः पद्मरागः इति साम्प्रदायिकी व्याख्या,

Pp. 10—12, Commentary of Bhâskarânanda on the *Varivasyârahasya.*

'Two dots represent the two eggs referred to above. And a straight line represents the plough-share. The ruby-like nerve (nervous stone) between two testicles is 'Siva. This is traditional commentary.'

It is more than probable that in its earliest form this kind of Phallic worship was purely symbolic and simple. But in the course of time it is likely to have become a means to the sensualistic clergy of the Tantric faith for realising their lascivious purposes. For there are Tantric texts which teach the abominable practice of worshipping naked women. Abominable as it was, this worship, with its revelries of drinking, flesh-eating, and sensual excesses, had the power to attract and hold under its sway a number of people. Thus, when it grew in importance and in extent, in spite of its revolting practices, a few Brâhman philosophers, who were pure in life and thought, seem to have thought it proper to put down the mischievous practice with all the means in their power. So they formulated a right form of Tantric worship under the name of **Dakshiṇâchâra,** right-hand worship. They called the other kind of worship as **Vâmâchâra,** left-hand practice, and condemned it as leading to hell, though it might appear fruitful in this world. They composed what is called the *Subhâgama Panchaka,* five auspicious *Âgamas.* These *Âgamas* are attributed to five authors of Purâṇic fame, Vasishtha, Sanaka, 'Suka, Sanandana, and Sanatkumâra. The *sûtras* of Agastyâ and of Gaudapâda, and the works of 'Sankarâchârya and of many other Brâhman philosophers teach and propound the Dakshiṇâchâra. In propounding this, without leaving its original symbolical aspect, they incorporated with it almost all the doctrines of their Monistic philosophy. In its two aspects, that of Dakshiṇâchara full of higher and nobler ideas and that of Vâmâchâra full of abominable practices revolting to philosophers, but attractive to the mob, this worship of **the hermaphrodite deity called 'Siva-'Sakti** counted a vast number of people among its followers, and the other ancient sects of the Hindus could not stand aloof. They had either to incorporate some Tantric doctrines into their own religious texts or to see the followers of their own faith dwindle in number. They seem to have chosen the first alternative and thus arose various systems of Tantric worship, having a few of the Tantric doctrines common to all. It is probable that at the same time, the single worship of 'Siva-'Sakti branched off into two different kinds of worship, that of 'Siva under the names Kâma, Rudra, Hara, &c., and that of 'Sakti under the names Durgâ, Kâmî, Pârvatî, &c. But common to all the systems of the Tantric cult, whether ancient or medieval, is the worship of mysterious figures and the recitation of mystic syllables known as **mantras.** These *mantras* consist of **meaningless monosyllabic sounds, formed out of single or compound alphabetic letters.** Another peculiar feature, common to all the systems of the Tantric cult, is **the designation of alphabetic letters composing the mantras by the names of gods or goddesses.** For instance, the *mantra* called the **Panchada'si,** which is, as the name suggests, composed of fifteen alphabetic letters, such as *ka, ê, î, la, hrîṁ; ha, sa, ka, ha, la, hrîṁ; sa, ka, la, hrîṁ,* is thus described by 'Sankarâchârya, in his *Saundaryalaharî* :—

शिवश्शक्तिः कामः क्षितिरथ रविश्शीतकिरणः
स्मरो हंसस्तस्तु च परामारहरयः
अमी हृल्लेखाभिस्तिसृभिरवसानेषु घटिताः
भजन्ते वर्णास्ते तव जननि नामावयवताम्

'O, Mother, the letters known as (i) 'Siva, 'Sakti, Kâma and Kshiti; (ii) then the letters known as Ravi, 'Sîtakiraṇa (the moon), Smara (Kâma), Hamsa (the sun), and 'Sakra (Indra = Kshiti); (iii) and then the letters known as Para ('Sakti), Mâra (Kâma), and Hari (Indra); — these letters together with three *hrillekhâs, hrîṁ*-sounds put at the end of each of the three groups, form the constituents of thy name.'

The names of these letters are, as we shall see, the same as, or are **synonymous with, the names of the hieroglyphics from which the letters have been derived.**

Before describing the hieroglyphics or ideograms, it is necessary to dwell at some length on the **probable date** of the composition **of Tantric texts** in general and of the **origin of the Tantric cult** in particular. It is presumed by many Oriental scholars that the worship of Siva or Sakti originated subsequent to the beginnings of the Christian era and that Tantric texts dealing with that worship are, therefore, the productions of medieval mystics. It is probable that many or almost all the Tantric texts are not earlier than the first four centuries before the Christian era, inasmuch as most of the texts presuppose the derivation of the Devanâgarî Alphabet from ancient ideograms long before that. Still, the traditions preserved in them regarding the development of Sakti-worship from prehistoric phallic worship are incontrovertible proof that the worship of the goddess Sakti in the form of hieroglyphics preceded by many centuries the worship of the same goddess in the form of terrible idols. The earliest authentic proof as to the prevalence of the worship of Sakti in the form of idols is furnished by an inscription on the Bhitari Lat of the Gupta period. The inscription has been partially restored and translated in page 8, Vol. VI., *J. A. S. B.*, by the Rev. W. H. Mill, D.D., Principal of Bishop's College. The text, together with the translation and historical remarks based upon it, is as follows :—

न विहित मनशान्मा तान्त्रर्थांशर्शिकीर्तिः
अविनतपलसात्त्वा विक्रमेण क्रमेण.

'Possessed of clear insight into the profound wisdom of the *Tântras*, with a spirit of unceasing silence (on their incommunicable mysteries and in accordance with their precept and discipline) mangling the flesh of the refractory in successive victories.'

सशार्च्चितस्कन्दरुद्ररत्नाकरार्कं नेतुः
महेशप्रतिगुप्तः
सततं सेवते मूर्तिमिमां यश्चात्र भूपतिः
रुद्रेणेन्द्रेणाद्य देशे स मतः प्रणयपण्यधीरम्.

'Whatever prince in this place perpetually worships this sacred image, is considered by Rudra (Siva) himself as one whose understanding is ennobled and rendered praiseworthy by his affectionate devotion, even in the land of Indra and other celestials.'

'And here I must recall an observation that I have hazarded elsewhere, when commenting on the Allahabad Inscription (p. 268, Vol. III., *J. A. S. B.*), that the worship of the Saktis, with its existing mysteries and orgies, was most probably unknown in India at the date of that monument. The terms, in which that species of devotion is spoken of, about a century after, in the second of the metrical stanzas in the Bhitari Inscription, show that the same system was even then dominant and sufficiently powerful and seducing to enlist kings among its votaries. And while this (if I am correct in supposing the age of the Gupta dynasty to be somewhere between the first and the ninth centuries of our era) may be among the earliest authentic notices of that mode of worshipping Bhairava and Kâli, the mention of it at all furnishes an additional proof to my mind of the impossibility of referring these monuments to the earlier age of Chandragupta Maurya or of Alexander the Great and the century immediately following.'

It is clear from the above Inscription that Tantric worship was as predominant as it is now in the third and fourth centuries A. D., when the Gupta princes ruled over Northern India. But it is surprising to note an assumption in the remarks of Dr. Mill on the texts above quoted, that the mere mention of Tantric worship in this or any other inscription is sufficient proof that that monument must be subsequent to the period of the Maurya dynasty. For it is an historical fact to be borne in mind that there is no religious system in the world that has not its basis in the remotest antiquity. Innovations and changes may be made in all religions now and then, but the various root-principles on which different religions are based can be traced to a great antiquity. The

root-principle on which the Tantric system is based is phallic worship and the traditions connected with it. The various symbols and mysterious figures used in connection with this phallic worship, and the traditions and practices of the witchcraft surrounding it, go as far back as the *Atharva-Veda* and perhaps still earlier. Bhâskarananda, who was one of the followers of Tantric worship and an authority on Tantric matters, writes thus at the commencement of his commentary on the *Tripuropanishad* :—

श्री साङ्ख्यायनकल्पसूत्रविधिभिः कर्माणि ये कुर्वते
येषां शाकलसूत्रमन्त्रनिचयः कौशीतकी ब्राह्मणम् ।
तैराराधकमध्यमन्त्रविततिः या पठ्यते बह्वृचैः
ऋग्भिष्षोडशाभिर्महोपनिषदं व्याचक्ष्महे तां वयम् ।

'We comment on that great *Upanishad*, the sixteen verses of which are recited by the followers of the *Rig-Veda* in the middle of their ritualistic performances. These followers of the *Rig-Veda* perform their ritual in accordance with the teachings of the *Kalpasûtra* of the revered Sânkhyâyana, recite the mass of *mantras* collected in the *Sâkala sûtra*, and observe the formulas of the *Kausîtaki Brâhmaṇa*.'

The "great *Upanishad*" referred to in the stanza is the *Tripuropanishad*, in which is found the description of the symbols representing Sakti or Bhaga :—

द्वामण्डला द्वा स्तना बिम्बमेकं
मुखं चाधस्त्रीणि गुहासदनानि.
कामीकलां काम्यरूपां विदित्वा
नरो जायते कामरूपश्च कामः

'Two circles are two breast-nipples. One circle is the face. Below them are three cave-like abodes (triangle). On knowing this as the enchanting form of Sakti (Kâmî-kalâ, the body of Kâmî), one not only attains that enchanting form which is desired by all, but also becomes Kâma himself.' (See Plate VI.)

भगश्शक्तिर्भगवान्काम ईशः
उभा दातारविह सौभगानाम्
समप्रधानौ समसत्वौ समोतयोः
समशक्तिरजरा विश्वयोनिः।

Tripuropanishad.

'Bhaga is Sakti and Kâma is Siva, combined with Bhaga. Both of them are dispensers of all kind of prosperity. Both, being inseparably interwoven together, are of equal rank, might and power, eternal, and the source of the Universe.'

When such a scholar as Bhâskarananḍa says that these verses, pregnant with phallic ideas, together with the other verses of the *Tripuropanishad*, are recited during their ceremonies by the followers of the *Rig-Veda*, there can be no doubt that the traditions connected with phallic worship have continued uninterrupted from the time of the *Rig-Veda* down to the present day. There is reason to believe that there existed two kinds of phallic worship : the one a symbolical or nature-worship, like that of Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, &c., and the other in a grotesque form. To the poets of the *Rig-Veda*, whose minds rose on high above the moon, the sun, and the sky, and saw behind them some divine principle modifying the face of nature, there appeared an eternal union of divine principles of opposite sex causing the Universe, and phallic worship was to the poets no more than a tribute of heartfelt reverence to a mental image, or an actual symbol of Prajâpati :—

विष्णुर्योनिं कल्पयतु
त्वष्टा रूपाणि पिंशतु ।
आसिंचतु प्रजापतिः
धाता गर्भं दधातु ते ॥

This is the hymn (185, X., *R.-V.*) with which every Brâhman bridegroom is required to address his bride on the occasion of nuptials:—

May the god Vishṇu prepare thy womb;
May Tvashtri manufacture colours;
May Prajâpati sprinkle (the seed);
And may the protector bring up the embryo.

But in the hands of common multitude, who were not gifted with such mental faculties, phallic worship appears to have assumed a most grotesque and detestable type, which is plainly referred to by Lolla in his commentary on the *Saundaryalaharî* of Śankara, and which it is loathsome to describe here.[8] It is this abominable worship of Kâma, which the Rig-Vedic poet seems to have had in his mind, while condemning those whose god was Śiśna[9] (*phallus*). It may, however, be urged that, with a view to give a touch of antiquity to their doctrine, which came under evil repute with the followers of the *Vedânta* and other philosophical systems, such Tantric worshippers as Bhâskarânanda and others attempted to trace their doctrine to the *Vedas*. But a glance over the mystic figures and witchcraft treated of at length, both in Tantric texts and the *Atharva-Veda*, and a consideration of the development of Tantric doctrines from the phallic worship, described in the *Atharva-Veda* but condemned in the *Rig-Veda*, will sufficiently prove that Tantric worship is of remote antiquity.

Verses 32—34 of Hymn 2, X, of the *Atharva-Veda* are held as authoritative texts for the **Tantric Śrîchakra** (Plate II.), which is formed of mystic circles and triangles:—

अष्टा चक्रा नवद्वारा देवानां पूरयोध्या.
तस्यां हिरण्ययः कोशः स्वर्गो ज्योतिषावृतः ।
तस्मिन् हिरण्यये कोशे त्र्यरे त्रिप्रतिष्ठिते ।
तस्मिन्यद्यक्षमात्मन्वत्तद्वै ब्रह्मविदो विदुः ।
प्रभ्राजमानां हरिणीं यशसा सम्परी वृताम् ।
पुरं हिरण्ययीं ब्रह्म आविवेशापराजिताम् ।[10]

'The impregnable city of the gods consists of eight circles and nine triangles (*dvâra*). Within it is a golden cell celestial and invested with light. In the triangle (*tryara*) and three dots (*tripratishṭhita*) within that cell, resides the One Eye. Those who know Brâhma think that this Eye is *âtman*. For into that impregnable city, which is resplendent, bright and invested with renown, Brâhma has entered.'

In his great commentary on the *Nityâ Shoḍaśikârṇava* called the *Setubandha*, Bhâskarananda has interpreted the words *tryara* and *tripratishthita* as a triangle and three dots and, as the words *trikoṇa, tryaśra, tryara, tripura, śringâṭaka*, &c., are used in the sense of a triangle in all Tantric texts, there is no reason to doubt his interpretation. Both Bhâskarananda in his *Setubandha* and Lolla in his commentary on *Saundaryalahârî* have interpreted the word *dvâra* as a triangle. If the above and other parallel passages[11] of the *Atharva-Veda* and the *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka* are, as they must be, taken to mean certain mystic figures actually drawn for worship, like those of the Śrîchakra of the Tantric cult, there can be no reason to call into question the above interpretations. The authorities on Tantric matters are all unanimous in finding in these passages a clear description of the Śrichakra and of Kâmî-kalâ referred to above. It is not, however, certain whether the process of drawing the *chakra* at the time of the *Atharva-Veda* was the same as it is now. (See Plates VI. and VII.)

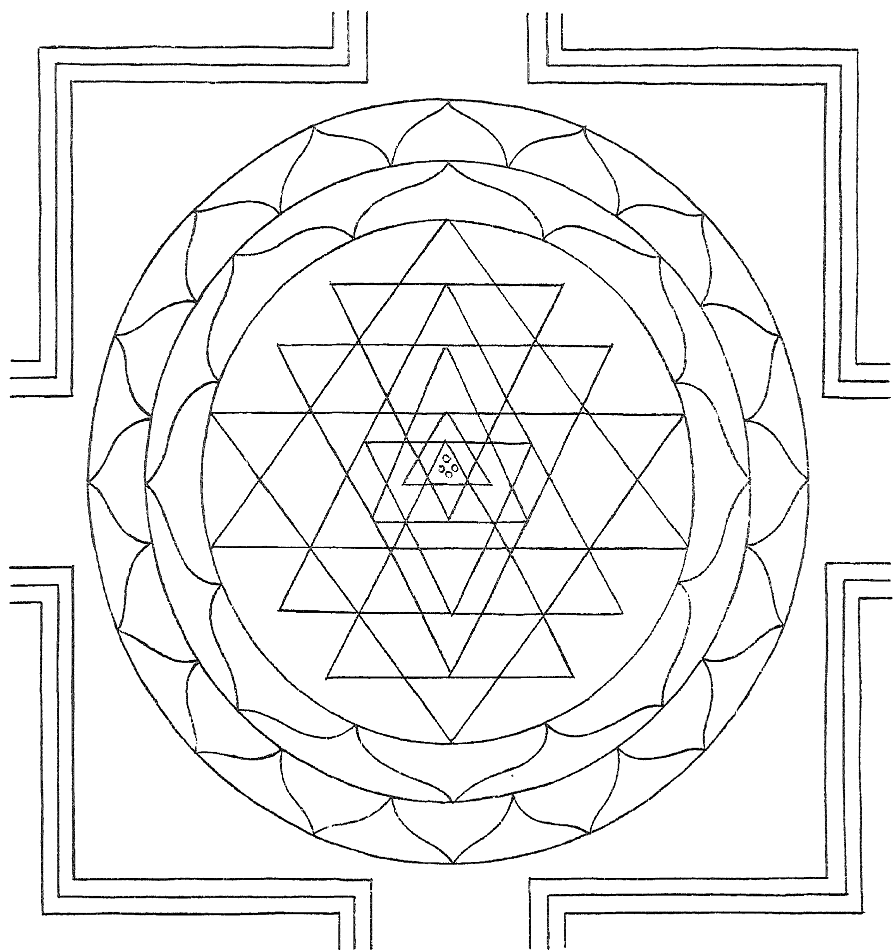
[8] P. 130, Mysore Oriental Library Edition.

[9] *Rig-Veda*, VII, 21, 3; 5.

[10] Compare I., 27 — *Tai. Âraṇyaka*; V., 28, 11; XI, 4, 22 — *Atharva-Veda*; and XIV., 987 — *Mahabharata.*

[11] V. 28, 11 and XI. 4, 22, *A.-V.*; I. 27, *Tai. Ar.*

Plate II.



Śrîchakra.

R. SHAMASASTRI, DEL. W GRIGGS, LITH.

The eight *chakras* are thus described in the *Bhairavayâmala*, quoted by Lolla in his commentary on *Saundaryalharî*[12] :—

चतुर्भिश्शिवचक्रैश्च शक्तिचक्रैश्च पंचभिः ।
नवचक्रैश्च संसिद्धं श्रीचक्रं शिवयोर्वपुः ।
त्रिकोणमष्टकोणं च दशकोणद्वयं तथा ।
चतुर्दशारं चैतानि शक्तिचक्राणि पंच च ।
बिन्दुश्चाष्टदलं पद्मं पद्मं षोडशपत्रकम् ।
चतुरश्रं च चत्वारि शिवचक्राण्यनुक्रमात् ।

'Four *chakras* presided over by Śiva and five *chakras* presided over by Śakti — these nine figures constitute the Śrîchakra, which is the abode of Śiva and Śakti. They are a triangle, an eight-petaled figure, two ten-petaled figures, and one fourteen-petaled figure. These five are the *chakras* of Śakti. One small circle (*bindu*), an eight-petaled figure, one sixteen-petaled figure, and one square form the four Śivachakras.'

These figures are ordinarily drawn as in Plate II. and overlap each other. Lolla accounts for the difference in number between the Atharva-Vedic and the Tantric *chakras*, as enumerated above, by counting the two ten-petaled figures as one and making only eight distinct *chakras* in conformity to the number enumerated both in the *Atharva-Veda* and the *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka.*

After drawing this Śrîchakra on a plate or a leaf, the devotee is required to inscribe in its centre the figure of Kâmî-kalâ (Plate VI.) :—

त्रिकोणे बैन्दवस्थाने अधोवक्त्रं विचिन्तयेत् ।
बिन्दोरुपरिभागे तु वक्त्रं संचिन्त्य साधकः ।
तदुपर्येव वक्षोजद्वितयं संस्मरेद्बुधः ।
तदुपर्येव योनिं च क्रमशो भुवनेश्वरीम् ।[13]

'In the interior of the triangle, which is the seat of Bindu, the devotee has to meditate upon the lower face (of Śakti). Having meditated on the face drawn above the Bindu (dot) as well, he has to recollect the breast-nipples above the face. Then by meditating on a triangular symbol of creation (*yoni*), he has to form gradually the picture of the Queen of the World in his mind.'

Clearly the picture required to be meditated upon in the above verses is no other than Kâmî-kalâ turned upside down. With such clues as these afforded by Tantric texts, one can clearly understand what is meant by the words *ashṭâchakra*, *tryara*, *tripratishṭhita* and *kośa* in the above passages of the *Atharva-Veda.* Nor do the traditional interpretations of these words clash with their derivative or literal sense. What, in the absence of the light thus thrown by Tantric texts and tradition on the obscure passages of the *Atharva-Veda*, would have appeared more than mystic becomes now as clear and intelligible as one could wish. We can clearly understand the common sense and simplicity with which the poets of the *Atharva-Veda* drew eight circles or triangles to represent the city of their gods and three dots and a triangle to represent their goddess. It is not only unreasonable, but also more than mystic, to think that such practical men as the Vedic bards talked of only imaginary *chakras*, gates, cities, or triangles, and never had those figures in a tangible form before them for worship. Although the drawing of the Śrichakra is quite simple compared with the elaborate and complicated forms of sacrificial altars which were and are still, as described in the *Sulbasûtras*, constructed with mathematical precision, it may be that the Atharva-Vedic Ashtâchakra was quite different from, and perhaps simpler than, the Śrichakra; for, perhaps, owing to the particular honour in which the Śrichakra is held among other *chakras*, Bhâskarananda and Lolla might have taken the Vedic text to mean the Śrichakra alone. It is, however, usual among Tantric worshippers to have simpler figures for

[12] P. 22, Mysore O. L. Edition. Also compare stanza 11 of *Saundaryalaharî* and quotations in the commentary in the same stanza.

[13] Quotations from *Chatuśśati* in p. 65, *Saundaryalaharî*, M. O. L. Edition.

worship. In the *Kadimata*, a Tantric MS. which, as its name implies, is an authoritative text of those, whose *mantra* begins with the syllable, *ka*, the following *chakra* is described :—

पद्मं चतुर्दशदलं बहिर्वृत्तद्वयं तथा ।
लिखित्वा कर्णिकामध्ये योनिं मायोदरां लिखेत् ।
दलेष्वपि तथाशक्तेश्चतुर्दशसु संलिखेत् ।
भगमालां मध्यशक्त्यामावाह्याभ्यर्चयेद्बहिः

'Having drawn a fourteen-petaled circle within two concentric circles, one shall draw within it a triangle containing a phallic symbol in the middle. In the fourteen petals of the figure of the goddess Śakti, a series of Bhaga-symbols, he shall also inscribe. Having invoked the presence of the goddess Śakti in the central symbol, he has to perform the external worship.'

Nor is there any mystery in the number eight of the *chakras* and the number nine of the *dvâras*, holes or gates, for in his commentary on the *Bhâvanopanishad*, Bhâskarananda says:—

मूलाधारादिषट्कं मूर्ध्वाधस्सहस्रदलकमले द्वे
लम्बिकाग्रमिति नवाधाराः[14]

'The six chakras, — namely, (1) Mûladhâra, prime support; (2) Maṇipûra, the watery zone decked with precious stones; (3) Svâdhishṭhâna, one's own seat; (4) Anâhata, sounding though not struck; (5) Viśuddhi, the zone of purification; (6) and Âjna, command — two thousand-petaled lotuses both below and above the six *chakras*, and the edge of the epiglottis form the nine *chakras*.'

Here leaving the epiglottis which is plainly a later addition, the eight *chakras* mentioned in the hymn may be taken to correspond to the six divisions of human body, the legs, the waist, the navel, the heart, the throat, and the brows. Of the two lotuses, one is for the god or goddess to stand upon and the other to wear on the head or to form the head. Not only are the *chakras* believed to correspond to human body, but also taken to represent the six divisions of the Universe, as already pointed out. As for the nine gates, they are enumerated in the same commentary thus :—

श्रोत्रचक्षुर्नासानां द्वयं द्वयम्.
जिव्हागुह्यपायव एकैक इति.[15]

'Two, two gates in each of the organs, the ear, the eye and the nose. One gate in each of the organs, the tongue, the generative organ, and the anus.'

Nor are the words Bhaga and Kâma, so frequently used in the *Atharva-Veda*, devoid of the phallic sense which they convey in Tantric texts.

In the following Hymn,[16] Bhaga is used in its ordinary sense devoid of any divine attribute:—

(1) As the wind tears this grass from the surface of the earth, thus do I tear thy soul, so that, thou woman shalt love, shalt not be averse to me.

(2) If ye, O two Aśvins, shall unite and bring together the loving pair, — united are the Bhagas of both of you (lovers), united the thoughts, united the purposes!

(3) When the birds desire to chirp, lustily desire to chirp, may my call go there as an arrow point upon the shaft!

(4) What is within shall be without; what is without shall be within! Take captive, O herb, the soul of the maidens endowed with every charm.

(5) Longing for a husband, this woman hath come, I have come longing for a wife. As a loudly neighing horse, I have attained to my good fortune (*Bhagena aham samâgamam*).

[14] P. 239, *Bhâvanopanishad* printed along with the *Saundaryalahari*, M. O. L. Edition.
[15] P. 34, *Bhâvanopanishad*, the same Edition.
[16] II, 30, *A.-V.*

Here the comparison of his attaining to his fortune with that of a loudly neighing horse undoubtedly suggests the exact meaning that is intended to be conveyed by the word Bhaga. While translating the above verses, Maurice Bloomfield says that Bhaga here seems to be used in a double meaning ('fortune' and '*vulva*').

But in the following passages the word Bhaga is used in the sense of a goddess :—

(1) "Bhaga told me to marry a wife just in the same way as the Aśvins married the Sûrya, the Sun, who possesses a good productive quality." — 2, 82, 6, *A.-V.*

(2) "I invoke the peaceful Bhaga, so that she may endow you (loving pair) with harmony of mind and heart." — 2, 74, 6, *A.-V.*

As regards the god **Kâma,** he is invoked under a number of synonymous words, Prajâpati, Skambha, Vaitasa, &c. The word **Vaitasa** has been undoubtedly used in the sense of *virile membrum*. Prof. Muir says[17] :— "In the *Rig-Veda* X. 95, 4, 5 (compare *Nirukta* III. 21) and *Satap. Br.* XI. 5, 1, 1, the word Vaitasa has the sense of *membrum virile*. Are we to understand the word Vaitasa (reed) in the same sense here, as denoting a Linga ?" Also, while translating the Atharva-Vedic hymn addressed to Skambha or Brahmâ, where the word Vaitasa is synonymously used with Brahmâ, Prof. Muir entertains similar doubts. He says : "I know not whether this word has here its ordinary meaning or the same sense which is assigned to the word Vaitasa in *R.-V.* X. 95, 4, 5, which is addressed by Ûrvasi to Purûravas ; *Satap. Brâhmana* XI. 5, 1, 1, and *Nirukta* III. 21, and also *R.-V.*, IV. 58, 5; and *Satap. Br.* VII. 5, 2, 11."

I cannot see the reason why the phallic sense assigned to the word Vaitasa should be doubted when the whole Skambha Hymn becomes, if the word is taken in its phallic sense, intelligible, freed from all its mystery. The entire Hymn addressed to Skambha is full of such words as 'of this limb,' 'in which limb,' and 'from which limb,' &c. The use of these expressions can only be consistent with some pictorial form of the god drawn for worship. Then alone we can understand the catechetical method of identifying the several visible limbs of the picture with several constituents of the universe. To say that such demonstrative pronominal words as 'this,' 'of this, &c.,' are not meant to refer to some visible objects at hand, is the same as saying that the Vedic bards were ignorant of the elementary rules of Sanskrit Grammar in daily use. It is not only violating Sanskrit Grammar, but also setting at nought **the tradition preserved in all the Tantric texts of representing gods by pictorial symbols.**

Following both grammar and tradition, the Skambha Hymn can be thus translated :— "In what member of this (*asya*) does austere fervour stand ? In which member of this is the ceremonial contained ? In what parts of this do religious observance and faith abide ? In what member of this is truth established ? From what member does *agni*, fire, blaze ? From which does the wind blow ? From which does the moon pursue her course traversing the mighty body of Skambha ? In what member of this does the earth reside and in which member of this the atmosphere ? In what member is the sky placed, and in which the space above the sky ? Whither tending does the upward fire blaze ? Whither tending does the wind blow ? Tell, who is that Skambha to whom all devotees anxiously turn and into whom they enter ? Whither tending, do the half months and the months in making up the year proceed ? Tell that Skambha to whom the seasons and other divisions of the year advance ? Whither tending do the two young females of diverse aspects, the day and night, hasten in unison ? Tell that Skambha on whom the Prajâpati has supported and established all the worlds ? How far did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest, and middle Universe, comprehending all forms which Prajâpati created. And how much of it was there which he did not penetrate ? How far did Skambha penetrate into the past ? And how much of the future lies in the face of this ?

17 *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V., p. 384.

How far did Skambha penetrate into that one member which he made by thousands ? Tell, who is that Skambha in whom men recognise the worlds and receptacles, waters and Brahmâ, and within whom are nonentity and entity ? In whom austere fervour energising maintains its highest purity? In whom the ceremonial, faith, waters and Brahmâ himself are comprehended ? In whom earth, atmosphere, sky, fire, moon, sun and wind are placed ? In whose body all the thirty-three gods are contained? In whom the earliest Rishis, the Rik, the Sâman, the Yajus, the earth and one Rishi reside ? That Purusha in whom immortality and death are comprehended ; in whom the oceans reside as the veins ? That Skambha of whom the four regions are primeval arteries, and in whom sacrifice displaces its energy ? They who know Brahmâ can understand the transcendental. He who knows the transcendental and also the Prajâpati, as well as those who know Brahmâ, can realise Skambha. Tell that Skambha of whom the fire is the head, the Angirasas the eye, and demons (Yâtns) are the limbs. Tell that Skambha of whom Brahmâ is said to be both the mouth and honeyed tongue, the Viraj the udder ? From whom they extracted the *Rig* and cut off the *Yajus* ; of whom the *Sâma* verses are the heirs, and the *Atharva-Veda* the mouth. Men regard the standing branch of nonentity as paramount and those inferior men think of nonentity worship thy branch. Tell who is that Skambha in whom the Âdityas, Rudras, and Vasus are contained ; on whom the past, the future, and all worlds are supported ; whose treasure the thirty-three gods always guard. Who knows that treasure which ye guard, O gods ? Where those gods who know Brahmâ worship the transcendental and he who sees that with his eyes will come to know Brahmâ. Mighty, indeed, are those gods who have sprung from nonentity. Other people say that one member of Skambha is nonentity. Where Skambha, generating, brought the ancient one into existence, they consider that that ancient is one member, Skambha. In whose members the thirty-three gods found their bodies. Those who know Brahmâ can understand those thirty-three gods. Men know the Hiraṇyagarbha to be supreme and ineffable. Skambha shed forth in the interior of the world that gold (*hiraṇya*). In Skambha are contained the worlds, austere fervour, and the ceremonial. In Indra are contained the worlds, austere fervour, and the ceremonial. I know thee to be visible Indra (*Indram tvâ veda pratyaksham*). In Skambha is everything placed. Repeating the very name (the worshipper) invokes (thee) before the sun, before the dawn. For the unborn first sprang into being and attained to that independent power, than which nothing higher has ever been. Reverence to that greatest Brahmâ of whom the earth is the basis, the atmosphere the belly, and who made the sky his head ; of whom the sun and the ever-renewed moon are the eyes ; who made *agni* his mouth ; of whom the wind formed two of the vital airs and Ângirasas the eye, who made the regions his organs of sense. Skambha bears these two worlds, the earth and sky. Skambha bears the wide atmosphere. Skambha bears the six vast regions and has pervaded this entire Universe. Reverence to that greatest Brahmâ, who, born from austere toil and fervour, penetrated all the worlds ; who made Soma to be alone. How is it that the wind does not rest? How is not the soul quiescent ? Why do not the waters, seeking after truth, ever repose ? The great being is absorbed in austere fervour in the midst of the world, on the surface of the waters. To whom all the gods are joined, as the branches around the trunk of a tree. Say who is that Skambha to whom the gods with hands, feet, voice, ear, eye, present continually an unlimited tribute. By whom darkness is dispelled. He is free from evil ; in him are all the three luminaries which reside in Prajâpati. He who knows the golden reed standing in the waters is the mysterious Prajâpati . . . . . ." — X. 7, *A.-V.*

Undoubtedly, the golden reed which the poet has taken to be visible Indra, can be no other than the ruby-like rod between two dots of Ṭantric literature. Neither is the word Skambha (= stambha = pillar = rod) less significant of the *linga*. Nor are the several limbs of Skambha, identified with the several constituents of the Universe, other than the symbols of the latter. Still more clearly does the Purusha Hymn (X. 2, *A.-V.*) establish the fact that at the time of the

Atharva-Veda, pictorial representations, more or less similar to those of Tantric literature, were actually made for worship. This hymn has already been quoted in part, so far as it deals with *chakras* and triangles. Prof. Muir, in his Sanskrit texts, has thus remarked[18] on the hymn : —

"The *Atharva-Veda* contains a long hymn (X. 2) on the subject of Purusha, which does not throw much light on the conception of his character, but contains a number of curious ideas. The deity being conceived and described in this hymn as the man or male (*purusha*), — the great archetype and impersonation of that active energy of which men are the feeble representatives upon earth — the poet has been led to imagine the object of his adoration as invested with a visible form and with members analogous to those of the human frame, and he then goes on to speculate on the agency by which the different portions of Purusha's body could have been constructed, and the source from which he could have derived the various attributes through which he formed the Universe, and ordained the conditions under which its several departments exist. The minute questions regarding the members of Purusha, with which the hymn opens, may have been suggested to the author by an observation of the curious structure of the human body, and by the wonder which that observation had occasioned. . . . ."

It is more than probable that if Prof. Muir had deeply thought on the *chakras* and triangles of the hymn and also on the close analogy between the Atharva-Vedic and Tantric doctrines regarding symbolism and witchcraft, he would, instead of remarking 'the poet had been led to imagine,' have said that 'the poet had been led to represent the object of his worship with visible symbols.'

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

TALAPOIN.[1]

THIS Indo-European word has long been a puzzle to scholars. It means a Buddhist ecclesiastic. According to Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, Crooke's ed. *s. v.*, the oldest known form is **talagrepo**, occurring in a list of terms for ecclesiastics of sorts in Mendez Pinto (1534), and also as **grepo talapoy.**

Then, still in the 16th century, we have quoted for us, **talapoi, tallapoie, talipois, talapoins** in English writers and in English translations of Italian writers. In the 17th century the word is quoted from Portuguese, Italian, German, French and English writers as **talapoi, talpooy, telapoi** and **talapoin.** In the 18th century we are given **talapoi, tallapoie, tallopin** and **talapoin** in Dutch and English writers, and lastly **talapoin** from Italian and French writers in the 19th century.

Oddly enough, De La Loubère's *Siam*, which gives perhaps more about the *talapoin* than any other contemporary book, is not quoted. De La Loubère assumes *talapoin* to be a well-known term and does not give a derivation for it, as he usually does in the cases of Oriental terms quoted by him.

1693. "Of the **talapoins** and the Convents." — Chapter XVII., *Eng. trans.* 1693, p. 113.

1693. "Though at Siam there are some **Talapoinesses** or women, who in most things do observe the rule of the **talapoins.**" — *op. cit., loc. cit.*

In the Museum of Archæology at Cambridge, an image, dating about 1700, from Syriam, near Rangoon, is inscribed: — "**Talapay,** *i.e., Religiosi in Pegu Regno, effigies.*"

So much for the forms of the word. Now as to derivations. *Talipot* (= *tâla-patra*) is the leaf of the toddy palm or palmyra, used as a sunshade by the Buddhist ecclesiastic (peculiar to himself as an honour), and it has been assumed that the term for the sunshade has been transferred to the user. This has been accepted by such competent writers as Pallegoix (1854), Koeppen (1857), and Bigandet (1880). To support this derivation, there is the following argument from the form **talapay.** The Sanskrit ecclesiastical term *patra*, a palm-leaf, became *pei-to-lo* in Chinese, cut short popularly to *pei*, and transferred to Burma in the form *pe.* So *tala-pe* would equal *tâlapatra*, the ecclesiastical palm-leaf. This derivation involves a Burmese source

18 *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V., p. 374.

1 *Vide* Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. vv.*

for the term and the transfer of the name from the palm-leaf sunshade to the man who carried it.

Considering the date at which the word first appears, the derivation is more likely to be from Peguan (*i. e.*, Mon or Talaing) than from Burmese. On this assumption, Gerini, *Hist. Retrospect of Junkceylon Island*, 1905, pp. 55 and 139, commenting on Forrest's *Voyage*, 1792, which talks about "twenty priests called **tellopoys**," explains the word as **tala-poi**, "my Lord." This is correct Peguan and a reasonable derivation for the form **talapoin**, which is Portuguese originally, so far as Europeans are concerned.

But Gerini seems to think that it explains also Mendez Pinto's **talagrepo** and **grepo talapoy**, because he says (p. 55), the word is properly *tala*, lord, and *kh'pôi*, our (my), though he abandons this at p. 139 and says that *pôi* is our (my). *Pôi* is "our" in Peguan no doubt, but the form *kh'pôi* I cannot find. So I fear that *talagrepo* and *grepo* are still unexplained.

Now, Mendez Pinto's list of ecclesiastics is, (1) *grepo*, (2) *talagrepo*, (3) **rolin**, (4) **neepoi**, (5) **bico**, (6) **sacareu**, (7) **chaufarauho**.

Rolin is an old word for Buddhist monk. It occurs in Ovington, 1690 (*vide ante*, Vol. XXIX. p. 28) in three forms, **raulini**, **roolim**, and **royolet**. It occurs again, in 1801, in Buchanan's *Religion, etc., of the Burmas* (*loc. cit.*) thus: — "These priests by Europeans commonly called **Talapoins**, and by Muhammadans **Raulins**, are in the Burma language called **Rahans** and in the Pali **Thaynka** [for **Saṅgha**]." The Burmese term *rahan* = Pali *arahanta*, a celibate monk.

The **Neepoi**, Gerini says, *op. cit.* p. 55, are novices or deacons (mnih-kh'pôi), but at p. 139 he says the term for novice is *thāpôi* and *th'pôi* and not *kh'pôi*. *Mnīh-pôi* would mean in Peguan "our men" or "our people," but I cannot find the term *thāpôi* for a novice.

Bico is clearly the *bhikshu* or *bhikkhu*, the begging monk, as to whom De La Loubère has a quaint note, p. 119: — "Mr. Gervaise distinguishes the *Talapoins* into *Balouang*, *Tchaou-cou* and **Pecou** . . . In this Country I never heard speak of the word *Picou*, but only of *Tchaou-cou*."

Sacareu seems to represent the **Sankrat** of De La Loubère (p. 114 ff.), the Lord or Master of a Convent [*scil.* monastery], "whom the missionaries have compared to our Bishops."

R. C. TEMPLE.

8th March, 1906.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE CHAMPU-JIVANDHARA OF HARICHANDRA, edited by T. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI. Tanjore: 1905. (Sarasvativilasa Series, No. IV.)

IN two former issues of this Journal (Vol. XXXII., p. 240, and Vol. XXXV., p. 96) I noticed two previously unpublished Sanskṛit works of the Jaina author Vâdîbhasiṁha which have been edited by Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri — the *Gadyachintâmaṇi* and *Kshatrachûḍâmaṇi*. Both are based on Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurâṇa*, and consequently are posterior to about A. D. 900. The same holds good for Harichandra's *Champu-Jîvandhara*, now edited for the first time by the same scholar. The subject of all three is the legend of Jîvandhara; but, while the *Gadyachintâmaṇi* is written in prose and the *Kshatrachûḍâmaṇi* in the Anushṭubh metre, the new work belongs to the *champû* class, *i.e.*, it consists of a mixture of ornate prose and of verses in various metres. As the editor remarks in his preface to the *Gadyachintâmaṇi*, there are passages in Harichandra's *champû* which closely resemble certain passages in the two works of Vâdîbhasiṁha; but it is difficult to decide for which of the two authors priority may be claimed in such instances. As Harichandra lived after A. D. 900, he is certainly distinct from that namesake of his whose prose composition is praised in Bâṇa's *Harshacharitam*. I cannot say if he was identical with the physician Harichandra who resided at the court of a king Sâhasâṅka, but feel inclined to identify the author of the *champû* with the composer of the poem *Dharmaśarmâbhyudaya* (Kâvyamâlâ, No. 8). Both styled themselves 'Mahâkavi Harichandra' and were members of the Jaina sect, and on pp. 147—150 of his edition Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri notes some passages of the *Dharmaśarmâbhyudaya* which remind us strongly of the *Champu-Jîvandhara*. But, even apart from this connection, the new work possesses so much intrinsic merit, and is edited with such care and scholarly judgment, that it must be considered an important contribution to Sanskṛit literature. The type and get-up are excellent and reflect credit on the Sri Krishna Vilasa Press at Tanjore.

E. HULTZSCH.

Halle, 6th July, 1906.

NOTES ON FEMALE TATTOOING FROM OOTACAMUND.

BY B. A. GUPTE, F.Z.S.,

Personal Assistant to the Director of Ethnography for India.

1. — Tambâlas.

A PEASANT woman from the Madura District has only the *pakolam* or tank on her arms (see Plate, fig. 1).

2. — Palugaundârs (Herbalists).

A woman from Katumbatli in the Coimbatoor (Koimbatûr) District has a *tâmare* or lotus (see Plate, fig. 12) on the dorsum of the hand, and a number of *kole* or bunches of nails covering both arms (see Plate, fig. 2). On her forehead she has a *tenure pachaka* (sacred ashes) to show that she is a Śaiva (see Plate, fig. 3).

3. — Kavares (Dealers in Cloth).

A woman has both arms covered with a series of tanks (Plate, fig. 1) bordered by a creeper which she calls *maligudi-phu* or jasmine. On her forehead she has a perpendicular line down the middle to show that she is a Vaishṇava. She repeatedly asserted that only married girls in her caste are tattooed.

4. — Pariahs.

Thirty-three were examined. Of these twenty have a tank (Plate, fig. 1) and *shuralbatânu* or peas (Plate, fig. 4). Three have a *nalapure*, a straight line with an arrow-head, and a moon, *chandran*.

A Christian of Pariah descent has, in addition to all this, a triangular *vângi* (armlet) on the biceps (Plate, fig. 5), which is usually worn as a gold or gilt-plated ornament on the back of the hand. She was unable to explain it, but it is well known in the Thana District of Bombay as the tinsel coronet worn by Hindu brides at the marriage ceremony. This and the other tattoo-marks are relics of the former Hindu religion of the family. She is a worshipper of Mâri-Mâ (Mary-Mother), but it is to be noted that another Pariah woman, still a Hindu, with the peas tattooed on her arm, is a worshipper of Vîr-Mâtâ (Hero-Mother), an unidentified goddess.

One section of the Pariahs has the kite depicted in several ways (Plate, figs. 6, 7, 8, 9) and these women assured me that they will not kill a kite at any price. As it is well known that the Pariah will eat anything, this tattoo-mark and the repugnance of the wearers to killing the animal tattooed requries explanation, unless it be accepted that the kite was the sectional totem.

5. — Badugas.

A woman has two large circles (Plate, fig. 10) on each temple, together with the usual stars and horizontal line between the brows. On her arms she has large combs (Plate, fig. 11), and one at the wrist with the symbol of the lotus, *thamare* (Plate, fig. 12). On the dorsum of the hand she has the sun (Plate, fig. 13).

On the left arm the name Murgai is tattooed in Tamil. It is that of the woman who performed the tattooing and is a sign of the influence of civilization. The comb, the lotus, and the sun are due to modern Hindu environment, but on the shoulders she has three dotted horizontal lines, which is the tribal-mark of the Baduga, put there as a means of recognition in case of loss by seizure or wandering in the jungles. Here the tattoo-marks throw back to the primitive nomadic customs of her tribe.

6. — Gangâdhikaras.

A woman from Mysore has the water-pot of the Ganges (Plate, fig. 14) and the *chula* or fire-place (Plate, fig. 15). She cannot explain this, but the association of the two marks points to a Northern origin connected with Sita's tattooed kitchen (*ante*, Vol. XXXIII., 1904, p. 177).

7. — Toḍâs.

The Toḍâs say that their women are tattooed after marriage or rather conception, as a proof of the married condition of these polyandrous women.

8. — Male Tattooing.

Owing to the influence of environment, six males have Tamil names tattooed on their arms and four cooly women have nothing but the names tattooed. Those names are those of sisters, brothers, grandmothers, playmates, and of the women who perform the tattooing.

A THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE DEVANAGARI ALPHABET.

BY R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A.

(Continued from p. 267.)

CHAPTER II.

Athurvaṇic and Tantric Witchcraft.

While Bhaga is invoked in the *Atharva-Veda* for progeny and for the maintenance of harmony between husband and wife, and is thanked for providing wives, Kâma is given the functions of both the Creator and God of Love. In the philosophical hymn (IX. 2, *A.-V.*), Kâma, the creative desire, is one of the primeval forces; while in the hymn (III. 25, *A.-V.*) Kâma assumes the function of Cupid. The consideration of the symbolical practices of the ritual of the latter hymn, the performance of which is supposed to arouse the passionate love (*vaśîkaraṇa*) of a woman, tends to prove that the Athurvaṇic Kâma is no other than symbolical Kâma of Tantric literature. The hymn is thus translated by Maurice Bloomfield :—

(1) "May Kâma, the disquieter, disquiet thee; do not hold out upon thy bed! With the terrible arrow of Kâma, do I pierce thee in the heart."

(2) "The arrow of Kâma, winged with longing, barbed with love, whose shaft is undeviating desire, with that, well-aimed, Kâma shall pierce thee in the heart."

(3) "With that well-aimed arrow of Kâma which parches the spleen, whose plume flies forward, which burns up, do I pierce thee in the heart."

(4) "Consumed by burning ardour, with parched mouth, do thou (woman) come to me, plaint, (thy) pride laid aside, mine alone, speaking sweetly and to me devoted."

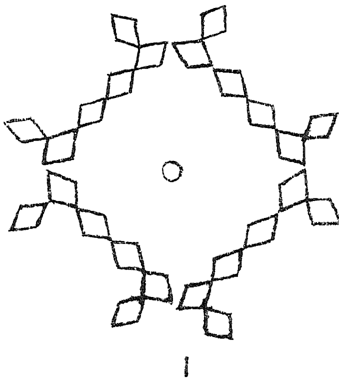
(5) "I drive thee with a goad from thy mother and thy father, so that thou shalt be in my power, shalt come up to my wish."

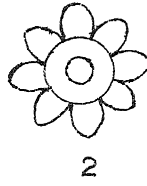
The most important symbolical practice, which is to accompany the recital of the hymn, is thus described in *Kauśikasûtra*:—

प्रतिकृतिमावलेखिनीं दार्भ्यूषेण भंगज्येन
कण्टकशल्ययोलुकपत्रया सितालकाण्डया हृदये विध्याति·

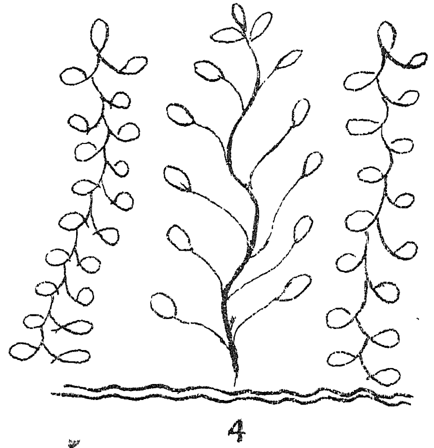
35, 28, *Kauśikasûtra*.

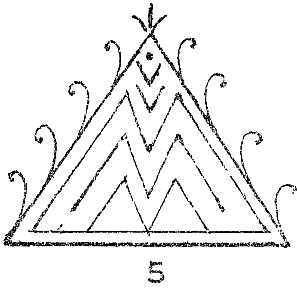
FEMALE TATTOOING IN OOTACAMUND


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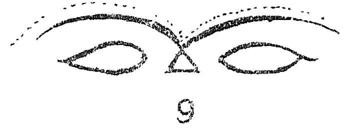

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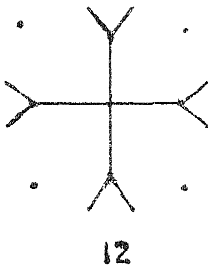

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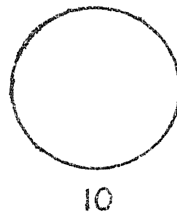

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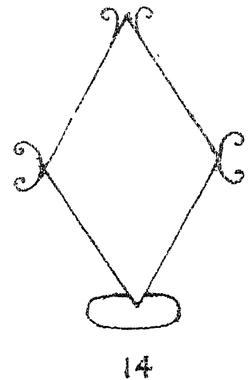

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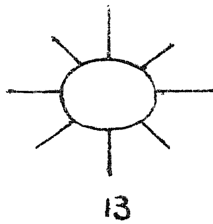

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B. A. Gupte, Del.

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'By means of Dârbhyûsha-bow with a bow string made of hemp and an arrow whose barb is a thorn, whose plume is derived from an owl and whose shaft is made of black ala-wood, the lover pierces the heart of the pictorial representation (of a woman).'

While translating the above *sûtra*, M. Bloomfield interpreted the words "*âvalekhinîm pratikritim*" as "an effigy made of potter's clay." But there is nothing in the *sûtra* itself meaning potter's clay. The word *lekha*, which is derived from the same root as *âvalekhinî*, is often used in the text itself in the sense of scratching.

सप्तमर्यादा इत्युत्तरतोऽग्नेस्सप्त लेखा लिखति प्राच्यः

76, 21, *Kauśikasûtra.*

'While asking the bride to recite the hymn *Saptamaryâda* (seven limits, &c., during the Saptapadî ceremony in marriage), the priest draws on the north to the fire seven lines towards the east.'

Similarly, the word *parilékha* is also used in the sense of scratching or drawing.

वाचा बद्धाय भूमिपरिलेखम्.

52, 4, *Kauśikasûtra.*

'To release a man tied by curse, the earth is scratched.'

There is also another hymn (130, VI., *A.-V.*), in which a woman is depicted as performing for the purpose of arousing the passionate love (Tantric, *vaśîkaraṇa*) of a man, the same symbolical practice of piercing, with similar arrow and bow, the heart of the pictorial form of her lover.

It may be urged that the practice of pictorial writing may be true for the time of the *Kauśikasûtra*, but that it cannot be admitted with equal certainty for the time of the *Atharva-Veda*. But the consideration of the gambling hymn (7, 50, *A.-V.*) will certainly dispel all doubts on this point:—

अजैषं त्वासं लिखितमजैषमुत संरुधम्
अविं वृको यथा मथदेवा मथ्नामि ते कृतम्

7, 50, 5, *A.-V.*

'I have conquered thee who art scratched here. I have not only conquered, but also bound thee here. As a wolf destroys a sheep, so do I destroy thy charms.'

While commenting on the above verse, Sâyaṇa says that gamblers usually mark certain symbols on a definite spot, and play on the same spot to ensure their victory.

Turning now to **Tantric witchcraft,** we see almost exactly the same practice. I take, for instance, two passages from the *Nityâshodaśikârṇava* and its commentary, the *Setubandha* by Bhâskarananda. The former work is in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and his consort Pârvatî:—

लिखेद्रोचनयैकान्ते प्रतिमामवनीतले ।
स्वरूपां चात्र शृंगारवेषाभरण भूषिताम् ।
तत्कालगळहन्नाभिजन्ममण्डलयोजिताम्
जन्मनाममहाविद्यामंकुशान्तावदर्भितीम्
सर्वांगसंधिसंलीनमालिख्य मदनाक्षरम्
. . . .

P. 112, Part I., *Nityâshodaśikârṇava.*

'The picture of a woman to be captivated, consisting of her face, throat, breast, navel and her generative organ, together with her peculiar ornaments and dress, shall be drawn with *rochana* (a bright yellow pigment prepared from the urine or bile of a cow) in a secluded place. The picture of *ankuśa* (a hook used to drive an elephant), combined with the symbol of sacred knowledge and the name of the beloved, is to be attached. The symbol of Madana (Kâma = a straight line between two dots) is to be written in all the joints of the pictorial form. . . . .' (See Plate VI.)

The other passage runs as follows : —

लिखित्वा विपुलं चक्रं तन्मध्ये प्रतिमां यदि ।
नाम्ना लिखति संयुक्तां ज्वलन्तीं चिन्तयेत्तत ।
शतयोजनमात्रस्था त्वदूरस्यापि च या भवेत् ।
भयलज्जाविनिर्मुक्ता साप्यायाति विमोहिता ।

P. 108, *Nityâshodaśikârṇava*.

'Having written in the centre of a large circle the picture of a woman, together with her name, one has to think of her as languishing with the effects of love. However great may be the distance, she will run to the lover, abandoning all her fear and shame.'

Then follows the commentary on this passage, which clearly manifests the force of conservative spirit with which time-honoured customs and doctrines, however crude and absurd, were regarded as inviolable. It was likely that, owing to the omission to mention the particular writing ingredient in the above passage, worshippers might use other than traditional materials. With a view to avoid so profane a practice, the commentator kindly took the trouble to supply the omission. He says : —

"The omission to mention the name of the particular writing ingredient in the above text is due to the consideration on the part of the author that the nature of the material can be easily understood by reference to the rules laid down in similar contexts in other authoritative Tantric texts. The *Dakshiṇamûrtisaṁhitâ*, for example, lays down :—

'कृत्वा सिन्दूररजसा चक्रं तत्र विभावयेत् ।'

'Having drawn the circle with red lead, the worshipper shall contemplate on it.'

This kind of decision by reference to outside authority is quite in accordance with the theory of 'similar contexts' propounded by the Mîmânsakas (Vedic commentators) with regard to similar rituals.

This insistence on adhering to long-continued customs regarding **writing materials** is equally perceptible regarding the form of pictures. The enumeration made in the first passage of such important members as 'forehead,' 'neck,' 'heart,' 'navel' and 'generative organ' recalls the simple picture of Kâmî-kala in the *Tripuropanishad*, while it admits of no doubt that witchcraft, prehistoric in its origin, Athurvanic in its infancy, and Tantric in its youth, old age and decay, has undergone only such modifications as misinterpretations and misunderstandings of past traditions rendered possible. It must necessarily follow that the process of drawing, with cow's bile or blood, the rudimentary outlines of victims, essential to the satisfactory performance of sorcery, is far anterior to the art of painting and coeval with, and perhaps earlier than, the *Atharva-Veda*. Regarding sorcery itself, Prof. Macdonell observes as follows :[19] —

"All India is pervaded by sorcery from the *R.-V.* (7, 104 ; 10, 84 ; 10, 128, 155) through the Yajush literature, and curiously enough also the *Upanishads* (Br. Ar. 6, 4, 12) through the

[19] P. 66, *Atharva-Veda : Grundriss*.

systematic Vidhâna texts to the *Tântras* of the worshippers of Sakti. Especially, the Yajush and Srauta texts frequently abandon for a moment their main theme in keen remembrance of him that 'hates us and whom we hate.' This is either done by imparting to one or another sacrificial act a similar turn by a conscious symbolic modification of the practice or in the so-called *kâmyeshtayah* many of which are directed against enemies. Thus the formulas of the ritual literature are quite frequently identical with or similar to the prose passages of the Âbhichârika hymns of the *Atharva-Veda* . . . . In judging the chronology of the Athurvan collection in its finished aspect, it is important to note that these formulas certainly existed in Vedic literature outside the Athurvanic schools, and prior to any Athurvan redaction. The practice of sorcery, if not its imprecations, goes back to Indo-European times (*Avesta*, Yâtu). Pâṇini, 4, 4, 96, still describes as Rishau, *i. e.*, as Vedic, the kind of *mantra* which he calls '*hṛidya*,' according to the scholiast, in the sense of '*hṛidayasya bandhanah*,' captivating the heart, *Vaśîkaraṇa mantrah*. Especially forceful is 5, 31, *A. V.*, containing a catalogue of homely, animate or inanimate objects, within which spells were instituted : — An unburnt vessel, grain, raw meat, the cock, goat and other animals, the Gârhapatya fire, house-fire, house, assembly hall, gaming place, the army, the drum, the arrow and the weapon, the well and the burial-place, &c."

As the phallic gods Kâma and Bhaga of the Tantric literature cannot, as pointed out above, be other than the Kâma and Bhaga of the *Atharva-Veda*, phallic worship must have necessarily existed in Vedic India, as its existence in mediæval and Modern India is fully warranted by Tantric literature on the one hand, and by the Kâma festival, celebrated even to this day, on the other. The Kâma festival is still observed by a few sects among the Brâhmans and by almost the whole of the non-Brahmanic community of the Hindus. A rod two feet long is tied crosswise to a pole five or six feet in height. One or two winnowers, almost triangular in shape, old and worn out, are attached to the cross-bar. This effigy is taken in procession through the streets, with the accompaniment of drums beating, with indecent songs sung in praise of Bhagadevatâ and Kâmadeva, and with the dancing of harlots. In a definite place in a street, where a number of old and worn-out winnowers are previously heaped up for the purpose of burning the effigy, the pole with its cross-bar, as representing Kâma and Bhaga, is set on fire, while the multitude simultaneously begin to beat their mouths, sending forth loud outbursts of hideous sounds.

Also, the infallible evidence that is furnished by the comparative study of religions, not only tends to prove the existence of phallic worship in Vedic India, but also carries it as far back as Indo-European times. For while phallic worship was predominant both in ancient Greece and Rome, there is no reason to doubt that it formed part of Âryan stock of religions and also found its home in India. Regarding the phallic worship in ancient Greece, the following description is found in Chambers' *Encyclopædia* : —

" The phallus is a representation of the male generative organs used at certain Dionysian festivals in ancient Greece. It was an object of common worship throughout the nature religion of the East, and was called by manifold names, such as Linga, Yoni, &c. Originally, it had no other meaning than the allegorical one of that mysterious union between the male and the female, which throughout nature seems to be the sole condition of the continuation of the existence of animated beings; but at a later period, more particularly when ancient Rome had become the hot-bed of all natural and unnatural vices, its worship became an intolerable nuisance and was put down by the Senate on account of the more than unusual immorality to which it gave rise. Its origin has given rise to much speculation, but no certainty has been arrived at by investigators. The Phœnicians traced its introduction into their worship to Adonis, the Egyptians to Osiris, the Phrygians to Attys, the Greeks to Dionysus. The common myth concerning it was the story of some god, deprived of his powers of

generation — an allusion to the sun which in autumn loses its fructifying influence. The procession in which it was carried about was called Phallagogia, and a certain song that was sung on that occasion was called the Phallikon Melos. The bearers of the *phallus* which generally consisted of red leather and was attached to an enormous pole, were the *phallophori*. *Phalli* were on those occasions worn as ornaments round the neck, or attached to the body. Aristotle traces the origin of comedy to the ribaldry and the improvised jokes customary on those festivals. *Phalli* were often attached to statues, and of prodigious size; sometimes they were even movable. At a procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, a *phallus* was carried about made of gold and 120 yards long. Before the temple of Venus at Hierapolis, there stood two *phalli*, 180 feet high, upon which a priest mounted annually and remained there in prayer for seven days. The *phallus* was an attribute of Pan, Priapus, and to a certain extent also of Hermes."

Besides the consideration of the identity or almost exact similarity between the practices of Tantric and Atharva-Vedic witchcraft under the presidency of the phallic gods, Kâma and Bhaga, there is also the consideration of **epigraphic evidence**, which is of much importance in **determining the chronology of Tantric worship.** It has already been described how lines, circles, triangles, and squares or rectangles are some of the figures that were required in assigning a pictorial form, not only to victims aimed at in sorcery, but also to the presiding deities Kâma and Bhaga. Similar figures, intended of course to represent some gods or goddesses, are found carved, not only on ancient **Hindu coins,** but also on pillars and walls of ancient temples. There can be no doubt that those coins which bear the symbols of Kâmî-kalâ, consisting of one circle to represent face, two circles breast-nipples, and a triangle the mysterious organs, are older than coins with regular epigraphic inscription. (See Plate III.) Regarding his own collection of the earliest Hindu coins, James Prinsep observes thus: —

"It[20] is an indisputable axiom that unstamped fragments of silver and gold of a fixed weight must have preceded the use of regular coin in those countries where civilization and commerce have induced the necessity of some convenient representatives of value. The antiquarian will have, therefore, little hesitation in ascribing the highest grade of antiquity in Indian numismatology to those small flattened bits of silver or other metal which were occasionally discovered all over the country, either quite smooth or bearing only punch-marks on one or both sides; and generally having a corner cut off, as may be conjunctured, for the adjustment of their weight. Their average weight is 50 grains or the same as the *tank* or 3 *mâshas* of the ancient Hindu metrology. Indeed, the word *tanka-śâla*, mint, goes to prove that these are the very pieces fabricated for circulation under that name." — (*Footnote.*)

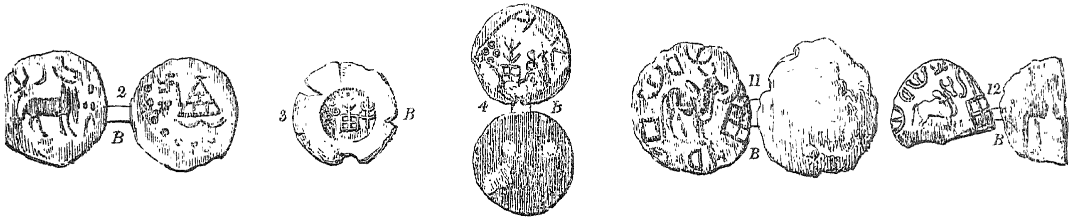
"Many instances of these have been given in **Colonel Mackenzie's collection** (figs. 101—108 of Wilson's plates), who describes them as 'of an irregular form, bearing no inscription, occasionally quite plain and in any case have only a few indistinct and unintelligible symbols: that of the sun or a star is most common, and those of the Lingam (?), the crescent, and figures of animals may be traced. The Colonel's specimens were chiefly procured. Others have been dug up in the Sandabans and many were found at Behat (fig. 14, *J. A. S. B.*). But the few selected specimens in Colonel Makenzie's collection (figs. 24 and 29) yield more food for speculation than the merely smooth pieces above alluded. On all these we perceive the symbol of the sun to be the faintest of those present. In two instances (figs. 28 and 29) it is superposed by symbols which may be hence concluded to be more recent. These are severally the [symbol], Chaitya (?), the tree, the Svastika 卍, and the human figure, besides which, in fig. 26, we have the elephant and the bull and the peculiar symbols of figs. 34—37. They are all stamped at random with punches, and may naturally be interpreted as the insignia of successive dynasties, authenticating their currency."

[20] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IV., p. 628.

DEVANAGARI ALPHABET.

Plate III.

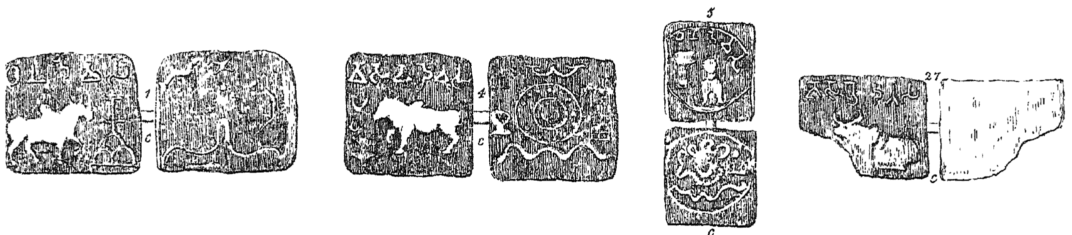
ANCIENT HINDU COINS IN THE JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



1. Reproduced from Vol. III., Plate IX. p. 227.



2. Reproduced from Vol. IV., Plates XXXIV. and XXXV. p. 626.



3. Reproduced from Vol. VII., Plate LX. p. 1052.

"In one, fig. 30, does there appear any approach to alphabetic characters, and here the letters resemble those of the *lâts*, or of the caves on Western India, the most ancient written form of the Sanskrit language. From the above originals seem to have descended two distinct families, of which one was produced by the hammer and die, the other by casting in a mould. Of the latter, easily recognisable by the depth of the relief, the projecting keel on the margin, showing where the moulds were united — and the greater corrosion due to the softness of the cast metal, — we have various groups and subdivisions, but most of them agree in bearing the [symbol] monogram for the obverse, sometimes as in figs 34—37, with addition of two smaller symbols, [symbol], like the sign of Taurus reversed."

"On the reverse we have frequently a dog with a collar (and bell?), guarding a sword or a flagstaff of victory (Jayadhvaja, figs. 20, 21, 34, 36). At other times an elephant (fig. 39), a bull (37), or the sacred tree (15, 18), and, in rarer cases, the device on both sides is changed as in figs. 40, 41. Figs. 18, 42, 43 (in the latter of which the elephant might easily be mistaken for a Devanâgarî letter) are of the cast species." . . . .

"How far the antiquity of the first Buddhistic groups of coins may have approached the epoch of Buddha (544 B. C.), it is difficult to determine, but the acquisition of their similitude to the Indu-Scythic coins must have been posterior to the breaking up of the genuine Bactrian Dynasty, perhaps about the commencement of the Christian era."

As it is unnecessary to reproduce here the figures of all the coins referred to in the quotation, only such figures as can throw some light on the nature and form of Indian hieroglyphics are reproduced in Plate III. It can be seen from the figures how a circle followed by two circles and a triangle beneath are, as described in the verse of the *Tripuropanishad* quoted above, stamped on Hindu coins, the antiquity of which admits of no doubt whatever. What in the above quotation is imagined to be **a dog with a collar, is no other than the figure of Sakti**, made up of a circle and two circles, crowned with the figure of half moon. Only the circles are not drawn apart and are not exactly circular. This clumsiness is clearly due to the rude process of sketching or stamping the hieroglyphics on pieces of metal. Similarly, the symbol [symbol], mistaken for **Chaitya, is clearly the figure of Kâmî-kalâ** without the triangle, but with an additional symbol of a half moon to form a crown for the goddess. Whether the figures of Kâmî-kalâ or of Siva (figs. 2, 3, 4, group 1; figs. 19, 33, group 2; and fig. 1, group 3 — Plate III.) were superposed after the symbols of similar or different description became worn out, it is quite impossible to determine. Anyhow, there is no reason to doubt that those coins which contain only symbols are far anterior to those that contain regular inscriptions. For it is not only unlikely, but also unnatural, that coins with mere symbols should have been struck when writing had become current.

As regards the relation between these symbols and a few of the Devanâgarî characters, it is not merely either an accidental approach in resemblance or an imaginary one, as in the case of Prof. Bühler's Semitic models and the Brâhmî Characters, but such a perfect likeness as must necessarily and unmistakably exist between a parent and its offspring. The symbol in fig. 43, which, in the above quotation, was not only mistaken for an elephant, but also apprehended as likely to be mistaken for a Devanâgarî letter, appears to have been intended, together with the other symbols, to mean the name 'Ayoḍhya.' [symbol] = A, [symbol] = y, [symbol] or [symbol] = dh, [symbol] = y. The last symbol [symbol] = dh, with another symbol [symbol] as in fig. 5, seems to have been intended to convey the idea '*dhana*,' 'wealth.' Similarly, the symbols in figs. 17 and 18 seem to have been intended to mean 'Ayodhye' and 'Ayodhyam,' the Svastika figures [symbol], [symbol], like the double rectangle of fig. 43, standing for A. It is immaterial whether the ancient mint authorities had or had not such an idea while stamping their coins with these symbols, and there is

nothing strange in finding in these symbols letters corresponding to the above words, inasmuch as these symbols have been, as we shall see, taken for those letters.

The coins containing the inscription '*negama*' are, according to Sir A. Cunningham, anterior to the conquest of India by Alexander the Great, inasmuch as they are found to contain the very archaic forms of letters. Besides, the absence of medial vowels in the inscription of Ayodhya coins (figs. 11 and 12), and the insertion of initial vowels in the place of medial vowels in the inscriptions of Vassudeva coins (figs. 4, 27, group 3, Plate III.) are incontrovertible proofs regarding the priority of these coins to the time of Aśoka, when medial vowels are found to have long been completely elaborated. Hence it must be admitted that coins with smooth surfaces or with hieroglyphics are far earlier than the 6th or 7th centuries B. C. Can it be doubted then that the description of the hieroglyphics in such **Tantric texts as the Tripuropanishad, &c., is the reproduction of Tantric tradition of bygone ages**?

Besides ancient coins, the walls of ancient temples, as well as stones lying in the vicinity of a few temples in India, are also found to have **hieroglyphic symbols** chiselled on them. Out of the carved and plain blocks of granite and sandstone found in the bed of a river in the vicinity of Suddyah, Upper Assam, a triangular weather-worn block of granite is said to contain certain symbols engraved upon it. Regarding these symbols Major F. S. Hanny observes thus: —

"They may, perhaps, have some meaning and give a clue to the era of the building, — one or two of the letter-like figures assimilate with some of the characters of the ancient Devanâgarî Alphabet; but the shaded figures are too deeply cut to suppose they are more than symbolical of a particular era and people."

An examination of these symbols (as shown in Plate IV.) will, I am sure, establish the argument I have been putting forward. They are no more than **hieroglyphics intended to represent the several Tatvas of the Universe,** corresponding to the several members of the human frame, and thereby form an outline of the picture of a god or goddess.

The symbols, marked by me with numbers, may be arranged in the following order :—

1. Head-dress.
2. Head.
3. Nose.

4 & 5. Lips.
6 & 7. Arms.
8 & 9. Cheeks.
10 & 11. Legs.
12 & 13. Forehead when placed in parallel lines.
14 & 15. Thighs.
16 & 17. Eyes.
18 & 19 (19 worn away). Ears.
20 & 21. Hands.
22 & 23. Trunk. (Vâmapârśva left side and Dakshiṇapârśva right side.) As the lungs are believed to be Viśuddhichakra, seat of purification, the upper portions of the figures representing them seem to have been unshaded.

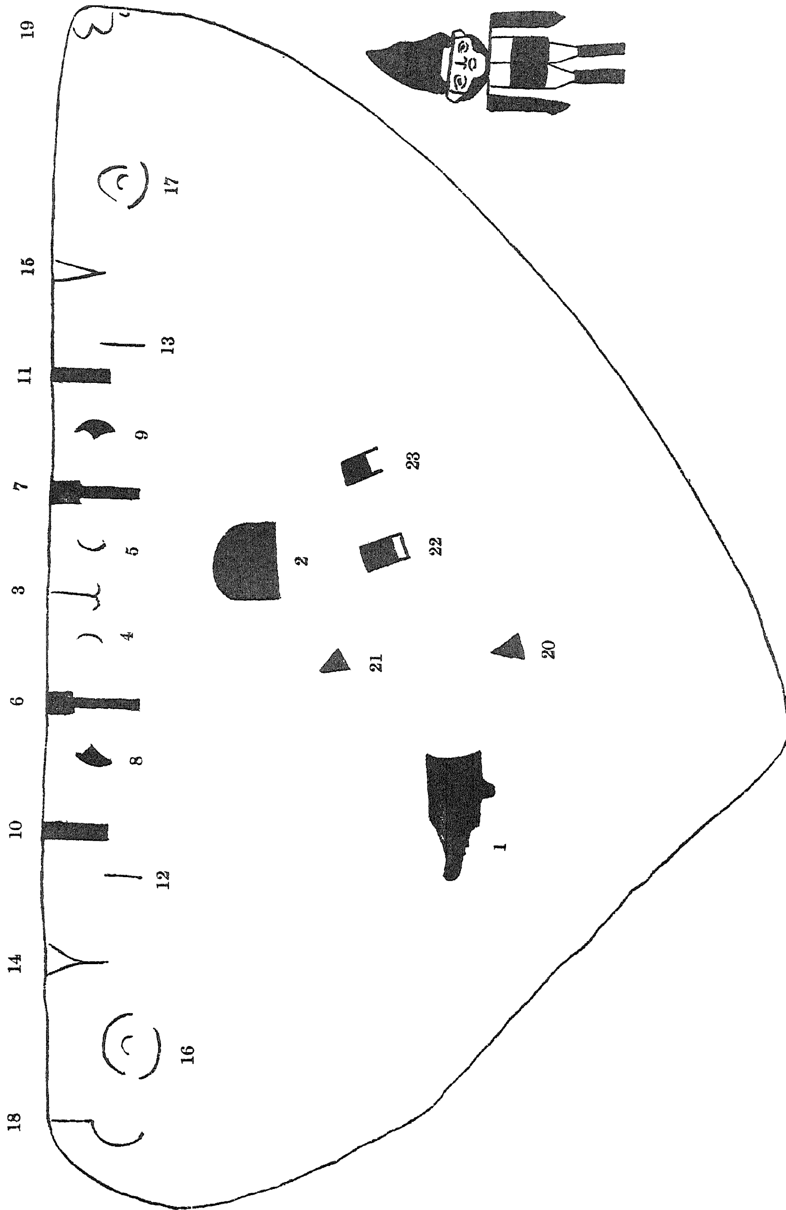
Also those symbols which are carved in the foundation of the enclosure wall of the temple, and also on the elephant near the same river, and which Major F. S. Hanny thought to be typical of the mason or of the builders, are evidently the pictures of the "weapons" of the god. The symbols marked with Roman numbers in Plate IV. are, (I.) a *chakra*, (II.) an arrow, (III.) a bow with an arrow, (IV.) another form of a bow with an arrow, (V.) a *lotus* bud, (VI. and VII.) some weapons, and (VIII.) a shield or a square.

Regarding the antiquity of the temple ruins in Assam, Captain E. Tuite Dalton observes thus:[21] —

"The *Yogini Tantra*, a work of high repute in Assam, as its contents are supposed to have been communicated by Śiva to his consort Pârvatî, states, regarding the king Naraka, that, though

[21] *A. R.*, Vol. XXIV.

Plate IV.



I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

an 'Asur,' infidel, he was in such favour with the gods that they made him the guardian of the temple of Kâmikhya. It is not improbable that the temple was originally erected by Naraka; but of this we have no certain evidence. The assertion made in the *Tantra*, however, would at least lead us to suppose that the temple was in existence in his days. (Robinson's MS.). . . . . .

"The socket of the *yoni* is cut so as to accord with the square and octagonal portion of the inserted part of the *linga*. . . . .
The removal of a heap of stones in front of this edifice disclosed the foundation of another shrine that appears to have been surmounted by a circular or octagonal temple. This covered a crypt some 3½ feet below the surface, neatly faced with cut stone, and having at the bottom, bedded in a circular slab or *yoni*, a Mahâdeva, in the form of a Linga."

To sum up: — The chief doctrines of Tantric system are much older than they have hitherto been supposed, and are, in fact, Athurvanic in character — (1) because the Tantric Kâma and Bhaga, known also by the names Śiva and Śakti, are no other than the phallic god and goddess Kâma and Bhaga of the *Atharva-Veda*: (2) because the Tantric and Athurvanic practices of witchcraft are almost identical: (3) because the symbols which, as representing gods or goddesses, are dealt with in Tantric literature must precede the manufacture of idols in human likeness: and (4) because the same symbols as those treated in Tantric literature are stamped on Hindu coins of undoubted antiquity. From this it must necessarily follow that, although the **Tantric works which furnish ample material to prove the growth of the Devanâgarî Alphabet** out of indigenous hieroglyphics may be recent, and in some cases quite modern, yet those Tantric passages which treat of symbolical worship and of the meaning and purpose of symbols must be either exact quotations from older works, which they replaced, or modern compositions containing ancient traditions.

CHAPTER III.

The Tantric Hieroglyphics.

Having thus far investigated the reasons for admitting **the antiquity of the Indian hieroglyphics, which,** as we shall see, **have given rise to the Devanâgarî Alphabet,** let us now turn our attention to the consideration of the hieroglyphics treated of at length in Tantric literature:—

मध्ये फालं बिन्दुर्दीप इवाभाति वर्तुलाकारः ।
तदुपरि ततोऽर्धचन्द्रोऽन्वर्थः कान्त्या तथाकृत्या ॥
अथ रोधिनी तदूर्ध्वं त्रिकोणरूपा च चन्द्रिकाकान्तिः ।
नादस्तु पद्मराग इवाण्डद्वयमध्यवर्तिनी सीरा ॥
नादान्तस्सव्यस्थितबिन्दुयुक्तलाङ्गलवत् ।
तिर्यग्बिन्दुद्वितये वामोऽच्छलिसराकृतिश्शक्तिः ॥
बिन्दूच्छत्र्य आकाराथ व्यापिका प्रोक्ता ।
ऊर्ध्वाधोबिन्दुद्वितययुतरेखाकृतिस्समना ।
सैवोर्ध्वबिन्दु हीनोन्मनास्तदूर्ध्वं महाबिन्दुः ॥

P. 17, *Varivasyârahasya*.

'In the middle of the forehead does a circular dot shine as the flame of a lamp. Above it is the semi-circle which resembles the half moon, both in form and colour. Then comes above it the figure of Rôdhinî, the obstructer, which has the form of a triangle, and is as brilliant as the moonlight. But the figure of Nâda, sound, is like a ploughshare, as brilliant as a ruby, between

two egg-shaped figures. The figure of Nâdânta, the end of sound, is in the form of a ploughshare, touching a circular dot drawn to its right. The figure of Sakti is like a ploughshare, connected with the left one of two circular dots placed in parallel. The figure of Vyâpika, the pervader, is a triangle starting from a circular dot. A perpendicular straight line terminated both above and below in a circle is what is called Samanâh, with the mind. The same figure without the upper circle is called Unmanâh, the mind going up. Above all these figures is the great circle.' (See Plate V.[22])

Similarly, in the *Siddhânta-sârâvali*, an Âgama manuscript, attributed to Aghorasivâchârya, more or less the same symbols with two more, are thus described :—

घोषो मेधा क्षमाख्यौ विषमथ च ततश्चेतना चन्द्रखण्ड:
त्र्यश्रं दृग्वृत्तसीरोऽरुणकिरणहलस्सेन्दुसीरक्रमेण ।
वृत्तार्कस्त्रिशिखं द्विबिन्दुकलिता रेखा द्विकुब्जोन्मना:
साकारं मनसा स्मरेदपि कला: प्रत्येकमभ्यर्च्य शिवं ॥

"घोष: शिवबीजो हकार: मेधा अकार: क्षमा लकार: विषं मकार: तत: चेतना बिन्दु: चन्द्रखण्डोऽर्धचन्द्र: त्र्यश्रं त्रिकोणं निरोधि. दृग्वृत्तसीर: दृग्वृत्ताभ्यां युक्तस्सीर: अनेन नाद उच्यते. अरुणकिरणहल: अरुणकिरण आदित्य: दक्षिणपार्श्वबिन्दु: तद्युक्तो हल: अनेन नादान्तस्य ग्रहणम्. सेन्दुसीर: वामपार्श्वबिन्दुयुक्तसीर: अनेन शक्तिकलाया: प्रस्तारो दर्शित: वृत्तार्कत्रिशिखं दक्षिणबिन्दुयुक्तत्रिदण्ड: त्रिशूलं वा अथ द्विबिन्दुकलिता द्विकुब्जा रेखा दक्षिणवामबिन्दुद्वययुक्ता द्विवक्रा रेखा समना: कला. बिन्दुबिलसदूर्ध्वरेखाकृतिरुन्मना: कला."

P. 80, *Siddhânta-sârâvali.*

'Ghosha, sound, is the symbol of god Siva, *i. e.*, the letter *ha*. Medha, intelligence, is the letter, *a*. Kshama, the earth, is the letter, *la*. The vital power is the dot. What is called part of the moon is the half moon. Nirodhi, the obstructer, is a triangle. A ploughshare between two eye-ball-like figures is called Nâda. The figure of a ploughshare, connected with a dot on the right side, is called Nâdânta. A similar figure, but connected with a dot on the left side, is Sakti. A trident connected with a circular dot is, what is called, Trisikha, tree-headed. The figure of a double semi-circular curve, with two circular dots, one on the right and the other on the left side, is called Samanâh. A straight line passing up from a circle is Unmanâh. Each of these figures is not only to be contemplated upon, but also worshipped.' (See Plate VI.[23])

Thus the *Siddhânta-sârâvali* evidently identifies some alphabetic letters with particular hieroglyphics, while such emblems as the half moon, triangle, Nâda, Nâdânta, &c., appear to be merely crude representations of parts of the human frame drawn so as to represent the god Siva. The four alphabetic letters, too, enumerated in the beginning of the stanza must necessarily mean such hieroglyphics as with the rest can give to the picture of the god an approximate human appearance. (See Plate VI.) We have already seen how a rectangular figure has been taken to represent the earth. Hence, by the word *kshama*, 'the earth,' in the stanza, a rectangular figure representing the lower part of the picture is evidently meant. As the throat of the god Siva is believed to contain poison, the word *visha*, poison, seems to refer either to the picture of the throat or to that of a cobra, with which the waist of Siva is believed to be entwined. Likewise, the letter A (called by the names, *medha*, intelligence ; *amṛita*, nectar ; *amṛita-kalaśa*, vessel full of nectar) may refer either to the middle of the brows, which is the seat of intelligence according to Hindu

[22] [The printing of the plates in England has caused errors to creep into the letterpress, most of which will be apparent to the reader, as they are chiefly in the diacritical marks used in representing vernacular words : *e. g.*, *biṇḍu* in this plate. — ED.]

[23] [In Plate VI. for 'hook (*sriṁ*)' read 'hook (*sriṇi*).' — ED.]

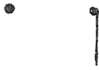
Plate V.


Mahabiṇḍu, the great circle.


Unmanah, the mind going upwards.


Samanah, with the mind.


Vyâpika, the pervader.


Śakti, strength.


Nâdânta, the end of sound.


Nâda, sound.


Rôdhinî, the obstructer.


Ardhachandra, half moon.

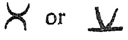

Biṇḍu, dot.

R. SHAMASASTRI, DEL. W. GRIGGS, LITH.

Plate VI.



Ghosha = H.



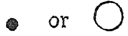
Medha = A.
(Vessel of nectar, or the middle of the brows),



Kshama, earth = L.



Visha ; poison, serpent = M.



Bindu ; vital power.



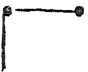
Half moon.



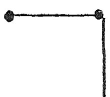
triangle.



Nâda, Śiva, Kâma.



Nâdânta.



Śakti.



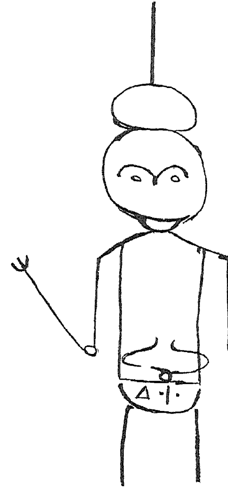
Tridanda, trident.



Samanah, with the mind.



Unmanah, the mind going upwards.



Śiva.







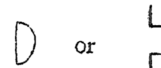
Kâmî-kala or Śakti.



hook (*srim̐*).



the five arrows.



bow.



pâśa, noose.

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philosophy, or to the brain which is called *sudhâsindhu*, the ocean of nectar, or to a vessel of nectar, which Siva is believed to hold in his hands. Similarly, the letter *ha* seems to represent the trunk of the body of Siva. For the *Vâtulâgama*, another Tantric manuscript, says (p. 57) thus :—

शिवमेकं विजानीयान्मन्त्रमूर्तिं परं शिवम् ।
नादं किरीटमित्युक्तं बिन्दुर्वक्त्रमुदाहृतम् ।
हकारं देहमित्युक्तं द्वयौ तुङ्गौ भुजौ तथा ।
वह्निपादद्वयं विद्यात् मन्त्रमूर्तिरुदाहृता ॥

'One has to know that the transcendental god Siva alone is identical with the form of the *mantra* (*hrîm*), which is attributed to him. Nâda, the nasal sound of the *mantra* (*i.e.*, the symbol of Nâdânta), is his crown. The letter *h* is the trunk of his body. (The symbols of) fire forms both the two great arms and the two legs. Thus the letters of the *mantra* form the picture of god Siva.' (See Plate IX.)

In order to conform with the four letters of the *mantra* (*hrîm*), the *Vâtulâgama* employs only four distinct symbols to represent not only the four letters themselves, but also a simple outline of the form of god Siva : but the *Varivasyârahasya* huddles together some twelve symbols as constituting both the *mantra* (*hrîm*) and the form of the goddess Sakti :—

हृल्लेखायास्स्वरूपं तु व्योमाग्निर्वामलोचनम्
बिन्द्वर्धचन्द्ररोधिन्यो नादनादान्तशक्तयः ।
व्यापिकासमनोन्मन्य इति द्वादशसंहतिः ।
बिन्द्वादीनां नवानां तु समष्टिर्नाद उच्यते ॥—

P. 10, *Varivasyârahasya.*

'The sky, fire, the left eye, a dot, the half moon, a triangle, (the symbols of) Nâda, Nâdânta, Sakti, Vyâpika, Samanâ and Unmanî, these twelve constitute the form of Hrillekha, the drawing of the heart. The nine symbols from Bindu to Unmanî are collectively called by the name Nâda.' (See Plate V.)

The symbols or letters referred to in the above verse are clearly *h* (the sky), *r* (fire), and *i* (the left eye), inasmuch as they are the actual letters of the *mantra* (*hrîm*). While, according to both the *Vâtulâgama* and the *Varivasyârahasya*, the *mantra* takes the form of *hrim*, it is, according to the *Siddhânta-sârâvali*, pronounced as *hlam*. Regarding the forms of the letters of the *mantra*, we are told in the commentary of the *Vâtulâgama* to confine our attention to the Devanâgarî Alphabet :—

शिवमन्त्रान्मूर्त्युद्धारकृतिः नागरलिपिभिरुद्धारयितुं युज्यते. व्यतिरिक्तलिपिभिर्नोद्धारयितुं युज्यते. —

P. 57, *Vâtulâgama.*

'The formation of the picture of god Siva by the letters of the *mantra* attributed to him can only be done in the characters of the Devanâgarî Alphabet. In no other alphabets is it possible to form the same.'

Had the commentator, however, been strict enough in his expressions, he would have, like Bhâskarananda, as we shall see, said that **the formation of the picture could only be accomplished in the traditional forms of the Devanâgarî.** The traditional forms of the letters are **almost exactly identical with the forms of those of the Asoka Alphabet.** Following the light thus thrown on the forms of the hieroglyphics enumerated in the *Siddhânta-sârâvali*, they can be drawn as in Plates V. and VI.

It is needless to say that all these figures will, if properly conjoined, as in the case of the symbols of the Suddyah stone, yield an almost human appearance to the picture of god Siva. It is to be noted here how the triangular symbol is placed side by side with the Phallic symbol. This juxtaposition of these two symbols seems to be due to the doctrine that the combination of Purusha and Prakriti, male and female principles of creation, can alone bring about the Universe. But there is also a practice of drawing (see Plate VI.) a purely female figure of goddess Sakti as described in the stanza of the *Tripuropanishad* quoted above. This figure of **Sakti or Kâmî-kalâ** is not so complicated as that of Siva: Plate VI. While commenting on this verse of the *Upanishad*, Bhâskarananda writes thus, upholding the simplicity of the Kâmî-kalâ:

वस्तुतश्शरीरेऽपि त्रय एवावयवाः शीर्षादिकण्ठान्तं कण्ठादिस्तनान्तं हृदयादिसीवन्यन्तम्. केशपाणिपादं तत्तच्छाखाः

P. 34, *Varivasyârahasya*.

'In the body, too, there are actually only three members. One is from the head down to the throat, the second from the throat as far as the breast-nipples, and the third from the breast down to the organ of procreation. The limbs, such as the hair, the arms and the legs, are only the branches of the three principal members.'

Further on he says that with a view to have a complete picture of the goddess Sakti, the thirteenth verse of the *Tripuropanishad* describes her weapons. The verse runs as follows:—

सृण्येव सितया विश्वचर्षिणीः
पाशेन प्रतिबध्नात्यभीकान् ।
इषुभिः पञ्चभिर्धनुषा च
विध्यत्यादिशक्तिररुणा विश्वजन्या

'The mother of the Universe, who is its primæval cause and is as red as the early morning, protects the Universe with a white hook, and not only binds the wicked with her noose, but also kills them with her bow and five arrows.' (See Plate VI.)

In justification of the propriety of using a hook for the purpose of protecting the Universe, the commentator quotes the following passage from Yâska's *Nirukta*:—

द्विधा सृणिर्भवति भर्ता च हन्ता च.

'The hook is of two kinds: one is protector and the other destroyer.'

The goddess Sakti is believed to assume three different forms (see Plate VII.) according as her functions of creation, protection or destruction change. A verse quoted from the *Partyabhijnânatantra* in the *Kâmakalâ-chidvalli* (p. 69) runs as follows:—

ऋजुरेखामयी विश्वस्थितौ प्रथितविग्रहा ॥
तत्संहृतिदशायां तु बन्दैवं रूपमाश्रिता ॥
प्रत्यावृत्तिक्रमेणैवं शृङ्गाटवपुरुज्ज्वला ।

'The goddess of renowned form assumes, in time of protection, the form of a straight line. In time of destruction, she takes the form of a circle. Similarly, for creation she takes the brilliant appearance of a triangle (Sṛingâta).' (See Plate VII.)

The egg of the Universe, formed by the union of Siva and Sakti, is thus described in the *Varivasyârahasya*:—

विश्वसिसृक्षावशतस्स्वाधौं शक्तिं व्यलोकयद्ब्रह्मा ।
बिन्दुर्भवति तमिन्दुं प्रविशति शक्तिस्तु रक्तबिन्दुतया ॥
एतद्बिन्दुद्वितयं विसर्गसंज्ञं हकारश्चैतन्यम् ।

P. 51, *V. R.*

Plate VII.

| Śakti while protecting the universe.

O Śakti during the destruction of the universe.

△ Śakti while creating the world.

Visarga.

the sky.



the air.



the fire.



the waters.



the earth with 8 symbols of Vajru, weapon of Indra.

THE SYMBOLS OF THE FIVE ELEMENTS, MODELLED ON THE FIVE DIVISIONS OF THE HUMAN FRAME.

The sky, from the middle of the brows to the *brahmarandhra* or the hole on the top of the head.



The air, from the neck to the middle of the brows.



The fire, from the navel to the neck.



The waters, from the knee-joints to the waist; with two lotus buds.



The earth, from the legs to the knee-joints.

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'With the desire of creating the Universe, the Creator, Brahmâ, turns his attention to 'Sakti, who forms half of his body. A drop in the form of the moon results. 'Sakti, in the form of a red drop, enters into the white drop. The combination of these two drops constitutes what is called *visarga*, emission, and is also the soul of the aspirate *h*.' (See Plate VII.)

While commenting on this verse, the author says that the word *visarga* is, in the above sense, synonymous with the exclusively Vedic word *agnîshomîya*, combination of fire and moon, and quotes from the *Taittîrîya Brâhmaṇa* (A. 2, P. 1) a passage the meaning of which is as follows :— 'The fire enters into the rising sun. Or the sun enters into the fire at sunset. On the new-moon day the sun and the moon combine together.'

The commentator concludes by saying that the sun is the mixture of red and white drops, as he has been entered into both by the fire and the moon. Suśruta, the author of a celebrated Sanskrit medical work of the same name, seems to have taken the same view on the procreation of the Universe. He writes in the third chapter of his work thus :— 'The male-seed is lunar and female-seed is fiery. This combination of the fire and the moon is the cause of embryo which finds itself in the womb.'

The bursting of the mixed drop is metaphorically described as the cause of the hieroglyphics which represent the so-called five elements :—

स्फुटितादरुणाद्बिन्दोर्नादब्रह्माङ्कुरो व्यक्तः ।
तस्माद्गगनसमीरणदहनोदकभूमिवर्णसम्भूतिः ॥
एतत्पञ्चकाविकृतिः जगदिदमण्डब्रजाण्डपर्यन्तम् ।

P. 10, *Varivasyârahasya*.

'The bursting of the red drop occasions the eternal sound to spring up. That is the cause of the letters or figures which represent the five elements — the sky, the air, the fire, the water, and the earth. The modification of these five elements or of their representative figures constitutes the whole Universe, macrocosm and microcosm.'

This idea of a red drop causing the Universe is evidently the generalisation of what, as a special case, is found expressed in the *Atharva-Veda* :—

यत्समुद्रे अभ्यक्रन्दत्
पर्जन्यो विद्युता सह ।
ततो हिरण्ययो बिन्दुः
ततो दर्भो अजायत ॥

19, 30, 5, *A. V.*

'From the thundering sound which the clouds in union with the lightning made in the ocean, came out the golden drop. From that drop came out the Darbha-grass.'

The hieroglyphics which are designed to represent the five elements have already been dealt with: Plate VII.

It is thus clear that there are three different sets of hieroglyphics designed for worship. First, such simple figures as a straight line, a circle, or a triangle appear to have been severally worshipped by beginners. Next comes the figure of Kâmî-kalâ, which, as consisting of a number of simple figures, appears to have been an object of worship after a little experience. As the formation of the figure of the hermaphrodite god 'Siva or Kâma requires a considerable knowledge of the

constituents of both the Universe and the human frame, it must necessarily have been an object of worship among the advanced class of devotees. In defence of the manipulation of these figures for worship, the commentator on the *Vâtulâgama* quotes (p. 13) the following verse from *Paushkaratantra* :—

साधकस्य च लक्ष्यार्थं तस्य रूपमिदं स्मृतम् ।

'With a view to provide the initiated with a tangible object for worship, this form has been designed and ascribed to the god.'

And :—

आकारवांश्चेन्नियमादुपास्यः
न वस्त्वनाकारमुपैतिबुद्धिः ।

'A god, with a tangible form, can, in strict accordance with precepts, be worshipped ; for the mind cannot grasp anything that has no form.'

CHAPTER IV.

The Tantric Hieroglyphics and the Devanâgarî Alphabet.

Plate VIII.[24]

It is more than probable that the practice of writing the **hieroglyphics or ideograms** for worship and reading in them the names of **such gods and goddesses as Kâma, Śiva, Śakti, Indrâṇî,** &c., might have suggested to a clever worshipper the idea of the possibility of their **symbols representing the initial syllables of their respective names.** Also the use of monosyllabic *ka* in the sense of Kâma or Brahmâ, as early as the time of the *Rig-Veda* and the *Atharva-Veda,* might have plainly suggested the idea of the **symbol ol Kâma representing ka.**

कस्मै देवाय । कस्मै काय प्रजापतये देवाय ।
प्रजापतिर्वा कः तस्मै हविषा विधेम.

7, 4, 1, 19, *Satapathabrahmaṇa.*

'To which god? To whom is for *kaya,* the dative of *ka,* the god of Prâjapati? *Ka* is Prâjapati. To him let us offer our oblations.'

That such is the nature of the hint that occasioned the idea of **finding alphabetic letters in the hieroglyphics** is clearly alluded to in the *Tripurâtâpinî Upanishad* :—

निरञ्जनोऽकामत्वेनोज्जृम्भते. अ क च ट त प यशा-
न्सृजते. तस्मादीश्वरः कामोऽभिधीयते तत्परिभाषया.
कामः ककारं व्याप्नोति. काम एवेदं तत्तदिति ककारो गृह्यते.

'Though he has the power of growing spotless and is actuated with no desire whatever, he feels desirous, creates **a, ka, cha, ṭa, ta, pa, ya,** and **śa,** and is therefore called by the name Kâma and also by the technical name '*Tat,*' 'That.' But Kâma contains within it the letter *ka.* As this (the hieroglyphic before the eyes) is verily Kâma and Tat, it is chosen as the letter *ka.*'

It has already been seen how a straight line between two dots is called by the names Kâma, Śiva, &c. It is likely that, with a view to represent single sounds by single symbols, this compound symbol consisting of three figures was converted into a single cross-like symbol by joining the two dots. The ancient Devanâgarî *ka* has the form (see Plate VIII.) of a cross in the edicts of Aśoka.

[24] [In Plate VIII., facing p. 290, letter *l*, last column, for 'Padan' read 'Padau,' and in the last line, first column, for 'Ct' read 'N'. — ED.]

Ekâdaśâdhâra, eleventh support, is one among the many names of the Devanâgari **letter ê.** In the edicts of Aśoka it has a perfect triangular form. In his *Setubandha*, a commentary on the *Nityâshodaśikârṇava*, Bhâskarananda says : —

कोणत्रयवदुद्भवो लेखो यस्य तत्. नागरलिप्या साम्प्रदायिकैरेकारस्य त्रिकोणाकारतयैव लेखनात्.

P. 14, *Setubandha.*

'It is called Koṇatrayodbhava, born from a triangle, because it is written like a triangle. For the letter *ê* of the Nâgari alphabet is always written like a triangle by strict adherents to tradition."

The emphasis laid on the word *sâmpradâyikaih*, "by strict adherents to tradition," is to be noted here; for it is customary among others to write the letter *e* like a triangle with a tail. Regarding this letter, the *Tripûrâtapinî Upanishad* says thus : —

सविता प्राणिनस्सूते. प्रसूते शक्तिः सूते त्रिपुरा. शक्तिराद्येयं त्रिपुरा परमेश्वरी महाकुण्डलिनी देवी जातवेदसमण्डलं योऽधीते सर्वं व्याप्यते. त्रिकोणशक्तिरेकारेण महाभागेन प्रसूते. तस्मादेकार एव गृह्यते. वरेण्यं श्रेष्ठं भजनीयमक्षरं नमस्कार्यम्. तस्माद्वरेण्यमेकाक्षरं गृह्यते.[25]

'The sun brings forth living beings. Sakti does the same. Tripurâ (triangle) brings forth species. Sakti is the eternal Tripurâ, the great goddess, possessing of a great circle. Who knows the circle of fire? (the circle drawn on earth, within which fire is worshipped). The triangular Sakti pervades all things and brings forth species through the magnificent letter. Hence, that letter *ê* alone is taken as the best, most respectable and worshipful symbol. Hence, that one adorable letter is selected.'[26]

Hence, it may be believed that this triangular symbol representing Sakti, Bhaga, Ekâdaśâdhâra or Ekapâdinî was taken to be the symbol for the initial syllable of the last word.

The Devanâgarî **letter i** is called by the names Kâma-kalâ, Manmathakala (wife of Kâma), Hârdakala, part belonging to the breast, and Bindutraya, three dots. It is only in the edicts of Aśoka, which were and are still Greek to all modern Tantric scholars, that this letter has the form of three dots placed at the three angular corners of a triangle. (See Plate VIII.) Regarding this letter, the *Kâdimata* says : —

तत्तुरीयस्वरूपं तु बिन्दुत्रयमितीरितम्
तदात्मत्वं तु देव्यास्ते साधकेन च यद्भवेत्
तद्भावनां शृणु प्राज्ञे महोदयकरीं शुभाम्
ऊर्ध्वबिन्द्वात्मकं वक्त्रमधोबिन्दुद्वयात्मकम्
कुचद्वयं च तच्छेषैश्शेषाङ्गानि च भावयेत्[27]

Patala 4, Kâdimata.

'It is said that the form of the fourth vowel is three dots. O, wise goddess, listen, how thy form is, in the view of thy devotee, identical with the form of that vowel and how the contemplation of that form is not only auspicious but also productive of immense property. The upper dot represents

[25] Compare similar verses, p. 2, *Kâdimata.*

[26] The *Tripurâtâpinî Upanishad* is clearly an attempt not only to represent the Gâyatrî *mantra* with a hieroglyphic symbol, but also to make it of the same purport as the Tantric *panchadaśî*, fifteen-lettered *mantra* referred to above.

[27] Compare stanza 19, *Saundaryalahari*; p. 45, *Bhashya* on *Lalitâsahasranama*; and p. 73, *Kâma-kalâ Chidvalli*; also p. 59, *Dakshiṇâ mûrtisamhita.*

the face, the lower two are the two breast-nipples. The rest of the limbs are to be meditated upon as the branches of these members.'

Even in the **Srîchakra** of the Sringeri Matt,[28] in which all the letters of the Devanâgarî Alphabet, together with the Panchadaśi, fifteen-lettered *mantra*, are written, and which, as belonging to the oldest religious institution now in existence, may be considered as the oldest possible or the exact copy of its ancient pattern, if renewed often, the letter *i* is not in the form of three dots, but is in the type of the modern Devanâgarî. Yet, why this letter should be called Kâma-kalâ, and Bindutraya is a question which can only be answered on the admission that the hieroglyphic of three dots was, of yore, chosen to stand for *i*, and that, while its form has undergone modifications in consequence of either the carelessness of scribes or the loss or misunderstanding of tradition, its names took firm root in the unfailing memory of the Brâhmans. Anyhow, it is not unreasonable to hold that as the hierogyphic of three dots has also the name Indraṇî,[29] wife of Indra, the initial syllable of this word might have suggested the possibility of this symbol standing for *i*. One more interesting point in connection with this symbol is the remark made by Bhaskarânanda in his commentary on *Varivasyârahasya*. He says that both the air and the letter *i* bear the name Bindutraya. The air is so called, because it is full of *bindus*, particles.

The Devanâgarî **letter u** is called by the names Uma,[30] Karna, year, &c. While performing *Bijâksharanyâsa*, which consists of repeating alphabetical letters, touching at the same time the several limbs and organs of the body with the four fingers of the right hand bent a little, and joined together, the thumb being put on the palm of the hand, the devotees of Sakti pronounce the letter *u*, touching their ears. This letter has the same form as the ear in the coins of Vâsudeva,[31] and corresponds to the picture ot the ear among the Suddyah symbols given above. Hence, it stands to reason to hold that this symbol of the ear was selected to stand for the initial syllable of its name Uma.[32]

The Devanâgarî **letter a** is called by the names Amṛiteśvarî,[33] goddess of nectar ; Amṛitâkarshiṇî, drawing water or nectar into herself; and Medhâ, intelligence. There has been a religious custom among the Hindus of all sects from time immemorial to worship as a goddess, at the commencement of all kinds of religious ceremonials, a *kalaśa*, or a vessel filled with water. There are also a number of poems describing Sakti as holding an *amṛitakalaśa* in her hand. It is not, I presume, far-fetched or unreasonable to suppose that at a time when the very name of sculpture was unknown and when pictorial writing was to religious worship what idolatry is now, the symbol of the *kalaśa* had the form of the letter under question and had a place in the pictorial representation of Sakti. Accordingly, it stands to reason that the symbol of the *amṛitakalaśa* stood for the initial syllable of that word. Or, as this letter bears also the name *medhâ*, intelligence, and as the seat of intelligence is believed among Tantric worshippers to be the middle of the brows, it is likely that the symbol of that part of the body might have been selected to represent the letter *a*.

The Devanâgarî **letter ôm** is known by the synonymous names of *târa*,[34] *târaka* and *dhruva*, which mean the pole star. Making allowance for the gradual change which this hieroglyphic must, after it had acquired the function of representing the sound *om*, have undergone in the hands of careless scribes, I believe that, in its original form, it was nothing but a picture of the

[28] The Matt dates from the 8th century A. D., according to archæological researches.
[29] See *Sabdakalpadruma* under 'i'.
[30] See *Ganeśa mantra* in the *Mantra Mahodadhi*.
[31] Figs. 4 and 27, Plate III, *Ancient Hindu Coins from Jayapur and Ujjayin*.
[32] See under the names of *u*. *Sabdakalpadruma*.
[33] See Amṛiteśvarî in the *Lalitâsahasranâma*.
[34] See the *Mantramahodadhi*.

pole star drawn for the purpose of worship. Whether star-worship was Âryan or aborginal in its origin is a point which I leave for others to decide. So far as its observance among the Âryans is concerned, the phrases *târakopadeśa*, initiation in the mystery of star-worship, and *târaka-brahmopadeśa*, initiation in the mystery of the worship of Star-Brahmâ, are, I think, sufficient proofs. It may be urged that the word *târa*, does not, when applied as a name of the letter under consideration, mean a star, but a resonant, and that the word *dhruva* is applied as a name to the letter for the reason that sound is considered as a kind of manifestation of Brahmâ. But it has been seen how the words Kâma, Indrani, &c., do, as the names of *ka*, *i*, &c., establish their hieroglyphic origin and how it is impossible to find out a more reasonable explanation for the origin of those names than the one pointed out. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to hold that, like the names of other letters, the names of the letter *ôm* must also point out to the hieroglyphic picture of some natural and visible object connected with religious worship, and that ultimately the symbol representing 'star' was chosen to stand for the complex sound *ôm*.

It has been shown how the *bindu*, male or female creative principle, is described as the source not only of the world, but also of the alphabetic hieroglyphics which represent the world. Hence, it is more than likely that, when the hieroglyphics were selected to represent specific alphabetic sounds, the *bindu* dot was taken to represent the nasal sound in which all specific sounds are regarded as being merged.

It has already been seen how a white circular dot, together with a red circular dot, is taken to represent the male and female principles of creation. These two *bindus*, written one above the other, for the facility of entrance of the white into the red, are called by the name *visarga*, emission, and were, of course, taken to represent the visarga sound exclusively peculiar to the Sanskrit language. The credit due to the Brâhman *pandit* who invented, or, to speak strictly, selected from the Tantric hieroglyphics, this symbol to represent the *visarga* must be admitted on all hands. For, where else, if not in the Tantric symbols, can the inventor, or the formulator, to speak strictly in accordance with facts, of the Devanâgarî Alphabet find such a suitable symbol for the *visarga*. If he is to be given credit for selecting this symbol from the Tantric hieroglyphics, there is no reason to say with Prof. Bühler that the originator of the Devanâgarî Alphabet borrowed twenty-two letters from the North Semitic and derived the rest from his own imagination.

The conception of the Universe, as made up of the sky, the air, the fire, the region of clouds or water, and the earth, and as identical with the *pinḍâṇḍa*, individual human body, has already been dealt with. In the ninth stanza of the *Saundaryalahari* the goddess Sakti is thus described:— 'Thou art playing in the thousand-petaled *lotus* flower with thy consort in seclusion, having gone up by the path of *kula*, spinal cord, after breaking through the earth, situated in *mûlâdhâra*, prime support; the water in Maṇipura, the waist bound by a zone of jewels of various colours; the fire in the navel, the air in the chest, the mind in the centre of the brows, and the sky above all these.'

Slightly different in meaning from the above are some passages in the *Mantramahodadhi*, which are quite interesting, inasmuch as they give the alphabetic letters which are derived from these five divisions of the human frame:—

[35] पादादि जानुपर्यन्तं चतुरस्रं सवज्रकम् ।
भूबीजं च स्वर्णवर्णं स्मरेदवनिमण्डलम् ॥
जान्वाद्यानाभि चन्द्रार्धनिभं पद्मद्वयाङ्कितम् ।
वंबीजयुक्तं श्वेताभमम्भसां मण्डलं स्मरेत् ।

[35] Compare p. 105, *Sivârchanachandrika*; and p. 224, *Kulaprakâsatantra*; and p. 85, *Siddhânta-sârâvali*.

नाभेर्हृदयपर्यन्तं त्रिकोणं स्वास्तिकान्वितम् ।
रंबीजेन युतं रक्तं स्मरेत्पावकमण्डलम् ।
हृदो भ्रूमध्यपर्यन्तं वृत्तं षड्बिन्दुलाञ्छितम्
यंबीजयुक्तं धुम्राभं मरुतो मण्डलं स्मरेत्.
आब्रह्मरन्ध्रं भ्रूमध्याद्वृत्तं स्वच्छमनोहरम् ।
हंबीजयुक्तमाकाशमण्डलं प्रविचिन्तयेत् ॥

P. 3, Chap. I., *Mantramahodadhi.*

'The devotee has to contemplate as the golden earth on the rectangular portion of the body from the legs up to the knee-joints, with the *bîjâkshara* **la**, which is also the *bîjâkshara* of Vajra, the weapon of Indra. He has also to meditate as a mass of white water on the semi-circular portion from the knee-joints to the navel, with its *bîjâkshara* **va**, and marked with the figures of two lotus flowers. He has to recollect as the fiery region that triangular portion of the body which extends from the navel to the heart and which is red, decked with a *svastika* symbol and the *bîjâkshara* **ra**. He has similarly to recollect as the sphere of air that portion of the body which extends from the heart to the middle of the brows, and which is in the form of brown circle, decked with six dots and the *bîjâkshara* **ya**. And he has to meditate as the sky on that pure and circular portion of the body which extends from the centre of the brows to the Brahmarandhra, a hole on the top of the head, and which is decked with its *bîjâkshara* **ha**.

A reference to Plate VIII. will clearly show how closely the Devanâgari **la** identifies itself with the hieroglyphic representing the earth and strongly disclaims the parentage sought for it by Prof. Bühler in the Semitic *lamed.* With regard to this letter, the following passage occurs in the *Yoginîhṛidaya* :—

वसुन्धरागतो गन्धस्तल्लिपिर्गन्धवाचकः

P. 41.

'The earth contains smelling substance. Hence the word *lipi*, smearing, suggests a smelling substance.'

The above passage is thus annotated in its commentary :—

वसुन्धरायाः पृथिव्या गुणो गन्धः
तल्लिपिः पृथिवीवाचको वर्णो लकारः

'The characterestic property of the earth is scent. Hence the word *lipi*, daubing with scent, suggests the earth. **Hence the letter l (which is the initial sound of that word) denotes the earth.'**

All that is meant in the commentary is **the selection of the hieroglyphic representing the earth for the letter l**, with some show of reasoning to justify the selection. We may, therefore, assume that similar **line of reasoning as the above one guided the selection of other hieroglyphics for other letters.**

Regarding the letter **va**, the *Vâtulâgama* says as follows :—

वकारं वारुणं ह्यापश्चतुर्थं मेदसि स्थितम् ।
जलस्य यानि नामानि सन्ति तान्यपराणिच ।
वकारस्यापि नामानि . . . . . .

P. 51, *Vâtulâgama.*

'The letter *va* is sacred to Varuṇa, the god of waters, and to waters. It has its abode in the marrow, being the fourth in the order of creation (of the body). Whatever names there are for waters are also the names of the letter *va*.'

The ancient Devanâgarî **letter va** is more plainly identical with one of the lotus buds of the hieroglyphics representing the waters, or the waist, than with the Semitic *waw*. (See Plates I. and VIII.)

The **letter ra**[36] is regarded as sacred to fire and bears the name Rakta among its other names synonymous with fire. In his commentary on the *Varivasyârahasya*, Bhâskarânanda compares the symbol of fire and of the letter *ra* to the smoky zone of a flame:—

दीपाग्रस्थितकज्जललेखावत्

'The letter *ra* is like the smoky zone that stands just above a flame.'

This symbol, being called Rakta, seems to have stood for the initial letter of that word and has a better resemblance to the ancient Devanâgari letter than the Semitic *aesh*. (See Plates I. and VIII.)

The Devanâgarî **letter ya** can be no other than the picture of the nose, for regarding this letter, the *Mantramahodadhi* says as follows:—

वायुबीजं स्मरन्वायुं सम्पूर्येमं विशोषयेत् ।
स्वशरीरयुतं मन्त्री वह्निबीजेन निर्दहेत्

. . . .

बहिर्भस्म समुत्सार्य वायुबीजेन रेचयेत् ।

P. 4, Chap. 1, *Mantramahodadhi*.

'The devotee should, contemplating the *bîja* of air, inhale the air which, on being made dry inside his body, he should reduce to ashes by the *bîja* of fire (*ra*). Having forced out the ashes, he should exhale the air through the *bîja* of air.'

The word *vâyubîja* in the above passage means both the nostril and the Devanâgarî letter *ya*, for contemplation on the *bîja* of air is nothing but thinking of *ya*; and exhaling the air through *vâyubîja* must necessarily mean breathing out the air through the nostrils.

The *Siddhanta-saravali* says:—

पृथिव्यादीनि बीजानि लवरयहकारकाः

'The *bîjas*, hieroglyphics of the five elements, are **la, va, ra, ya and ha**, respectively, commencing from the earth.'

In the edicts of Aśoka the letter *ya* has the same form as the nose. Hence it may be argued that the symbol representing the nose of god Śiva was taken to stand for the Sanskrit *ya* sound.

The **letter ha**[37] is called by the names Śiva, *gagana*, the sky, and *haṁsa*, the sun, and has in its ancient form a better resemblance to the hieroglyphic representing the skull or the head of Śiva than to the Semitic *he*. (See Plates I. and VIII.) It is more than probable that the symbol of the sky stood for the initial sound of its name *hamsa*.

[36] Page 51, *Vâtulâgama*.

[37] See under *ha*, *Sâbdakalpadrumâ*.

The description of the goddess Śakti, as armed with bow and other weapons, has already been referred to. In the *Mantramahodadhi* the military array of the goddess is thus described:—

पाशं चापं स्रक्कपाले सृणीषून्
शूलं हस्तैर्बिभ्रतीं रक्तवर्णाम् ।
रक्तोडुम्बत्पोतरक्ताम्बुजस्थां
देवीं ध्यायेत्प्राणशक्तिं त्रिनेत्राम् ॥

Stanza 61, Chap. I.

'The goddess — who bears in her hands a rope or noose, a bow, a garland or a chain, a skull, a bulb-headed cudgel, arrows, and a trident, who being of red colour is standing on a red lotus flower, situated in a boat launched in the ocean of blood, and who is the vital power and is possessed of three eyes — the devotee has to contemplate.'

While describing the weapons of the guardian deities of the ten quarters, the hieroglyphics of the weapons are thus identified with alphabetic letters:—

वक्ष्येऽधुना मनोस्तस्योद्धारं ध्यातृसुखावहम् ।
पाशं मायां सृणिं प्रोच्य यार्दीन्सप्तेन्दुसंयुतान् ।
ताराग्वितं नभस्सप्तवर्णं मन्त्रं ततो जपेत् ॥

Verses 70, 71, Chap. I.

'I shall now talk of the extraction of that *mantra* which is comfortable to the meditator. Having pronounced the three syllables that stand for the nose, the goddess Mâya, and the cudgel, and having also pronounced the seven letters, beginning from *ya* and ending with *sa*, together with *h* combined with *o* (the sky combined with the star), all these eight letters being combined with the nasal sound (Indu, moon), the devotee has to chant the seven-lettered *mantra* (namely, ya, ra, la, va, sa, sha, and sa).'

It has been seen how the ancient Devanâgarî letters *la, va, ra* and *ya* are, as the *bîjaksharas* of the earth, water, fire and air, the exact representations of the legs, the waist, the arm or a line going up from the navel, and of the nose. Hence, it seems probable that, owing to the loss or misunderstanding of tradition, the same letters are here called as sacred to the weapons, such as a noose, a bow, a chain, and a cudgel. In his commentary on *Lalitâsahasranâma*,[38] Bhâskarânanda regards the dental letters tha, da and dha as the *bîjaksharas* of the bow. Likewise, Lolla, in his commentary on the *Saundaryalahari*,[39] calls the compound syllables *drâm* and *drîm* as the *bîjaksharas* of the arrows. Hence, we may take any one of the letters *tha, da, dha*, preferably dha, as having once been the hieroglyphics representing *dhanus*, the bow. Also it can be easily perceived how the letters *da* and *dha* have a better and clearer affinity to the Tantric symbol of the bow than to the Semitic *daleth*. It may therefore be taken for certain that the hierogylphic representing *dhanus*, the bow, was selected to stand for the initial sound of its name. The derivation of the letters *tha* and *da* from the same symbol, or probably the selection of different kinds of the symbols of bow for *tha* and *da*, is more evident than their derivation, as fancied by Prof. Bühler from the Semitic *daleth*. (See Plates I. and VIII.)

Equally clear is the selection of the letter śa, from the symbol representing *śara*, arrow. The symbol of trident, *śûla* or *triśûla*, seems to have been selected for sha, while any one of the symbols of *pâśa*, noose, and *srak*, garland or chain, seems to have stood for sa, the initial sound of *srak*.

[38] See under the name Krodhâkârâṅkuśojjvala, *Lalitâsahastranâma*.

[39] Stanza 19, *Saundaryalahari*.

The **letter pa** bears such names as *dakshapârśva*,[40] right side of the trunk; *senânîh*, the commander of an army; *marîchih*, ray of light; *pavanah*, the air; and *śanih*, the planet Saturn. It is needless to say that in its ancient form this letter has a better resemblance to the right side of the trunk than to the Semitic *phe* turned, according to Prof. Bühler, topsy-turvy. As the symbol of the right side of the trunk bore the names *pârśva* or side and *pavana* or the air, it seems to have easily lent itself as a symbol for the initial sound of those words. (See Plates I. and VIII.) The *suddyah* symbols referred to above clearly testify to the existence of two symbols for the right and left sides of the trunk.

The Devanâgari **letter ma** is called by such names as *visha*, poison; *mahâvîra*, great warrior; *mahâkâya*, of great belly or body; *Meru*, &c. It has been shown how the ancient Devanâgarî *ma* resembles a serpent, indicating poison. Being called by *meru* and other names beginning with *m*, the symbol of a cobra round the waist of the god Siva seems to have lent itself more easily for the letter *ma* than the Semitic *mem*, with its top chopped off and its belly created and swollen, could do.

The **letter kha** bears the name *khâtîta*, beyond the sky or the head which corrresponds to it in the human frame. Accordingly, the ancient Devanâgarî *kha* must have been clearly represented by the symbol of *unmanî* or *unmanâh*, to which the letter *kha* bears a better resemblance than to the Semitic *qoph*, which indeed might better be the Devanâgarî *chha*, turned topsy-turvy. The symbol of *khatita* or *unmanî*, mind going up, could easily stand for the initial sound of its name.

The **letters gha and cha** are called *ghanṭadhârinî* and *charmamunâddhara*, respectively. Regarding the goddess Chandi holding a bell in her hand as implied by the first word, and bearing a head with its skin not removed, as conveyed by the last word, the *Mantramahodadhi* says as follows:—

खड्गं चक्रगदेषु चापपरिघान् शूलं भुशुण्डीं शिरः
शङ्खं सन्दधतीं करैस्त्रिनयनां सर्वाङ्गभूषावृताम् ।
यामस्तौत्स्वपिते हरौ कमलजो हन्तुं मधुं कैटभं
नीलाश्मद्युतिमास्यपाददशनां सेवे महाकालिकाम् ॥
अक्षस्रक्परशुंगदेषुकुलिशं पद्मं धनुः कुण्डिकां
दण्डं शक्तिमसिं च चर्म जलजं घण्टां सुराभाजनम् ।
शूलं पाशसुदर्शने च दधतीं हस्तैः प्रवालप्रभां
सेवे सैरिभमर्दिनीमिह महालक्ष्मीं सरोजोद्भवाम् ॥

Stanzas 144 and 145, Chap. 18.

'I adore that great goddess Kâlì, whose mouth, legs and teeth are as shining as a blue stone, who, possessed of three eyes, is not only decked with all kinds of ornaments all over her body, but is also armed with a sword, a discus, a club, arrows, a bow, an iron bludgeon, a lance, a shield, a head, and a conch-shell, and whom the Creator, with a view to destroy the demons, Madhu and Kaitabha, when god Vishnu was asleep, extolled for protection.

'I adore that great goddess of Wealth, who is born of the collected energy of the gods, who bears in her hands such as a rosary, a battle-axe, a club, arrows, the thunderbolt, a lotus flower, a bow, a drinking vessel, a rod, a hatchet, a sword, a skin of water-animals, a bell, a liquor-bottle, a lance, a noose, and the discus of Vishnu, and who, as bright as a coral-stone, destroyed the demon Sairibha.'

The legend of the destruction of Madhu and Kaiṭabha is found described not only in almost all the *Purâṇas*, but also, curiously enough, in the Jaina literature.[41] Hence, the description of the

[40] See under *Pa*, *Sabdakalpadruma*.

[41] P. 238, *Samavayanga Sutra*.

goddess Chandi, as bearing a bell and a head during the destruction of the demons, cannot be a recent fancy. Accordingly, it may be assumed that, in the pictorial representation of Sakti, such hieroglyphics as could represent a bell and a head found a place, and that during the time of the formation of the Devanâgarî Alphabet, those symbols were selected to stand for the respective initial sounds of their names. It is unnecessary to say that the symbols of a bell and a head bear a closer resemblance to the ancient Devanâgarî *gha* and *cha* than the Semitic *cheth* and *tsade* do to the Brâhma letters. (See Plates I. and VIII.)

The letter ta goes by the names *tanka,* a sickle; *ardhachandra,* the half-moon; *kamaṇḍalu,* a drinking vessel peculiar to the ascetics; and in its ancient form has a better resemblance to them than to the Semitic *taw* or *theth.*

The character na seems to have resulted from the symbol of *nâdânta,* end of sound, as it approximately resembles it rather than the Semitic *nun.*

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

TIBETAN ILLUSTRATION OF THE YAUDHEYA TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

THE well-known 'warrior' type coins of the Yaudheyas, which are abundant at Sahâranpur and near the Satlaj, bear the legend *Yaudheya gaṇasya jaya,* 'victory to the Yaudheya tribe.' They occur in three varieties, the first of which is without any numeral on the obverse or any detached symbol in the field of the reverse; the second exhibits the syllable *dvi,* apparently an abbreviation of *dvitîya,* 'second,' on the obverse, and a vase in the reverse field; while the third has the syllable *tri* (*tritîya,* 'third') on the obverse, and a shell in the reverse field. These facts, combined with certain allusions in inscriptions, are interpreted as meaning that the Yaudheya nation or tribe was governed under some form of tribal autonomy, and not by a king, the nation or tribe being divided into three sections or clans. Most of the coins of this class probably belong to the third century, but they may come down to about 380 A. D., the approximate date of the absorption of the Yaudheya territory in the empire of Chandragupta II. Many 'kingless' nations are known to have existed in ancient India, as, for example, the Malloi (Mâlavas) and Oxydrakai (Kshudrakas) of Alexander's time in the Pañjâb; the Lichchhavis of Vaisâli; the Kiṇindas, Ârjunâyanas, &c. In a previous paper I have shown very strong reasons for connecting the judicial institutions of the Lichchhavis with those of Tibet (*ante,* Vol. XXXII., 1903, p. 233), and I have now come across an observation which suggests that tribal constitutions, like that of the Yaudheyas, may have been of Tibetan origin. It is quite possible that the 'kingless' nations belonged to the older Mongolian stratum of the population, which entered India from the north-east, and not to the Aryan, or Indo-European stratum, which was formed by immigration from the north-west. The weekly edition of the *Madras Mail,* dated the 12th July, 1906, notices a paper by Mr. E. H. Walsh, as having been read at the meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society (apparently the Bombay Branch) on the 4th of that month, in which an account was given of a curious form of elective chieftainship discovered in the Chumbi Valley. The members of the tribe which possesses this institution believe it to be of great antiquity. The tribe (the name of which is not mentioned in the abstract) is divided into two halves, each of which has the right in turn to appoint two chiefs holding office for three years. When the time of election draws near, each village appoints electors, who meet and select the two men considered most suitable. The election takes place in the fourth month. The initiation or consecration of the new chiefs is performed in the seventh month. The tribe then assembles before an altar on which a *yâk* is sacrificed, and the chiefs swear to do their duty. They then assume charge, and dispose of all judicial and other business pertaining to their office, while their predecessors retire into private life.

For the purpose of illustrating ancient Indian tribal constitutions, this slight abstract of Mr. Walsh's paper suffices, because no record exists which gives any details of such constitutions, and it would be in consequence impossible to compare the old institutions in India proper with the full description of the existing Tibetan arrangements.

English	Ancient Devanagari letters	Tantric Hieroglyphics.	Names of the Hieroglyphics.
k			Kâma, Śiva.
e			Ekapâda, Ekâdaśâdhâra, Śakti, &c.
i			Indrânî, Kâmî-kalâ.
a			Amṛtâ Kalasa, Amṛtêṣvari.
u			Uma, Karṇa.
o			Târa, Ḍhruva.
ṁ			Bindu.
ḥ			Visarga, Agnishômîya.
l			Kshiti, Lipi, Pâdan.
v			Varuṇa, Manipûra, Padma.
r			Rakta, Bhuja, Dipagrakajjala.
y			Vâyu, Nâśika.
s			Śara.
sh			Śûla.
s			Pasa, Srâk.
h			Kapâla, Dêha, Sirah
dh			Dhanuh.
d			Dhanuh.
p			Dakshiṇapârśva, Pârśva.
M			Visha, Mahâkâya, Mêru.
Kh·			Khâtîta, Unmanî.
Gḥ			Ghaṇṭâdhârinî.
Ch			Charmamuṇḍadhârinî.
T.			Tanka, Ardhachandra.
Ct.			Nâdânta.

R. SHAMASASTRI, DEL.

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But it is worth noting that a tribe in the Chumbi Valley still preserves an institution of great antiquity, which recognized the division of the tribe into two sections or clans, each vested with the right to elect in turn two chiefs, who derive their power wholly from the popular vote, and not in any degree from hereditary claims.

It is easy to believe that the Yaudheyas may have been similarly divided into three sections, each of which in turn elected the tribal chiefs.

I fear that there is no chance of our ever being able to recover anything like accurate knowledge of the ancient tribal constitutions of India, but, if we cannot affirm positively what their nature was, examples like that cited help us at least to understand what kind of arrangement is likely to have existed.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

8th August, 1906.

CUSTOMARY LAW REGARDING SUCCESSION IN RULING FAMILIES OF THE PANJAB HILL STATES.[1]

HERE is another illustration of the customary rule that the son whose birth is first reported to the ruler (and not the first born son) is his heir-apparent. Madan Sain, Râjâ of Keoṅthal State, had two *rânîs*, one from Bashahr, the other from Hindûr (Nâlâgaṛh) and both of them became pregnant at the same time. The Bashahrî *rânî* accordingly planned that, if her co-wife gave birth to a son before she herself did, the news should be kept from the Rânâ. The Hindûrî *rânî* did give birth to a son first, but the Rânâ was not informed of the event and it was determined to kill the boy, so Mathâ, a Chhibhar Kanêt, took him away secretly to Hindûr where he was named Anûp Sain — and *not* put to death. On Madan Sain's death his son by the Bashahrî *rânî* was proclaimed Rânâ, and so Anûp Sain went to the Râjâ of Garhwâl, then a powerful chief, and sought his aid. The Râjâ bade him prove that he was Madan Sain's eldest son, so he placed two arrows in the temple of Badrî Nârain by night, one for himself, the other in his rival's name, declaring that the arrow of the elder son would be found bent. Next morning Anûp Sain's arrow was found to be bent, so the Râjâ gave him a written declaration that he was the rightful heir and declared him Rânâ of the Kêonṭhal State.[2] Armed with this authority, Madan Sain returned to Kêonṭhal, where the people proclaimed him Rânâ.

H. A. ROSE.

22nd May, 1906.

A WOMAN'S WILES.

IT may be of some interest to note that the story published under the above title by Mr. W. Crooke, *ante*, p. 146, occurs in the well-known collection *Vetālapañchaviṁśati*, which is embodied in Somadeva's *Kathâsaritsâgara* and exists in Hindî as *Baitâlpachîsî*. In the Sanskrit original it makes part of the story of the he-parrot and the she-*maina* (Skr. *śârikâ*), who have a controversy on the comparative inferiority of woman and man. Each in his turn relates a story to demonstrate the wickedness of the other sect, and the tale told by the parrot is that which was published as No. VIII. of Mr. Crooke's *Folktales from Northern India*. There are only some slight differences in the details of the story. In the Sanskrit work the spirit (Vetâla), who has entered the corpse of the paramour, bites off the nose of the faithless lady at the moment she tries to kiss his lips. At the moment I cannot give the exact references, but these can easily be ascertained by consulting the works quoted. Of both the Sanskrit and Hindî collections there exist English translations.

J. PH. VOGEL.

THE ALLEGED CUSTOM OF NAMING A HINDU AFTER HIS GRANDFATHER.

WITH reference to the note published, *ante*, p. 125, Prof. Alfred Hillebrandt of Breslau has been kind enough to favour me with references which prove that the custom had the formal sanction of text-writers. He cites a passage in Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya*, I., p. 4, quoting the prescript of the Yâjñikas to give a son a name *tripurushânûkam anaripratishṭhitam*. The *Saṁskâraratnamâlâ* (p. 855, where the materials are collected), he observes, explicitly says that the son's name should be one or other of three ancestral names, that of the father, grandfather, or earlier ancestor; *tripurushânuvâkam || pitâmahâditritayânyatamaṁ nâmakâryam ityarthaḥ*. This rule covers all the cases of royal homonymy which I cited from the genealogies of ruling families.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

[1] See *ante*, p. 233, and Vol. XXXIV., p. 226.

[2] This would appear to show that Kêonṭhal was at this period a feudatory of Gaṛhwâl. Madan Sain was contemporary with Mahî Parkâsh of Sirmûr.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Juncameer, Junkeon.[1]

THESE Anglo-Indian terms of the old days appear under many an almost unrecognisable form. **Junkeon,** &c., means "customs" and the **Juncameer** or **Juncanner,** a collector of customs. The term was also applied to the custom-house itself.

1597. "The Talapois persuaded the **Iangoman,** brother to the King of Pegu to vsurpe the kingdome which hee refused pretending his oath." — *Nicolas Pimenta in Purchas* II, 1747.

1668. "All y^e^ tobacco comes out of Prester Johns Contrey and brings this Kinge great store of money, cald **Juncan** [*chungam*] money or Custome . . . This was y^e^ first **iunct** money I paid, otherwise cald head money, soe much for a Man and doble as much for a horsse . . . When we caime to **Junkann,** I lighted of my horsse and gote on y^e^ Ox . . . In every 40 Leagues theire was **Junkanns,** who tooke head money . . . this is y^e^ great **Junkinn** Towne called Halloe [Halabas, Allahabad]. . . . they knew y^e^ Marchants would pass by y^e^ vpper way to save theire **Junkin** money." — *Richard Bell's Journey and Travels to the East Indies and the Mogul's Country. Brit. Mus. Sloane MS*, 811.

1669. "It hath been severall times proposed to us to send some persons to Portanova to make provision of Cloth for England . . . but being soe farr distant it is not convenient to bring it thence by Land . . . and the severall **Junckans** in the way hither swell the charge too much." — *General Letter from Fort St. George, India Office Records, O. C., No.* 3171.

1676. "By the Grace of God Sultan Abdula Hossein. — The Royall Phyrmaund or Command of our Majesty that shines like the Sunn; wee have thought fitt and convenient and doe hereby require and command all our Ministers of State, Governours, Sub Governours **Juncanners,** as well for the time being as to come . . . to know and take notice &c." — *Appendix to the Diary of Streynsham Master*, p. 344, *India Office Records.*

R. C. TEMPLE.

8th March, 1906.

IS TOBACCO INDIGENOUS TO INDIA?

EVERYBODY knows that all ordinary authorities agree that the tobacco plants — species of *Nicotiana* — are natives of America, and that the use of tobacco was introduced into Europe in the middle of the sixteenth century, and into India at a slightly later date.

But an anonymous writer in the *Times* on the 22nd November 1902 asserted that 'there can scarcely be a doubt' that the tobacco plant is indigenous to India, and that tobacco, although not used for smoking, was known to the natives for centuries before the date commonly assigned for its introduction. The writer of the article alleged that the Indian tobacco was introduced from Persia, and was cultivated at Dinapur under the name of the 'Darabgerd' plant. He also averred that another variety, known as 'Lunka,' which was grown in the Kistnâ (Kṛishṇâ) and Godâvarî Districts, had been introduced into those districts from Kaira (Kheṛâ) on the Bombay side, about 1370 A. D. According to him, both varieties were used by the Hindus for medicinal purposes.

The writer referred to gave no authorities for his curious statements. I made a note of them at the time, which has now turned up. During the four years which have elapsed since the publication of the contribution to the *Times* I have not seen any mention of the subject, and now write to ask if any reader can offer an explanation of the assertions made by the correspondent of the *Times.* So far as I know, they are opposed to the evidence.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

YUNG-DRUNG — LAMAYURU.

IN my article on Balu-mkhar, *ante*, Vol. XXXIV., p. 206, I translated a passage in inscription No. III. as follows: — "which belongs to (the village of) γYung-drung." The vernacular is also translatable by "adheres to the Bon Religion," because *yuru* or *yung-drung* is a Bon symbol. This is probably the correct rendering, as, by popular tradition, the ancient name of Yung-drung was Lamayuru, a place which is held to have been the head-quarters of the Bon Religion, and, in ancient times, the religion of the people and their masters was identical.

A. H. FRANCKE.

[1] *Vide* Yule's *Hobson-Jobson, s. vv.*

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES IN BURMA AND CEYLON.

BY ROBERT SEWELL, M.R.A.S.

A. — Burma.

I. — Inscriptions at the Yat-sauk Temple, Pagân.

NORTH of **Pagân,** on the Irrawady River, in the side of a deep ravine, is the well-known Buddhist cave-temple called the **Kyaukkû Ônmin,** which was a *vihâra*, reserved for the use of the Mahâyâna monks after the great Hînayâna reform about the year 1182 A.D. On the high ground immediately above this temple stands a small shrine, outwardly in good preservation, called the **Yat-sauk Temple,** in the *antarâla* of which, on the left wall, is an elaborate **fresco** in black and white. It consists of a large number of small squares, each of which represents so far as can be judged a *Jâtaka* story, with a line of descriptive writing underneath. The characters of these inscriptions look older than those of an **inscription** on another wall which bears a date corresponding to **A. D. 1220** ; and, considering the bad condition of the plaster on which the designs and legends were painted, it is much to be hoped that they may soon be photographed and published. The illustration (fig. 1 of the Plate attached) is from a photograph taken under circumstances of great difficulty by Mr. Wallace, Deputy Commissioner of Myingyân.

II. — Glazed tiles at the Ânanda Temple at Pagân.

The outer wall of the basement of the great **Ânanda Temple** at Pagân is ornamented with a series of **green glazed terra-cotta tiles** which the archæological authorities officially describe as representing the *Jâtaka* tales. This, I think, is a mistake. I examined the whole series and find that in each tile there is but a pair of figures, the two in each being similar to one another (fig. 2 of the Plate). They are probably intended to represent goblins or demons, either with a view of terrifying the worshipper into good behaviour and reverent gratitude towards the saviour, Buddha, or merely in the spirit of mediæval European cathedral-builders, who depicted the devils as left outside the holy place and suffering from the extremes of heat and cold. Under each pair is a line of inscription, which should be deciphered.

In Plates IX. to XIII. of his article on the *Antiquities of Râmaññadêsa, ante*, Vol. XXII., Sir Richard Temple has depicted several similar terra-cottas from the remains in Râmañña-dêśa. Those on Plates X. and XI. are clearly nothing but ogres or bogies. But the author has placed several of these together in his Plate VIII., fig. 1, and, in that position, inclines to think that they represent a battle. It appears, however, more probable that his examples were intended to be placed in positions similar to those occupied by the Ânanda Temple terra-cottas, *i. e.*, separately fixed as medallions decorating the outside of the basement member of a temple.

III. — List of the Principal Pagodas at Pagân.

A chronological list of the principal temples at Pagân with the dates assigned to each and the names of the builders, extracted from the official records, may be found useful to students as shewing the period of the great building age at Pagân. There are only one or two structures, here and there amongst the innumerable temples, which seem to approach the original Indian model. These are possibly older than the large ones here catalogued ; but all have an elevated basement under the *stûpa*-formed dome, and must be placed some centuries later than the last of the true Indian originals.

The traditional date of the **Bû-p'ayâ** or Pumpkin Pagoda, on the river bank, is A. D. 168—243, and it is said to have been begun by King Pyûsawdî, but I understand that there is nothing

extant which can be quoted in support of this theory. The following list is considered historically accurate: —

		A. D.
Five temples, built by King Taungthûgyî		10th century
The lower storey of the Kyaukkû Ónmin (the ornamentation of which is attributable to Hindu sculptors[1]), earlier than the reign of Anawrathâ, *i. e.*, about or before...		ç. 1000
The Nân P'ayâ, or Manuhâ's Palace.	These four were built by King Anawrathâ	1059[2]
Manuhâ's Temple		
The Shwêsàndaw		
The Lawkânanda		
The Pathôthâmyâ, built before the Ânanda		?
The Nagâyôn, prototype of the Ânanda, built by King Kyànzitthâ		1064
The Ânanda, built by King Kyànzitthâ (still in use)		1090
The Shwêgûgyî, built by King Alaungsîthû		1141
The Thàtbinnyû, built by King Alaungsîthû		1144
The Dhamayàngyî, built by King Narathû		1170
The Gawdâpâlin, built by King Narapatîsîthû		1174—98
The Sulâmanî, built by King Narapatîsîthû		1183
The upper storeys of the Kyaukkû Ônmin, built by K. Narapatîsîthû		1188
The Dhamayâzikâ, built by King Narapatîsîthû		1196
The Mahâbôdhî, built by King Nàndaungmyâ Min		1198
The Mingalàzêdî, built by King Tayôkpyêmin		1241

IV. — Inscription on a Votive Tablet from Pagân. (Plate I., fig. 1.)

Fig. 3 of the plate shews the lower portion of one of the votive brick tablets so commonly found in connection with mediæval Burmese remains, and at Buddha Gayâ. It is given here in order to call attention to the inscription at the foot. A great heap of these tablets lies in the cave behind the statue of Buddha in the Kyaukku Ônmin, and it would be well for the Archæological Department to have this mass carefully examined, catalogued, and preserved in some museum. Objects of much interest might be found there, besides the broken terra-cottas.

These votive Tablets appear to be all similar as regards the inscription; though many are found with different groups of Buddhas and without inscriptions, while in others the inscription is in Nâgarî. The Buddhas are thirty in number if the central figures are counted, twenty-eight if the central ones are omitted. All are in the *bhûmi-sparsâ mudrâ*, or earth-pointing attitude.

I consulted a number of distinguished scholars as to the reading of this inscription, but without much success. No tables of Burmese palæography have yet been published, and therefore few European *savants* have as yet had much opportunity of acquiring such a knowledge of the old characters as will enable them to read or to fix the date of an inscription in that country with any certainty. Mr. Taw Sein Ko gave me the following transliteration and translation, dating the script as belonging to the eleventh century A. D., when the blending of the Northern and Southern schools of Buddhism took place.

Aṭṭhavîsati me Buddhâ trayyâ sametâ katâ Buddhatthâya.

"With a view to attaining Buddhahood, these figures are made of the twenty-eight Buddhas who have crossed to the other shore and are enjoying peace."

[1] Probably Châlukyan, from the style. The porch, however, like most of those at Pagân, is vaulted over by a true radiating arch, constructed of a number of flat sandstone *voussoirs* placed side by side. The upper band on the façade shews rows of Yâli heads, the mouths holding chaplets of pearls.

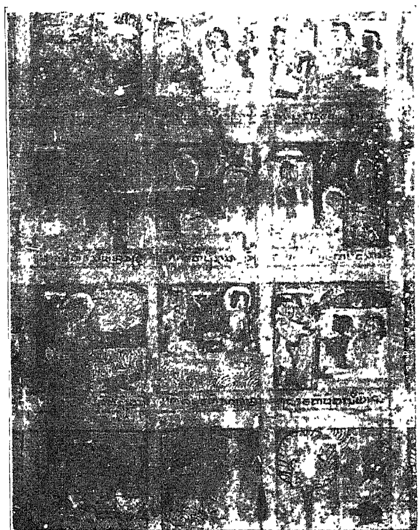
[2] Some of these dates differ by a few years from the list published in Sir Arthur Phayre's *History of Burma.*

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES IN BURMA AND CEYLON.

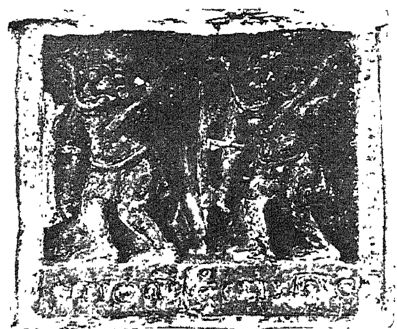
Plate I.



1. Votive terra-cotta tablet from Pagān.



2. Fresco on wall of Yat-Sauk temple, Pagān.



3. Terra-cotta glazed tile on the outside wall of the Ananda temple, Pagān.

R. SEWELL

W. GRIGGS

His transliteration into modern Burmese character is : —

ဒါဂ္ဂါဝီသတိေယပုဒ္ဓါကြယုပသမေဓာတတာပုဒ္ဓေယ

With this reading Mr. Louis Finot, who has been kind enough to give the subject his close attention, is dissatisfied ; but I will not here enter on the discussion which has now lasted some months, regarding the inscription, character by character. Suffice it to repeat that all European criticism can only be of a tentative nature till the Government of India in the Archæological Department is able to provide scholars with facsimiles of Burmese inscriptions of different epochs for comparison.

Aksharas will be observed close to the heads of the different Buddha figures, on the right side of each. These are probably the initials of their names — တိ *Ti* for Tissa, or Tishya ; က *Ka* for Kakusandha, Kassapa, or another ; and so on.

B. — Ceylon.

Slabs from Amarâvatî at Anurâdhapura.

In the museum at Anurâdhapura, Ceylon, lie **three marble sculptures ;** two having groups of figures, while the third is the lower portion of a flattened octagonal pillar bearing an inscription. All three appear to have been **brought to Ceylon from the Amarâvatî Stûpa,** in India. At the first glance I identified them as Amarâvatî marbles, and subsequent investigation has confirmed me in this opinion. By permission of Mr. Still of the Archæological Department I brought with me to England a small chip from the rough unsculptured back of one of the slabs (fig. 4 of the Plate), and submitted it, together with a fragment picked up by myself in 1877 during the excavations at Amarâvatî, for examination at the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street and the Imperial Institute Laboratories in South Kensington. The question put in each case was whether the Anurâdhapura chip was a piece of Ceylon marble, or was of similar formation to the material of which the Amarâvatî chip was composed.

Dr. Flett of the Geological Museum was kind enough to make a very careful analysis of the stones, and he sent me his written opinion thereon, in the following terms : —

"The two specimens of crystalline limestone which you left with me . . . . . are so exactly similar . . . . . . in microscopic section that there can be little doubt that they are from the same locality. Some minor differences may be noted, but none of any importance, and as these schistose limestones are rarely exactly the same, even in the same quarry, these differences may be disregarded. The rocks are both of a somewhat peculiar character ; they consist of the same mineral and in very much the same proportions, and their structures are identical."

In answer to my question whether he thought it possible for these two stones to have come from different countries, or whether their similarity must be held conclusively to prove that **both came from the Pâlnâḍ formations,** which supplied the material for the Amarâvatî sculptures, Dr. Flett replied : —

"I may say that I should certainly consider it a remarkable coincidence if two crystallized limestones, similar in foliation and in the nature and proportions of accessory ingredients, should occur in two places so widely separated. If the rocks were of a more common type this would not be extraordinary, but this limestone is a rock with well-marked characters, such as are not at all likely to be repeated."

Dr. Evans of the Imperial Institute entirely concurred in this view, pointing out that the marble of Ceylon is very coarsely crystalline, and of quite a different structure and formation to the compact laminated limestone of the Pâlnâḍ.

Since, moreover, the sculpture on the slabs is of pure Amarâvatî type, that on the right being especially noticeable as being one of the older and more rare designs, the conclusion seems inevitable that all these marbles had, at some period, been brought from Amarâvatî to Anurâdhapura; and the only problems that remain to be solved concern the history of the transfer and its approximate date.

Now the pillar-fragment bears an inscription in old Singhalese (not Pâli) in characters of an early period, and it is therefore almost certain that this pillar arrived in Ceylon before that inscription was engraved on it. It appears to be an edict of some kind. As to its date I placed it roughly as belonging to the early fourth century A. D., and Dr. Hultzsch and Dr. Fleet have expressed their agreement with this view. Mr. Wickremasinghe, however, thinks that it belongs to the latter half of the fourth or even the first half of the fifth century. I leave readers to form their own conclusions on this point, merely repeating that the slab seems certainly to have come from Amarâvatî and to have been in Ceylon before it was engraved.

The inscription is of course only a portion of the whole, and we see only the ends of the lines. The tenon at foot, seen on the right side, makes this clear. It is the lower portion of a pillar which had the edict engraved along its length, and we may perhaps have here about one-third of the whole. Eight lines are very clear; the six on the injured side are mostly illegible, though here and there an *akshara* can be read. It is not yet quite certain which line on the slab is the first line of the inscription; but considering that the last line of the injured side seems to come to an end before the end of the stone is reached, while the fourth side of the slab is blank, it is more than probable that the upper line seen on *a* is the first line.

Here follows Mr. Wickramasinghe's transliteration, and such translations of words as he has found possible: —

Text.

a

(1) . . . . . ha paṭamaka[3] avanaka vasaha pa(ṭu)kaya biku-sagana(pa)

(2) . . . . . (para)tirehi gatiya hamaṇana mata (puti tapa vi)

(3) . . . . . maha avasahi gatiya hamaṇana ca sava saga

(4) . . . . . avanakaṭaya ca nana magini pavata

(5) . . . . . ka maga karavaya tuḍala tuḍalalaka ca (potahi) la

(6) . . . . . cata paha(ṇahi) ca bikusagahi ca tumahi ca hacanevi

b

(7) . . . . aṭa ja[4] layitaka (po)ta ja paṁca maha avasahi ja ca

(8) . . . . ṭa a(?)nucaca karanakeṇakana paḍi aluvaḍu karanaka

Notes.

Line 1. *Biku saga*, "the community of monks."

Line 2 may mean "the parents of monks who have gone abroad."

Line 3. "Of the monks who have entered the great monastery (*i. e.*, The Mahâ Vihâra?) and the whole community of monks."

Line 4. *ca nana magini pavata* = (Skt.) *ca nâṇa mârgeṇa parvata*, "and by various ways the rock."[5]

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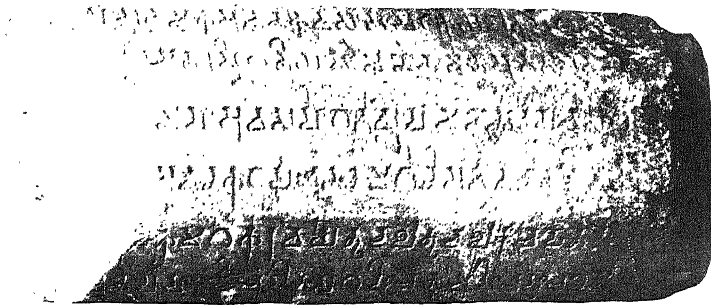
3 Or *paḍamaka*.

4 Or *ḍa*.

5 The name *parvata* may be applied to one of the great brick *stûpas* (R. S.).

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES IN BURMA AND CEYLON.

Plate II.



1. Fragment of a pillar taken from Amarāvati to Anuradhapura, Ceylon, and there engraved with an inscription. First side.



2. The same, second side.



3



4

3, 4. Marble fragments of sculpture from the Amarāvati Tope, found at Anuradhapura, Ceylon.

Line 5. *maga karavaya* (*maga* = Skt. *mârga*), "having had a road made."

Line 6. "at the Chaitya rock, and in the community of monks, and in himself (?)."

Line 7. *Pañca maha avasahi* — "In the five great monasteries."

This inscribed pillar was, Mr. Still informed me, found in one of the ruined buildings known as monastery "L" in the Abhayagiri *enceinte*, south of the Pattâḷam — Trincomalee road. Its discovery is recorded by Mr. Bell on page 3 of his *Report* for 1893. Of the other two Amarâvatî slabs, that bearing the older design (on the right of fig. 4 of the Plate), was found exactly underneath the raised platform on which stands the Thûpârâma Dagoba within the limits of the Mahâ Vihâra; and the slab with the newer design (on the left of fig. 4) was found in a small building, half way between the Bô-tree and the Isurumunîya Rock Temple, south of the Lohaprâsâḍa or Brazen Palace, and also within the Mahâ Vihâra limits.

The newer sculpture (on the left of fig. 4) has been badly worn by, apparently, the movement of stones in running water, and is thereby greatly injured. The older slab (on the right of fig. 4) belongs to a period some centuries earlier than the more artistic Amarâvatî age. A specimen of this type is given by Fergusson in his *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plate LXXVIII — 2, and the author points out that its reverse side had been utilized for one of the more modern and better sculptures of the inner face of the great Outer Rail, which, according to him, was erected in the 4th century A. D.[6] Dr. Burgess differs from Fergusson as regards this date, and shews reason for supposing that the Outer Rail belongs to the latter part of the 2nd century A. D.[7] But for present purpose this difference of opinion is of no consequence. It is sufficient that at the later of these two dates, *viz.*, the 4th century, sculptured slabs belonging to the *stûpa* may have been lying about, detached from the structure and capable of removal, whether their detachment had recently taken place or had occurred two centuries earlier.

The slabs may have come over merely as ballast in an ordinary trading ship, — the Telugus of the East Coast were certainly a sea-faring folk at that period, as we know from records, traditions, and coins of the Ândhra kings, — or they may have been brought over by Anurâdhapura sculptors as models for workmen. There is another possible explanation connected with the Legend of the Tooth Relic, which at the risk of being thought extravagantly fanciful I venture to put forward.

The Singhalese Legend of the Tooth does not stand alone and unsupported, for we know from Fâh-Hiân that the Tooth was actually in Ceylon before A. D. 412 (I shall quote him later); and the fact of a flight from Kalinga early in the 4th century of a royal personage carrying a relic is sustained by the stories of other countries. The legend runs thus: —

The king of Kalinga, being hard pressed by his foes, entrusted the Tooth Relic of Buddha to his daughter Hêmamâlâ and commanded her to fly with it to Ceylon. She obeyed these commands, set sail, and was wrecked on the "Diamond Sands." From this place she afterwards again set sail, and arrived safely in Ceylon, where she handed over the Tooth to the king.

Two other legends support the truth of this story, though they differ in details. There is a legend in Burma that a princess of Kalinga called Mâ Hlâ brought a relic of Buddha from that country to Thatôn, then the capital of Lower Burma, about the year 318 A. D.,[8] and the *Chronicles of Orissa* relate that when in 327 A. D. the Hûna[9] Yavana Prince Rakta Bâhu invaded their

[6] *Op. cit.* p. 220.

[7] *Amarâvatî and Jaggayyapêṭa Buddhist Stûpas*, p. 12.

[8] *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 174 n. Fergusson quotes from a paper by St. John in a monthly periodical called the *Phœnix*, II. 182.

[9] This name "Hûna" appears to be an anachronism, as the Hûna invaders were not in India at so early a date; but their power was so greatly felt when they did come that their name became synonymous in people's minds with any tribe of Yavanas.

country and conquered it, the king of Kalinga fled from his capital, carrying with him the image of Jagannâtha. So that we have three legends concerning the flight of a royal personage with a relic from Kaliṅga in the first half of the fourth century A. D. Commenting on this fact, Ferguson writes: —[10] "This struggle for the Tooth-Relic, in or about the year 318, excited not only all India and Ceylon, but extended across the Bay of Bengal to the neighbourhood of Martaban, and probably even further east; *but centred, if I mistake not, at Amarâvati.*"

The date given in the Singhalese chronicles for the arrival of the Tooth in Ceylon is the 9th year of the reign of king Śiri Mêghavaṇṇa. We cannot as yet be quite certain as to the dates of the kings of Ceylon. Professor Kern fixes 302 A. D. as the first year of that sovereign.[11] Mr. Bell thinks it was 304. Working solely from the *Mahâvaṅśa* I made it 319. According as we take these three dates the 9th year would be either A. D. 311, 313 or 328.

There is nothing historically improbable in the Orissan assertion that an intrusive Yavana invasion overthrew the old royal family of Kalinga early in the fourth century, for at that period the Guptas were undoubtedly gaining the ascendancy over the Yavana Kshatrapas in the West, and the power of the latter was completely crushed by about A. D. 350. So that fugitive princes with a large following may well have pressed eastwards to the sea after some Gupta victory. Samudra Gupta claims to have himself conquered Pishṭâpura on the east coast.

Fergusson shews good reason for his identification of the "Diamond Sands" with the shoals at the delta of the Krishṇâ, a territory subject to the king who ruled at Dhanyakakaṭa, or Amarâvatî, about 60 miles up the river, where for countless centuries diamond mines have existed and been worked. If this royal princess, then, had been saved from shipwreck on the coast, it is natural to suppose that she would have been conveyed to the capital, and from thence have made a fresh start. Her second journey, that is, would have been direct from Amarâvatî to Ceylon.

And moreover there was a special reason why king Śiri Mêghavaṇṇa should have been anxious to secure for himself a valuable and important relic of Buddha. His father and predecessor Mahâsêna had played havoc with the orthodox Sthaviravâda fraternity at the Anurâdhapura Mahâ Vihâra. He had persecuted them or allowed their persecution, and had given all the weight of his authority and power to the support of the Mahâyâna monks of the Abhayagiri and other hostile establishments. He had built and endowed the Jêtavana Vihâra and Stûpa for the schismatic sect of the Sâgalikas. In his reign the monks of the Mahâ Vihâra had been compelled to abandon their home and fly to distant tracts, their monastery had been abandoned and destroyed; while the Lôhaprâsâḍa had been dismantled and the materials carried off to the Abhayagiri enclosure, where the king had utilized them in the construction of several halls. When Mêghavaṇṇa came to the throne he reversed this policy, reinstated the priests of the Mahâ Vihâra, rebuilt the Lôhaprâsâḍa and the ruined *parivêṇas*, and restored to their lands the ousted monks. But he also endeavoured to recreate some unity of feeling amongst the Buddhists of all sects; and as a means to this end the opportune arrival of so splendid a relic as the Tooth of Buddha was of inestimable value, since this was an object which the monks of all denominations must necessarily join in worshipping. We are told in the *Mahâvanśa* that the king received the relic with all the honour it deserved, and organized a great Dâṭhâdhâtu Festival, commanding that the tooth should be annually carried in a splendid procession from its resting-place in the Mahâ Vihâra to the Abhayagiri monastery. In this way he united all sects in one celebration, and soothed the disturbed feelings of the Abhayagiri

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[10] *Op. cit.* 175 n.

[11] *Manual of Indian Buddhism (Grundriss)*, p. 124. It is possible that this date is derived from the statement in the *Rôjâvaliya* that Mêghavaṇṇa's predecessor Mahâsêna died in the 845th year after the Nirvâṇa, the Nirvâṇa date being taken as 543 (845—543 = 302). But, if so, it is of doubtful authority.

sectaries. One feature of this festival was the making of a road along which the procession was to pass. Fâh-Hiân has left a description of the ceremonial as he saw it in A. D. 412 :—[12]

"The tooth of Buddha is always brought forth in the middle of the third month. Ten days beforehand the king grandly caparisons a large elephant on which he mounts a man who can speak distinctly and is dressed in royal robes, to beat a large drum and make the following proclamation: — '. . . . . . Behold! ten days after this Buddha's tooth will be brought forth and taken to the Abhayagiri Vihâra. Let all and each, whether monks or laics, who wish to amass merit for themselves, *make the roads smooth and in good condition, grandly adorn the lanes and byways*, and provide abundant store of flowers and incense to be used as offerings to it.'"

He gives an account of the festival that year, and says that the tooth remained at the Abhayagiri monastery for ninety days and was then "returned to the *Vihâra* within in the city," *i. e.*, the Mahâ Vihâra.

In the *Dâṭhâvaṇśa* (written towards the end of the 12th century in the reign of Parâkrama Bâhu) it is stated that king Śiri Mêghavaṇṇa had "caused a record to be written" of the arrangements he had made for the due honouring of the Tooth Relic.

If, therefore, this inscription be of so early a date as the reign of Mêghavaṇṇa (he reigned 28 years in the first half of the fourth century) it is within the bounds of possibility that it may be a fragment of the very record referred to, — very appropriately engraved on a slab which may even itself have been brought to Ceylon with the Relic. This is, of course, merely a conjecture, and must be received as such. But the contents of the few portions of lines that remain seem to shew that it is an edict of some sort, possibly a royal edict. It refers to the several communities of monks as distinguished from the special community of the orthodox at the Mahâ Vihâra (Line 3). It mentions the making of a road (line 5), though it is of course possible that the *mârga* referred to may have been a spiritual path. And its allusion in line 7 to the "five great monasteries" seems to shew that its object included the whole Buddhist community at Anurâdhapura for some one purpose. Finally, in line 4, is a fragment of a passage which may refer to a procession making its way to a *parvata*, and it is just possible that this was a name given to the huge Abhayagiri Dagoba.

If, however, Mr. Wickremasinghe's date is correct, the edict could not have belonged to the reign of king Mêghavaṇṇa, but must have been engraved in the reign of one of his successors. But I must observe that the disturbed condition of the country renders it probable that the edict belongs to a period earlier than the end of the fourth century.

At present no more definite conclusion can be arrived at than that the marbles came from Amarâvatî, though not necessarily together; and that whatever may be the date of the inscription, the pillar was almost certainly at Anurâdhapura before it was engraved.

Whether I am right or wrong in my conjecture is a matter for future determination, but it certainly invests this fragment with considerable interest, and it is to be hoped that the remainder of the pillar may some day come to light. It might be searched for in the neighbourhood of the place where the present portion was found, *viz.*, in the Abhayagiri *enceinte*.

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[12] Legge's edition, p. 105.

LEGENDS FROM THE PANJAB.[1]

BY H. A. ROSE.

(With the assistance of Lala Karam Chand Bhalla.)

I.

STORIES ABOUT BÂWÂ FARÎD.

Tazkara laqab Shakarganj milne kâ Hazrat Bâwâ Farîd ko aur nîz un kî du'â se chhûhârâ aur bâdâmôn kâ patthar honâ, aur nîz byân chand tabarrûkât jo Pâkpattan meṅ maujûd haiṅ.

The stories of how the Saint Bâwâ Farîd procured his title of Shakarganj, also of his turning dates and almonds into stones, and further an account of relics at Pâkpattan.

Text.

Ek dost farmâ'ish kîtî : 'main nûṅ â ẓarûr,
Bâwâ Sâhib dâ hâl kuchh likho, mûl nâṅ karô qaṣûr,
Shâh Muhammad jô kuchh likhiâ, usnûṅ likho nâ mûl,
Hor hâl tum likho, bhâî, jô hô aṣal uṣûl.'

Unke hukm de mannan kâran aslî hâl muqarrarâ,
Likhiâ jô kuchh suniâṅ kanuîṅ, farq nâ kîtâ zarâ.

Mâ'î Sâhibjî Bâbâ Sâhib nûṅ uṭṭhan kaheṅ sawêre :
Bachiâṅ nîṇḍ piyârî howe, uṭṭhan bahut awere.
Eh tadbîr phir kîtî usne, uṭhke nûr ke taṛke :
Muṣallâ nîche shakkar rakh, jagândî unkô phaṛke.

Ih tadbîr mu'aṣṣair hôî, phir oh nit hamêshâṇ :
Fajre ûṭh, nimâz sâ paṛhdâ, aukhâ na hondâ khêshâṇ.
Jab nimâzôṇ fârigh honda, kahndî mâṅ khushhâl : —
'Muṣallâ heṭle shakkar khâîe ; bhejî Rabb jalâl.'
Ek rôz jô ghaflat kâran shakkar na rakhî mâî,
Pîchhe se jô yâd eh âî, bolî bâr Ilâhî : —

'Ih nûṅ shakkar tûṅhîṅ bhejîṅ, merî bahut pukâr'

Translation.

A friend came and urged me vehemently :
'Write an account of the Bâwâ Sâhib and make no mistakes.
Write nothing of what Shâh Muhammad wrote,
But write, brother, another account, giving actual facts.'
To carry out his behest as to the true facts,
I have written what I heard with my ears, without any hesitation.

His mother told the Bâwâ Sâhib to get up early :
Children love to sleep and he got up late.

She rose early in the morning and made this plan :
She put sugar under his prayer carpet, and then took hold of him and woke him.
This her plan was always afterwards successful :
He rose early, and said his prayers without the least difficulty.
When he had finished his prayers, she said to him cheerfully : —
'Eat the sugar under your prayer carpet ; the glorious God has sent it.'
One day his mother forgot to place the sugar as usual.
When she remembered it afterwards, she prayed to God : —
'Fervently I pray thee, send thou sugar to him ;

[1] These legends are printed by way of a continuation of Sir Richard Temple's *Legends of the Panjab* from unused materials supplied by him.

Merî 'izzat tuñhîñ rakhêñ : tû haiñ Baṛâ Sattâr.
Qudrat Rabb dî dekho, logo : kaisâ huâ tamâshâ ?
Farîd Sâîñ ne shakkar pâî, jismeñ kamî na puâshâ.
Us rôz se laqb Bâwâ ne Shakarganj hai pâyâ,
Farîd Shakkar kahê lokâyî, farq ẓara na âyâ.
A'indâ nûñ har rôz hamêsha hoiâ eh dastûr :
Mâî Sâhibâ kadî na rakhdî ; hôndâ Fazal ghafûr.

Gôsha se ek rôz nikalkar, rasta utte bahe.

Qâfilâ kôî chalâ-jândâ sâ, us ko puchhan paye : —
'Guṛ bharâ tumne, yârô, yâ bharî hai shakkar ?
Kâd se chale hô, kitthôñ âye, jânâ kithe tikar ?'
Qâfila-wâle manzal hâre bole, 'nâñ hai shakkar.
Kî dasiye ? Hai kî kuchh bhariâ, bhariâ patthar patthar.'
Bole Bâbâ, 'patthar hônge ? Asî jânîsî shakkar.
Patthar hônge, patthar hônge ; patthar hônge patthar.'
Kahte haiñ ke bhartî meñ se bhare badâm chhuhârê ;
Farîd Bâwâ de âkhan kâran hogae patthar sârê.
Mewâ jab ke patthar ban giyâ, ûṇṭ ûthâ na sakañ.
Â'jiz hoke girgae sâre, âge qadam na chakan.
Qafila-wâliâñ â'jiz hokar, kîtî bahut mintâî.
Bole Bâbâ : 'bât tumhârî tûhâḍe âge âî :

Phir merî nasîhat âge kadî na dêuî bhûl.

Jhûth de kâran eh kuchh hoia : sach Rabb maqbûl.'
In meñ se badâm chhuhâre râqim ne bhî dekhe,
Rang waza' meñ farq na kôî, bôjh meñ patthar lêke.

Preserve thou my honour : thou art the great Forgiver of sins.'[2]
Behold the power of God, O people what happened ?
Farîd the Saint got the sugar as usual without diminution.
From that day the Bâwâ received the title of Shakarganj.
The people called him Farîd Shakkar, without the least hesitation.
Afterwards it always happened thus daily :
His mother placed the sugar no more. (but) God sent it of his grace.

Once coming out of his seclusion he sat by the roadside.
A number of merchants were passing by and he asked them : —
'O friends, have you loaded *guṛ*[3] or have you loaded *shakkar*[3] ?
How long and whence have you been travelling, and whither will you go ?'
The way-worn merchants said : 'There is no sugar.
What shall we say ? If we have loaded anything we had loaded up stones.'
Said the Bâbâ, 'can it be stones ? I took them for sugar.
They will be stones, will be stones ; stones must be stones.'
It is said that almonds and dates had been loaded,
(But) Bâwâ Farîd's word turned them all into stones.
When the fruit had become stones, the camels could not carry them.
They all fell down being weak and could go no further.
The merchants in despair begged hard.
Said the Bâbâ : 'your words have come back to you ;
But for the future never forget my admonition.
This has happened owing to your falsehood : God loves the truth.'
The writer saw some of those almonds and dates,
They did not differ in appearance or colour and were equal to stones in weight.

[2] *Lit.*, 'Concealer' of sins with the veil of mercy.
[3] *Guṛ* is unrefined as distinguished from *shakkar* or refined sugar.

Kâṭh dî roṭi bârâ baras tak peṭ par Bâwâ bândhî.	The Bâwâ had wooden bread tied to his belly for twelve years.
Râqim ne ziârat kîtî ; nishán lage haiṅ dândî.	The writer saw it (on a pilgrimage) ; it bears impressions of his teeth.
Jab bhûkh bahut satândi Bâwâjî nûṅ báre,	When the Bâwa felt greatly the pangs of hunger,
Is hâlat meṅ kaî dand já us roṭî par máre.	Then he put his teeth to the bread.
Pákpaṭṭan meṅ tîn ziârat : aisî haiṅ derînâ,	In Pakpaṭṭan are three shrines : they are so old,
Jin ke dekhe ẓâhir hôwe barkat hai pasîná.	That they who see them perspire with awe.
Nishân Haẓrat de jang Badr vich donoṅ sî hamrâ,	The Saint's[4] two standards that were borne in the fight at the Badr[5] —
Ziârat un kî râqim kîtî 'Îd ke róz pagâ.	The writer saw them (on a pilgrimage) on the morning of the 'Îd.
Bâns de nishân haiṅ, yâro, hun tak gahe nâ zarrâ :	The standards are of bamboo, my friends, and are still not worm-eaten :
Unko kíte nahîṅ hai lágâ : qudrat Rabb muqarra.	They have not been attacked (by insects) anywhere : (this is) the effect of God's power.
Nâ'leṅ Mubârik Baṛe Pîr dî huigî wahâṅ maujûd !	The sandals of the Great Saint[6] are present there :
'Îd nûṅ ziârat hôndî, bâd nimâz mâ'hûd.	After offering a prayer they can be visited on a pilgrimage at the 'Îd.
Gudṛî Haẓrat Bâwâ Sâhib dî hun tak dekhî gâî :	The Sainted Bâwâ Sâhib's quilt is to be seen to this day :
'Îd nûṅ Diwânji pahneṅ, phir buqche paî rahî.	The Diwân[7] puts it on at the 'Îd and then returns it to the bag.

THE CHUHRAS.

BY THE REV. J. W. YOUNGSON, D.D., CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION : SIALKOT.

(Continued from p. 96.)

The girls thus express their opinion of the dowry :—

Léf tulâiâṅ ṭaṅgêṅ !	Quilts, mattresses, and hangings,
Assâṅ hôr vî ôthê maṅgêṅ,	We will betroth many of our boys there.
Léf tulâiâṅ jullê	Quilts, mattresses, and patch-work clothes,
Assî ikkô laikê bhullê,	We made a mistake in marrying there.
Vauhṭî khân pîn nûṅ kahî ?	How much does the bride eat?
Dô sajarîâṅ ik bêhî.	Two fresh loaves and a stale one.

Muklâvâ, or the Homing of the Bride.

Next day the bride goes back to her father's house, and there is sent after her *kachchî pinnî*, or *kachchî bhâjî*, which is rice flour with sugar. She returns to her husband's home in six months, or two years, or three, when there is *muklâvâ*, as sending home a wife is called. She brings a suit of clothes for her husband, one for her mother-in-law, and one for her father-in-law. She wears *kach, i. e.,* glass

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[4] Muhammad Sarwar of Jâlandhar. He is descended from Shekh Darwesh.

[5] Near Medina ; a little mixture of history here.

[6] Abdu'l-Qâdir Jîlânî.

[7] Dîwân is the title of the chief attendant at the shrine.

bracelets, because she is still *kachchî*, unripe; not *pakkî*. She now resides in husband's, her own house. Various songs are sung :—

Homing Songs.

1.

Chaṛh uchṛê vêndî sâṅ, raṅjêtêâ.
Pârôṅ vaṅgâṅ aṅiyâṅ
Maiṅ jîvî, tar gaî, raṅjêtêâ,
Pârôṅ vaṅgâṅ aṅiyâṅ.

Sâḍe ghar na sas na mâṅ, ranjêtêâ.
Kaun vangâṅ chaṛhâwê?
Maiṅ jîvî, lar gaî, &c.

Jîvê chhail bharâ, ranjêtêâ,
Jis vangâṅ chaṛhâîâṅ.
Maiṅ jîvî, &c.

Sâḍâ sâviâṅ utlê châh, ranjêtêâ;
Pîliâṅ chuk chaṛhâîâṅ.
Maiṅ jîvî, &c.

Sâḍê manôṅ na lathṛâ châh, raṅjêtêâ;
Mûrakh bhan vagâîyâṅ.
Maiṅ jîvî, &c.

Sânâṅ gâlî dêndî mâṅ, ranjêtêâ;
Ta'nê dêvan saiyâṅ,
Maiṅ jîvî, &c.

Jê tu hôndôṅ kôl, raṅjêtêâ,
Lêndî rang malâ.
Maiṅ jîvî, &c.

From the top of the mound I looked for my lover.
For bracelets were brought from beyond the river.
I rejoice, I am glad, my lover,
As bracelets came from beyond the river.

Neither your mother nor mine was at home
Who would get me bracelets and put them on?
I rejoice, I am glad, &c.

May my handsome brother live long, my lover,
Who gave me the bracelets.
I rejoice, &c.

I wanted blue ones, my lover;
My brother brought yellow ones.
I rejoice, &c.

I am not satisfied, my lover;
Foolishly I broke them off.
I rejoice, &c.

My mother scolds me, my lover;
My friends reproach me.
I rejoice, &c.

If you had been here, my lover,
You would have given me of the right colour.
I rejoice, &c.

2.

Mêrîâṅ dô narmê dîâṅ pûnîâṅ.
Bâgîṅ ṭhandṛîâṅ vê, râṅjnâ, chhâwâṅ.
Nîkkâ, nikkâ, katadî vê.
Têrâ ḍôrîyâ vê, râṅjnâ, uṅṅânâṅ.

Maiṅ uddôṅ nikkâ katadî vê.
Sônê sâvîṅ vê, rânjnâ, vakânâ.
Mêrîâṅ sagnâṅ dî khichṛî vê.
Ghêô pâkê vê, rânjnâ, khânâṅ.

Têrîâṅ sagnâṅ dî kichhrî nî,
Chal khâṅgê nî, gôrîyê, râhîṅ.
Mêrêâṅ sagnâṅ dâ gânâ vê,
Ganḍî khôlkê vê, rânjnâ, jâîṅ.

Têrêâṅ sagnâṅ dâ gânâ nî,
Ganḍî khôlâṅgê, gôrîyê, rahîṅ.
Mêrêâṅ sagnâṅ dâ ḍôḍnâ vê
Pallâ jôṛkê vê, rânjnâ, jâîṅ.
Têrîâṅ sagnâṅ dâ ḍôḍhnâ nî,

Pallâ jôṛâṅgê nî, gôrîyê, rahîṅ.
Maiṅ kal viâhî sâṅ vê,
Aj lai peyâ, rânjnâ, rahîṅ.
Khânâ châhiyê haqq âpnâ nî,
Dujjâ chhêṛnâ, gôrîyê, nahîṅ.

I have two balls of cotton, my lover.
The shade of the trees in the garden is pleasant.
I spin it very fine, my dear,
In order to get a fine sheet made for you, my lover.
I make fine thread from it.
It will be as costly as gold, my lover.
My *khichṛî* of good omen.
Eat it with *ghî*, my lover.

Thy fine *khichrî*, my love,
We will eat it on the way, my beautiful.
The knots of the sacred marriage thread, my lover,
Undo first, then we will start.

Your sacred thread, my love,
We will untie on the way home, my beautiful.
Let the auspicious ceremony of binding
Our shawls be performed before we leave, my lover.
The ceremony of marriage bonds.

We will unite our shawls, on the way, my beautiful.
I was married but yesterday,
My lover takes me away to-day.
We should eat our own dinner,
We should not eat another's, my beautiful.

3.

Vé main tânâ lâyâ vé
Nîngrân tûtân walî jhangîn.
Bambîâ bôlé vé.
Mérâ jîurâ dôlé vé
Is marvê dî dâlî.

Dô pânjé bhul gaé vé.
Bîbâ zarra kû câgâń môṛîń
Bambîâ, &c.

Main kîkar môṛân nî rasîlé?
Mâń khalôtî térî.
Bambîâ, &c.

Ô mâń jô mérî vé
Nîngrâ sas lagégî térî.
Bambîâ, &c.

Phûl sasté vikdê vé:
Nîngrâ také vakéndî jôṛî.
Bambîâ, &c.

Ik lai dé jôṛî vé
Nîngrâ mâń péô kôlôń chôrî.
Bambîâ, &c.

Main kîkar âvân nî rasîlé?
Bhain khalôtî térî.
Bambîâ, &c.

Ô bhain jô mérî vé
Jiwéń sâlî laggêgi térî.
Bambîâ, &c.

Tûń â var vêhṛé vé.
Tainûń kis bharué dî chôrî?
Bambîâ, &c.

Young man, I spread my yarn
In the grove of mulberry trees.
The nightingale sang.
My heart trembled
Like a branch of the *marvâ* tree.

Twice I forgot to put in five threads.
Turn hither your horse a little, Sir.
The nightingale, &c.

Lovely girl, how shall I turn?
Your mother is standing by.
The nightingale, &c.

My mother, young man,
Will become your mother-in-law.
The nightingale, &c.

Flowers are being sold cheap:
Two may be had for two pice.
The nightingale, &c.

Get me a couple
Without the knowledge of my parents
The nightingale, &c.

Lovely girl, how shall I come?
Your sister is standing by.
The nightingale, &c.

The sister that is mine
Will live to become your sister-in-law
The nightingale, &c.

Come to my house.
What rascal do you fear?
The nightingale, &c.

4.

Chorus.

Jâń miliyé tâń rassiyé.
Zâmin dêké na nassiyé.
Piârî jâń, jâṇ miliyé tâń hassiyé.

When we meet we should love.
We shall not run away after giving a surety.
Dear life, when we meet we must laugh.

Song.

Lâl vé, ûṭhâń dîâń muhârâń lambîâń, mérî jân.
Chalé Wazîrâbâd, mérî jindṛiyé.
Jâń miliyé, &c.

Kîî dî saudâgarî, mérî jindṛiyé!
Kaisâ hai bipâr, mérî jân?
Jâń miliyé, &c.

Lâl vé, launġâń dî saudâgarî, meri jân,
Nainâń dâ bipâr, mérî jindṛiyé,
Jâń miliyé, &c.

Lâl vé, tattî bhaṭṭhî vich rét jiuń, mérî jân,
Dâné bhundâ mérâ jéṭh, mérî jindṛiyé?
Jâń miliyé tâń rassiyé.
Dilâń dâ bhêd kyûń na dassiyé?

Lâl vé, jê tur challêôń châkrî mérî jân,
Sannûń lai chal nâl, mérî jindṛiyé,
Jâń miliyé, &c.

O Ruby, the cords of the camels are loose,
They are going to Wazirabad, my love.
When we meet, &c.

What will be your merchandise, my love?
In what commodities will you deal, my life?
When we meet, &c.

My Ruby, the merchandise is of cloves,
We deal in eyes, my lover.
When we meet, &c.

My Ruby, like sand in a hot furnace, my life,
Is your brother frying me, my love?
When we meet we should love.
Why should we not show the secrets of our hearts?

My Ruby, if you go for employment,
Take me with you, my love.
When we meet, &c.

Tûṅ karégâ châkarî, mérî jân :
Maiṅ kaḍḍâṅ rumâl, mérî jindṛiyé.
Jâṅ miliyé, &c.
Lâl vé, kî takâṅ térî châkarî, mérî jân ?

Té kî takâṅ rumâl, mérî jindṛiyé ?
Jâṅ miliyé, &c.
Ek takâṅ têrî châkarî, mérî jân.
Té lakh takâṅ rumâl, mérî jindṛiyé.
Jân miliyé, &c.
Lâl vé, uchâ qilâ Rôtâs dâ, mêrî jân :
Thallé vaggê dariyâ, méri jindṛiyé.
Jâṅ miliyé, &c.
Lâl vé, tu ghôṛâ, maiṅ pâlkî, mérî jân.
Turiyê haṅsâṅ dî châl, mérî jindṛiyé.
Jâṅ miliyé, &c.
Tûṅ shîsha maiṅ ârsî, mérî jân.
Vékhiyé vârô vâr, mérî jindṛiyé.
Jâṅ miliyé, &c.
Tû khaṭṭâ, maiṅ imblî, mérî jân.
Laṭakiyê râja[3] dé bâg méri jindṛiyé.
Jâṅ miliyé, &c.
Lâl vé, jê ṭur chaléôṅ châkarî, mérî jân,
Hath vich dênîâṅ pakkhî, mérî jindṛiyé.
Jâṅ miliyé, &c.
Jithê pai jâî rât, ve mérî jân,
Jân sukhallî rakhîṅ, mérî jindṛiyé.
Jâṅ miliyé, &c.
Chôg chagindî lâlṛî, mêrî jân.
Lâl vé, pailâṅ pândâ môr, mérî jindṛiyé.
Jân miliyé tâṅ rassiyé.
Dilâṅ dâ bhêd kyûṅ na dassiyé?

You will take service, my life:
I will make embroidered handkerchiefs, my love.
When we meet, &c.
My Ruby, how many pennies will be your pay, my life?
How many will your handkerchiefs bring ?
When we meet, &c.
Only a penny for you, my life.
Two *lakhs* for a handkerchief, my love.
When we meet, &c.
My Ruby, the fort of Rohtas is high, my life :
A river flows under it, my lover.
When we meet, &c.
My Ruby, you are a horse, I a dooly, my life.[2]
We will walk like swans, my lover.
When we meet, &c.
You are the mirror of my ring, my life.
We will look at each other by turns, my love.
When we meet, &c.
You are a lime, I am a tamarind, my life.
We will hang in the king's garden, my life.
When we meet, &c.
My Ruby, if you seek employment, my life,
I will give you a fan, my love.
When we meet, &c.
When it is night, my life,
Keep yourself comfortable, my love.
When we meet, &c.
The red bird pecks its food, my life.
My Ruby, the peacock is dancing.
When we meet let us love.
Why should we not reveal the secrets of our hearts?

5.

Shîsha mérâ ghâṛû ghaṛiyâ :
Thallâ Lahaur vich jaṛiyâ.
Hun mar gayâṅ sâṅ, mâê.
Shîsha ḍhûnḍ ḍhunḍâô.
Maiṅ mar gayâṅ sâṅ, mâê.
Shîshe nûṅ main jaṛt jaṛandî :
Môtî lâkh hajârâṅ.
Hun mar gaîâ sâṅ mâê, &c.
Jê kôî shîsha lab léâwé,
Dêâṅ inâm as bhârâ.
Hun mar gaîâ sâṅ mâê, &c.
Mérâ shîsha lab léâwé,
Jôṛâ ghôṛâ sârâ.
Hun mar gaîâ sâṅ mâê, &c.
Shishê dé ḍhûnḍan jâwâṅ.
Chiṭṭî Shékhâṅwâlî.
Hun mar gaîâ sâṅ mâê, &c.
Shîsha mainûṅ dittâ sîgâ
Mêrê lâl piyâré.
Hun mar gaîâ sâṅ mâê, &c.

My looking-glass was made by a skilful workman:
It was set with jewels in Lahore.
I shall die now, mother.
Make a search for the missing mirror.
I shall die, mother.
I got precious stones put in my mirror :
Thousands of *lâkhs* of pearls.
I shall die now, mother, &c.
To him that finds the mirror,
I will give a great reward.
I shall die now, mother, &c.
To him that finds my mirror,
I will give a suit and a horse.
I shall die now, mother, &c.
Let searchers go for the mirror
To Chiṭṭî of the Shekhs.
I shall die now, mother, &c.
The mirror was given
By my dear lover.
I shall die now, mother, &c.

[2] Comparison of horse and dooly — between the grace of a man and that of a woman. He will agree to walk slowly, riding by the side of her palanquin, and so they will both proceed slowly and gracefully.

[3] Also given as Rânjan, 'lover.'

6.

Kêhô hamd Ḳhudâ un nûṅ, Rassîya,
Jinnê ḳhalqat pâî hai.
Êk nâl dujjê dê vê, Rassiyâ,
Sûrat ḳhûb ralâî hai.
Êk âshiq Rabb dê vê, Rassiyâ :
Êknâṅ bâzî lâî hai.
Êk hâr khalôtê vê, Rassiyâ :
Êk nân jit duhâî hai.
Êk shêr Ḳhudâ dê vê Rassiyâ :
Êk marzâṅ umar gawâî hai.
Un fauj kufár dî vê, Rassiyâ,
Nêzê nâl khapâî hai.
Wuh baṛê bahâdur vê, Rassiyâ,
Jis par karm Ilâhî hai.
Shahô Aṭkê challêâ vê, Rassiyâ :
Maiṅ bî Qâbul tôṛî hai.
Wuh Aṭak bhalêrî vê, Rassiyâ,
Jis ṭuṭṭî jôṛî hai.
Maiṅ âṭâ gunddî vê, Rassiyâ,
Lâl pêyâ mêrî jhôlî hai.
Shâhô ḳharchi dittî vê, Rassiyâ,
Nau sau dî bôrî hai.
Maiṅ ghaṭhṛî phôlî vê, Rassiyâ,
Vich susî kôrî hai.
Hun ghar vich rahnâ vê, Rassiyâ,
Êh qismat mêrî hai.

Praise God, my friend,
Who created all things.
One with the other, my friend,
He has indeed fitly adapted.
Some love God, my friend :
Some run a race,
Some have lost, my friend :
Some have doubly won.
Some are lions of God, my friend :
Some have lost life by sickness.
They conquered the army of blasphemers, my friend,
With the spear.
He alone is brave, by friend,
Who has God's grace.
My lover goes to Aṭak, my friend :
I will go even to Qâbul with him.
Blessed be the Aṭak, my friend,
Where our severed love is reunited.
I was kneading my dough, my friend,
When a child was born to me.
My husband gave me expenses, my friend :
A bag of nine hundred rupees.
I found new cloth, my friend,
For trousers in it.
Now I shall have to live at home, my friend,
It is my fate.

7.

Charkhâ mêrâ râṅglâ :
Mâḷ vaggê dariyâ.
Â bahô mêrê sâmhnê,
Kattân tumhârê châ.

My spinning wheel is of many colours :
The thread runs like a river.
Come and sit in front of me,
I will spin more looking at you.

8.

Dilli dê darvajṛê
Sônâ gayâ vakâ.
Tê kadê na bhaiṛê âkhiyâ,
'Pôlî nath gharâ.'

Dillî dê darwajṛê
Tôtâ paṛhê Qurân.
Âî billî, lê gaî,
Têrî sûrat tôṅ qurbân.

Lâl, dôtârê-vâlîâ
Nimṛi târ bajâ.
Qahr paê têrî târ nûṅ,
Gaî kalejâ khâ.

Wagdî Râvî, mâhî vê.
Vich kanak dâ bûṭâ.
Êk jawânî, mâhî vê,
Ṛang pahilâ jhutâ.

At the gate of Dilli
Gold is sold.
My hard husband never said,
'I will give you even a hollow nose ring.'

At the gate of Dillî
A parrot read the Qurân.
A cat came and carried it off.
Lovely bird, how pretty you looked.

My lover, with your two stringed instrument
Play a mournful tune.
Terrible strings,
They have carried away my heart.

The Ravi flows, my lover.
There is a plant of wheat in it.[4]
On account of my youth, my lover,
I feel the force of love.

[4] Love is compared to a river in flood, and the trembling heart to a stalk of wheat in the current, — weak and unable to resist.

9.

Bôl bambiâ kikkarâṅ dî ṭîng té, ḍhôlâ.
Payâ vachhôṛâ ma'shûkâṅ dî jind té, ḍhôlâ.
Jé tur chaléâṅ, mâhî vé,
Das jâêṅ ṭakânâ.
Sâmbhkê rakhdî, mâhî vé,
Térâ léf sarhânâ.
Bôl bambiâ, &c.
Jé tur chaléâṅ, mâhî vé,
Pichchê rahégâ kêhṛâ.
Khâlî galîâṅ, mâhî vé,
Sunniyâṅ disdâ vêhṛâ.
Bôl bambiâ, &c.
Jê tur chaléâṅ, mâhî vé,
Sannûṅ sômpkê jâîṅ.
Saumpé chugdé, mâhî vé,
Ḍhôr majjî gâîṅ.
Bôl bambiâ, &c.
Dês bêgânê, mâhî vé,
Din thôṛe rahîyé.
Apô ḍâhḍḍé, mâhî vé,
Nâl bahs na bahîyé.
Bôl bambiâ, &c.
Wâng tavîtâṅ, mâhî vé,
Gal lagkê rahîyé.
Rabb dî dittî, mâhî vé,
Sir utté sahîyé.
Bôl bambiâ, &c.
Nâl dhammâṅ, mâhî vé,
Dô painchhî hallé.
Kujh maut ranjévâ, mâhî vé,
Kuchh vichhaṛ challé.
Bôl bambiâ, &c.
Suttî pêyâṅ, mâhî vé,
Ganḍh pêi parândé.
Lâl asâḍḍé, mâhî vé,
Kand dittî jândé.
Bôl bambiâ, &c.
Na moṛé muṛdé, mâhî vé,
Na pachôtândé.
Kî assîṅ karîyé, mâhî vé?
Kujh kar nahîṅ pândé.
Bôl bambiâ, &c.
Khiṛiâ chambâ, mâhî vê:
Héṭh tarinjaṅ ḍâhyâ.
Êh vachhôṛâ, mâhî vé,
Sânnûṅ Rabb né pâyâ.
Bôl bambia, &c.
Vagdi Râvî, mâhî vé,
Kôl pippal halléâ.
Jâgô nainô, mâhî vé,
Pardési challéâ.
Bôl bambia, &c.

Sings the nightingale, in the acacia, my lover.
Pangs of separation have fallen on me, my lover.
If you go away, my love,
Tell me where you go.
I will keep carefully, my love,
Your quilt and pillow.
Sings the nightingale, &c.
If you go, my love,
Who will take care of me?
The lanes will look empty, beloved,
The courtyard lonely.
Sings the nightingale, &c.
If you go, my love,
Leave me in somebody's care.
The cattle graze, my love,
When left in the care of some one.
Sings the nightingale, &c.
In a strange country, my love,
One should live only a few days.
One should not dispute, my love,
The power of a stronger person.
Sings the nightingale, &c.
Like a charm, my love,
One should hang on the neck.
Decrees of God, my love,
Should be borne patiently.
Sings the nightingale, &c.
In the early morn, my love,
Two birds flew.
Perhaps death beguiled them, my love,
Or it was separation for good.
Sings the nightingale, &c.
While sleeping, my love,
(I dreamt) there was a knot in my hair.[5]
My ruby, my love
Is going away.
Sings the nightingale, &c.
He will not return if compelled, my love,
Nor will he be sorry.
What can we do, my love?
There is nothing to be done.
Sings the nightingale, &c.
The jessamine has flowered, my love.
Under it I began to spin.
Our separation, my love,
Is caused by God.
Sings the nightingale, &c.
The Ravi flows, my love,
Near the *pîpal* tree trembles.
Sleepy eyes open, my love,
The traveller is going.
Sings the nightingale, &c.

[5] The tying of a knot in her hair was a dream of bad omen.

Chhêṛ na mainûṅ, mâhî vê.
Maiṅ âp ajurdî,
Jô likhî kalâm hai, mâhî vê,
Ôh kadhî na muṛdî.
  Bôl bambia, &c.
Jê tûṅ chalêâṅ, êṅ mâhî vê,
Maiṅ khaṛî baruhêṅ.
Mêri liṅgâṅ di hâjat, mâhî vê,
Lê chalêaṅ tueṅ.
  Bôl bambia, &c.
Nâḷ namâshâv, mâhî vê,
Phûl dêṅ arâîṅ.
Phûl sôîô lêndê, mâhî vê,
Jidê kâuṅt atthâîṅ.
  Bôl bambia, &c.
Sâḍḍê kâuṅt pardêsî, mâhî vê,
Bhâ phulûṅ nû lâṅdî.
Mâr musallâ, mâhî vê,
Têrê pattan tê bahindî.
  Bôl bambia, &c.
Mêrê sâṅvalîṅ hathîṅ, mâhî vê,
Râṅg layâ mahndî.
Môṛ muhârâṅ, mâhî vê,
Maiṅ dukh nahîṅ saiṅdi.
  Bôl bambia, &c.
Shahrôṅ niklî, mâhî vê,
Maiṅ phiraṅ udâllî.
Na pattan bêṛî, mâhî vê,
Nâ ṭâṅg savalli.
  Bôl bambia, &c.
Maiṅ maṅgâṅ duâîṅ, mâhî vê,
Rabb tainûṅ ghallê.
Uṭâṅwâlê, mâhi vê,
Lad gayê bê khabarê.
  Bôl bambia, &c.
Pêyâ vachhôṛâ, mâhî vê :
Tainûṅ kêhṛâ phêrê?
Maiṅ bhaṅṅiâṅ vangâṅ, mâhî vê.
Pichhê rah gayê gajrê.
Têrê milan sunêhê, mâhi vê,
Maiṅ nûṅ jaldi sajrê.
  Bôl bambia, &c.
Vagnâ purêâ, mâhî vê ;
Kyûṅ dênâṅ lôrê ?
Marjî Rabb dî, mâhî vê,
Hun kêhṛâ môṛê.
  Bôl bambia, &c.
Vagnâ purêâ, mâhî vê ;
Kyûṅ atnâṅ ṭôiâṅ?
Têrê badlê, mâhî vê,
Baṛî âjij hêiâṅ.
  Bôl bambia, &c.

Do not tease me, my love,
I am already sad.
The written fate, my love,
Cannot be averted.
  Sings the nightingale, &c.
If you go, my love,
I stand on the threshold.
The strength of my limbs, my love,
You take away with you.
  Sings the nightingale, &c.
At even time, my love,
The gardeners give flowers.
Only those buy flowers, my love,
Whose husbands are at home.
  Sings the nightingale, &c.
My husband is a stranger, my love,
Let me burn the flowers.
As one sits on a cushion, my love,
I would sit in your lap.
  Sings the nightingale, &c.
My white hands, my love,
Are dyed with *mehndî.*
Turn the reins of your camels, my love,
 cannot bear the pain.
  Sings the nightingale, &c.
I go out of the city, my love,
Wandering alone on account of you.
I cannot find a boat at the ferry, my love,
Nor any other means.
  Sings the nightingale, &c.
I pray to God, my love,
To send you.
The drivers my love,
Left without a word.
  Sings the nightingale, &c.
Fate has decreed separation, my love :
Who will make you come back?
I have broken my glass bangles, my love.
Only shoddy ones are left.
Your messages reach me, my love,
Fresh every day.
  Sings the nightingale, &c.
The East Wind[6] blows, my love ;
Why singest thou to me?
God's will, my love,
Cannot be changed.
  Sings the nightingale, &c.
The East Wind[6] blows, my love ;
Why does it soil the fringe of my shawl?
For thee, my love,
I grieve greatly.
  Sings the nightingale, &c.

[6] She asks why the East Wind should come with comfort and sleep-inducing influence, when she cannot sleep for sorrow that her husband has left his home. Rain comes with it and her shawl is soiled, but her husband does not come.

Kal ghaṛâêôṅ, mâhî vê.
Ṭuṭ pêyâ tavîtû.
Maiṅ nûṅ mâ nê ghalliyâ, mâhî vê:
Bâp vidiyâ kîtâ.
Bôl bambia, &c.
Hukm Khudâ dâ, mâhî vê:
Kisé ujar na kîtâ.
Khânê laggi, mâhî vê,
Jiêuṅ agg plîtâ.
Bôl bambia, &c.

Though made only yesterday, my love,
My charm is broken.
My mother has sent me, my love:
My father has given me leave.
Sings the nightingale, &c.
It is God's command, my love:
There can be no avoiding it.
When I try to eat, my love,
(I fly from food) as fireworks from a match.
Sings the nightingale, &c.

10.

Sukhî mangêôṅ, sukhî biâhêôṅ.
Sukhî ḍôlî lé ghar âêôṅ.
Têrî vanni nê dîvâ bâlêâ.
Ghunḍ andar mukh dikhâlêâ.
Têrî vannî dê gaḷ has vê.
Jug jîvê saurâ tê sas vê!
Têrî bannî dê gaḷ khêrîâṅ.
Jug jîvêṅ laindṛâ phêrêâṅ!
Têrî bannî dê hath vich ârsî.
Ghunḍ andar mâré Fârsî.

You were betrothed well and married well.
You have brought her well home in a palanquin.
Your bride has lit the lamp.
She has shown her face in her veil.
Your bride has a necklace.
May your father-in-law and mother-in-law live long!
Your bride has jewels on her neck.
May you that have gone round the basket live long!
Your bride have a thumb ring.
She speaks Persian[7] in her veil.

11.

Ghaṛ sunêârêâ chhallê:
Chhallê tê mâpêâṅ ghallê.
Nâdân lôg kamlê kyûṅ âkhdê nê?
Ghaṛ sunêârêâ ṭîkâ:
Ṭîkâ tê mâpeâṅ dittâ.
Nâdân lôg kamlê kyâṅ âkhdê nê?
Ghaṛ sunêârêâ daunî:
Daunî assâṅ nahîûṅ paunî.
Nâdân lôg kamlê kyûṅ âkhdê nê?

The jeweller made rings:
The parents sent the rings.
Why do ignorant people call me foolish?
The jeweller made a *ṭîkâ:*
My parents gave the *ṭîkâ.*
Why do ignorant people call me foolish?
The jeweller made a *daunî;*
I will not wear the *daunî,*
Why do ignorant people call me foolish?

12.

Baggêâ kukṛû, mâhî vê.
Kyûṅ dênâṅ bâṅgâṅ, ḍhôlâ?
Dênâṅ bângâṅ, mâhî vê,
Sajjnâṅ dîâṅ tâṅgâṅ, ḍhôlâ.

Bagdî Râvî, mâhî vê:
Vich suṭnîâṅ chhannâṅ, ḍhôlâ.
Ḍhôl gawâyâ, mâhî vê,
Vêhṛê dîâṅ rannâṅ, ḍhôlâ.
Vagdî Râvî, mâhî vê:
Vich suṭnîâṅ hirkâṅ, ḍhôlâ.
Dês parâê, mâhî vê,
Kyûṅ dênâṅ ghiṛkâṅ, ḍhôlâ?
Bagdî Râvî, mâhî vê,
Vich munḍ phulâî dâ, ḍhôlâ.

Maiṅ na jamdi, mâhî vê,
Tû kithôṅ viâhî dâ, ḍhôlâ?
Kannî mêrê guchhîâṅ, mâhî vê.
Dô gallâṅ na puchhîâṅ, ḍhôlâ,
Dabbî vich till sâṅ, mâhî vê.
Sajnâṅ nûṅ milsâṅ, ḍhôlâ.

The cock crows, my love,
Why does he crow, my lover:
He crows, my love,
Because the footsteps of my friends are heard, my lover.
The Ravi flows, my love:
I throw the brass-cup into it, my lover,
My beloved is seduced, my love,
By the women of the courtyard, my lover.
The Ravi flows, my love:
I throw my rags into it, my lover.
In a strange land, my love,
Why do you rebuke me, lover?
The Ravi flows, my love:
There is the stem of the *phulâî* (acacia) in it, my lover.
If I had not been born, my love,
Where would you have married, my lover?
I have earrings in my ears, my love.
I have not spoken twice to you, my lover.
In the casket are oil-seeds, my love.
I will meet my friends, my lover.

[7] *i. e.*, a private language.

Aggê mérê charkhâ[8] *sâvâṅ :*	Before me is my blue spinning wheel:
Rang lâyâ munnêâṅ, ḍhôlâ.	It has coloured posts, my lover.
Ḍhôl gawâchâṅ, mâhî vê,	I have lost my beloved, my love.
Na labdâ rûnêâṅ, ḍhôlâ.	I cannot find him by crying, my lover.
Hath mêrê thêvâ[8] *sâhibâ.*	I have a jewel in my hand, Sir.
Maiṅ karâṅ milêvâ, ḍhôlâ.	I will meet my beloved, my lover.
Pâr Jhanâôṅ, sâhibâ,	Beyond the Chenab, Sir,
Rânjê dîâṅ, pakhkhiâṅ, ḍhôlâ.[9]	Are my beloved's tents, my lover.
Ral-mil âiṅyâṅ, sâhibâ.	We have come together, Sir.
Rânjê dîâṅ sakîâṅ, ḍhôlâ.	Ranja's friends, my lover.
Vagdî Râvî, mâhî vê.	The Ravi flows, my love.
Vich bhaundî bhândî, ḍhôlâ.	I am overwhelmed in it, my lover.
Na ral baiṭhâ, sâhibâ,	I did not sit with you, Sir.
Na ralêâ dhandîṅ, ḍhôlâ.	I did not work with you, my lover.

13.

Sûrmâ Ṭhandîôṅ âyâ vê, ik lap surmê dî.	I brought antimony from Thandî, a handful of antimony.
Suṅêô bîr bharâvô vê, ik lap surmê dî.	Hear, brothers and friends, a handful of antimony.
Hôrnâṅ nê pîṭhâ siḷ vaṭṭê tê, ik lap surmê dî.	Others beat it with pestle and mortar, a handful of antimony.
Maiṅ saṅḍhêâṅ dâ gâh karâyâ vê.	I ground it with the treading of buffaloes.
Hôrnâṅ nê pâyâ surm salâîâṅ.	Others put it in with a needle.
Maiṅ mohḷê dê nâḷ pâyâ vê, ik lap surmê dî.	I put it in with a rice pounder, a handful of antimony.
Hôrnâṅ nê pâyâ surm sulâîâṅ.	Others put it in with needles.
Maiṅ kôṭhî dâ mûṅh khulâyâ vê, ik lap surmêdî.	I garnered it, a handful of antimony.

Death and burial.

They bury their dead. When a person is dying they call the Muhammadan priest to read the *sahânî*, but if it is in a Hindu village where there is no *mulla* nothing of this nature is done, except that in some cases, they lift the sick man on to the ground. This they call *satthar*.[10] The dead are carried to the grave on a bed, bound in a shroud made of cloth, which is tied at the head and the feet like a sack, and in the middle. The body, after being washed with soap and water, is dressed in a jacket, a cap, and a sheet, or in two sheets, and is sprinkled with rose water. In the grave the shoulder is placed towards the pole star, and the feet to the east. If it is that of a young person they put a black blanket over the bier, if of an old person a red one. This is called *khês*. The priest sits on the west side and looks towards the east. He recites a prayer, and they repeat after him. This is *janâza*. One rupee, called *askât*[11], is given to the priest on the Qurân. A cloth called *jâê namâz* is also given. The blanket becomes the property of the *mirâsî*. The face of the dead is not placed downwards.

If a very old person dies, his friends make a mock mourning: but their grief is really very great for a young person.

Specimens are now given of what they say when singing the dirge over the dead. They (the women)[12] stand in a circle; the *mirâsan* (wife of the family bard) stands in the centre. She sings mournful tunes, the other women following her. They beat their legs, breasts, and forehead with their hands in time to the dirge. Nothing could be sadder. The woman that leads repeats the *alâhnî*, and the other women beat the breast, thus making *siâpâ*.

(To be continued.)

[8] This part of the song is almost meaningless to the uninitiated. Words are put in simply for the sake of the rhyme. Girls go on singing a jingling rhyme, without much attention to the meaning. Ordinary objects as *charkhân* (spinning wheel), *thevâ* (jewel, &c.), are used for rhyming.

[9] Dholâ and Rânjâ are famous lovers, and the names are used for *lovers* generally.

[10] *Satthar*, lit., a couch.

[11] *Askât*, probably for *zakât*, alms.

[12] The women go half-way towards the graveyard weeping and wailing.

Plate IX.

A.

THE PRIMARY LETTERS AND THEIR DERIVATIVES.

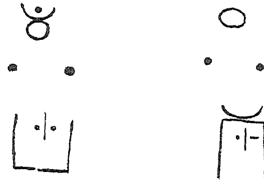
Primary letters	Derivatives.
	= ga.
	= ṅa, = ña, = na.
	= ṭha, = ḍh, = ta, = tha
	= ḍa.
	= pha, = b, = bha.

B.

DERIVATION OF MANTRAS.

1. Mantra : Klîm = K + l + i + m =

Hence the forms of Klîm.



2. Mantra : Hrîm = h + r + i + m =

Hence the form of Hrîm.



SHAMASASTRI, DEL. W. GRIGGS, LITH.

A THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE DEVANAGARI ALPHABET.

BY R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A.

(Continued from p. 290.)

CHAPTER V.

The Derivatives.

Plate IX.

THUS are the Devanâgarî letters *a, i, u, e, o, ka, kha, gha, cha, ṭa, da, dha, na, pa, ma, ya, ra, la, va, śa, sha, sa, ha,* the *visarga* and the nasal sound to be identified with the Tantric hieroglyphics by a far smaller stretch of imagination than that involved in Prof. Bühler's latest theory of the Semitic origin of the Devanâgarî Alphabet. The question that now arises is, how **the rest of the forty-eight or forty-nine letters have been contrived?** For evidently, there were no hieroglyphics from which the rest could be as easily selected as the twenty-two or twenty-three letters described. With regard to this question, the very words of Prof. Bühler can be repeated, only replacing the words 'borrowed sign' by 'indigenous hieroglyphic.'

The contrivances by which the derivative signs, both primary and secondary, for consonants and initial vowels **have been formed, are:—**

(1) The transposition of one of the elements of a phonetically cognate indigenous hieroglyphic.

(2) The mutilation of a hieroglyphic or of another derivative sign of a similar phonetic value.

(3) The addition of straight lines, curves or hooks to original or derivative symbols.

The complete elaboration of the Brâhmî Alphabet by the process of differentiation of the original hieroglyphics or of their derivatives, is not only indicated by the similarity of cognate alphabetic letters to one another, but is also distinctly referred to in the *Vâtulâgama*:—

अकारं च इकारं च उकारं च ऋकारकम् ।
लृकारं चैव एकारं तथैवौकारमेव च ॥
एते सप्त स्वराः प्रोक्ताः प्रकृतिस्तु समीरिताः ।
शेषास्तु विकृतिः प्रोक्ताः तेषामुद्भवमुच्यते ॥
अकाराद्योद्भवाकारामिकारेत्वीसमुद्भवः ॥

P. 28, *Vâtulâgama.*

'The seven vowels **a, i, u, ṛi, ḷi, e and o** are declared to be primary letters. The rest of the vowels are the modifications of the primary ones. The formation of the modified letters is thus described: **from a originated the long â, and from i the long î.'**

Indeed the formation of the letters *ṛi* and *ḷi* from primary hieroglyphics, as alluded to in the above verses, is somewhat doubtful; still there is no reason to doubt the complete manipulation of the Devanâgarî by differentiation of the primary letters or symbols. Even Prof. Bühler, who went so far as to seek a Semitic source for the Devanâgarî, admits the ability of the Brâhman *pandit* or *pandits* in the arrangement of the letters. In *The Origin of the Brâhma Alphabet* (p. 86) he says: —

"One of the undeniable results of the preceding inquiry is that the Brâhma Alphabet must be considered the work of Brâhmans, acquainted with phonetic and grammatical theories. The *pandit's* hand is clearly visible in the arrangement of the letters used by Aśoka's masons at Mahabodhi Gaya, according to their organic value as vowels, diphthongs, nasalised vowel, vowel with the spirant, gutturals, palatals and linguals. And it is also visible at a much earlier stage in the very formation of the alphabet. Nobody but a grammarian or phoneticist would have thought of deriving five nasals, one of each class of the Indian consonants from the two Semitic prototypes, and of inventing in addition a sign to denote the nasalization of vowels, the *anusvâra* or of forming two spirants *ha* and

the *visarga*. Nobody but a Sanskrit grammarian would express the initial *u* by half the sign for *va*, and the phonetically very different, but etymologically allied, *śa* and *sa* by modifications of one sign, or derive initial *o* from *u* or *i* from *e* and *ḷa* and from *da*. And only a grammarian would invent the peculiar system of notation for medial vowels, which throughout marks the distinction between short and long ones, omits the short *a*, and expresses the long *â* by adding to the consonants the mark used for differentiating *Â* from *A*, and the remaining medial vowels by combinations of the initial vowel signs, or of modifications thereof, with the consonants. This is so complicated and so highly artificial that only a Brâhman's or *pandit's* ingenuity can have worked it out."

While thus praising the *pandit* for his ingenuity and thorough scholarship in Sanskrit grammar and phonetics in elaborating and arranging the Devanâgarî Alphabet, Prof. Bühler had to find fault with him for his pedantic formalism in wilfully changing the forms of the Semitic models, which the Professor presumed that he learnt from Indian merchants with Semitic people. Had the twenty-two Brâhma letters, however, nearly resembled the Semitic models, the *pandit* would, in the view of the Professor, have been a well-behaved school-boy, worthy of still more laudatory words. But, as has already been seen, the letters look more like the Tantric hieroglyphics, of which the Professor was not at all aware, than the Semitic aliens in which he sought for their parentage. Had he consulted the literary records which the *pandit* has left behind him, he could have gathered the information that, instead of going for the Semitic models, the *pandit* merely went to the Tantric worshippers for his models. In return for the loan of models which the *pandit* received from the Tantric worshippers, he immensely extended the scope for the evolutionary growth of the Tantric literature. Had not the Devanâgarî Alphabet sprung up from the hieroglyphics or ideograms representing the god Śiva and the goddess Śakti, it would not have carried throughout its letters so many names of gods or goddesses. Nor would the four kinds of identities which form the basis of Tantric mystery and speculation have originated. **The identity of nâda,** the nine or twelve hieroglyphics described above, with (1) the body of the devotee, (2) with the body of the god or goddess, (3) **with the alphabetic letters** (*panchâśatkalaḥ*) or with the monosyllabic *mantras*, and the identity of the devotee with the god or goddess, are the chief causes of the endless speculations[42] of Tantric scholars. **The identity of the goddess with the alphabet** (*bhûta-lipi*) is thus described in the Kâma-kala Chidvalli :—

द्विविधा हि मध्यमा सा सूक्ष्मा स्थूलाकृतिस्स्थिरा सूक्ष्मा.
नवनादमयी स्थूला नववर्गात्मा तु भूतलिप्याख्या.

'The goddess called Madhyama, middle, has two aspects. She is either of subtle or of visible form. The nine kinds of articulate sounds constitute her subtle and eternal form. The nine groups of the alphabetic letters make up her visible form.'

It may even be said that, if the Devanâgarî Alphabet had not resulted from the Tantric hieroglyphics, there would have been no Tantric literature at all. For the whole of Tantric literature treats of nothing but the recitation of monosyllabic *mantras* and the drawing of mystic figures, which, in their origin, must have been the pictures of the several poets of the human frame. The *Vâtulâgama* says : —

देवानां बीजनामानि वर्णास्तत्र प्रकल्पिताः
तस्माद्वर्णानि चोक्तानि ज्ञात्वा मन्त्रं समुद्धरेत् ॥

P. 35, *Vâtulâgama.*

'The gods are called the seeds (*bîjas*) of the world. Alphabetical letters are elaborated out of (the hieroglyphics representing) the seeds.'

Hence, it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the letters before going to make up the *mantras*. And—

तत्तद्देवतानामभिधानाक्षरमेव तत्तद्देवतानामङ्गं भवति.

P. 80, *Com. Vâtulâgama.*

[42] See pp. 134 and 222, Com. *Saundaryalahari*, M. O. L. Edition ; pp. 7, 54, 55, 56 and 78, *Varivasyarahasya*, Bombay Edition.

'The alphabetic letters which bear the names of those and other gods or goddesses form the very bodily frames of those and other gods or goddesses.'

Thus, for example, the *mantras*, **klîm**, called the *bîjâkshara* of Kâma, and **hrîm**, the *bîjâkshara* of Sakti, constitute, as in Plate IX., the forms of Kâma and Sâkti. The same result would ensue in all cases of such *mantras* as are not later manipulations of ignorant mystics. Thus, it is only in **the identity of the Tantric hieroglyphics with the letters of the Devanâgarî Alphabet** that we can find satisfactory explanations for almost all kinds of Tantric technical terms and speculations.

Besides the ocular and documentary evidences proving the indigenous origin of the Devanâgarî Alphabet, as pointed out above, there is also the evidence furnished by the critical analysis which James Prinsep made of the alphabet of the edicts of Aśoka. It is very well known that, but for his admirable skill in deciphering the then unknown alphabet of the edicts, the history of India, broken and unreliable as it is, would have missed its basis altogether. It is really astonishing and admirable that his critical analysis of the alphabet of the edicts of Aśoka should have enabled him to arrive at almost the same primary letters that, as has already been seen, were first selected with no appreciable modification from among the hieroglyphics and next formed the basis for the complete manipulation of the rest of the letters by differentiation. As his observation (pp. 474—6, Vol. VI., *J. A. S. B.*) throws a flood of light on the process of derivation of the rest of the letters, and also on the peculiar compact forms of the letters in general, his remarks are quoted here in full :—

"There is a primitive simplicity in the form of every letter, which stamps it at once as the original type whereon the more complicated structure of the Sanskrit has been founded. If carefully analysed, each member of the alphabet will be found to contain the element of the corresponding member, not only of the Devanâgarî, but of the Kanauj, the Pâli, the Tibetan, the Hale Canara and of all the derivatives from the Sanskrit stock. This is not all: simplification may be carried much further by due attention to the structure of the alphabet, as it existed even at this early stage, and the genius of its construction, *ab initio*, may in some measure be recognised and appreciated. First the aspirated letters appear to have been formed in most cases by doubling the simple letters; thus, 𑀙, *chh*, is the double of 𑀘, *cha*; O, *ṭh*, is the double of C, *ṭ*; D, *ḍh*, is the half of this; and ʘ· *th*, is the same character with a dot as a distinguishing mark. This may account for the constant interchange of (, λ, O and ʘ in the inscriptions. Again ϭ, *dh*, is only the letter ᒣ produced from below; — if doubled, it would have been confounded with another letter (the 𑀙). The aspirated 𑀨, *pha*. is merely the 𑀧, *pa*, with a slight mark, sometimes put on the outside, either right or left; but I cannot yet affirm that this mark may not merely denote a duplication of the letter rather than an aspiration,—if, indeed, the terms were not originally equivalent; for we have just seen the doubling of the letter made to denote its aspiration. The *kh* seems formed from the *g* rather than the *k*. The *gh* and *jh* are missing as in Tibetan, and appear to be supplied by *g* and *chh* respectively. *Bh* is anomalous, or it has been formed from the *ḍ* by adding a downward stroke.

"Again, there is a remarkable analogy of form in the semi-vowels, *r*, *ṛ*, *l*, *y*, ⌇, 𑀮, 𑀯, 𑀬, which tends to prove their having been framed on a consistent principle. The first *r* hardly ever occurs in the Delhi inscription, but it is common in that form in that from Girnar. The 𑀳, *h*, is but the 𑀮 reversed: the *ṛi*, so peculiar to the Sanskrit alphabet, is formed by adding the vowel *i* to the *r*, thus ᛈ.

"As far as yet known, there are only one *h* and one *s*: the nasals and sibilants had not therefore been yet separated into classes; for the written Pâli of 200 years later possesses at last the various *n*'s, though it has but one *s*. The four vowels, initials, have been discovered 𑀅, ∴, Δ, 𑀉: the second seems to be the skeleton of the third, as if denoting the smallest possible vocal sound. Of the medial vowels, it is needless to speak, as their agreement in system with the old Nâgari was long since pointed out. The two long vowels *î* and *û* are produced by doubling the short symbols. The *visarga* is of doubtful occurrence; but the *anusvâra* is constantly employed; and when before *m* as D· 𑀲, it is equivalent to the duplication employed in the more modern Pâli writing.

"We might, perhaps, on contemplation of these forms, go yet farther into speculation on their origin. Thus, the *g* may be supposed to be formed of the two strokes of the *k*, differently disposed, the *j* of the two half curves of the *cha* superposed. The two *d's* are the same letter turned right and left, respectively; and this principle, it may be remarked, is to be met with in other scions of the Indian alphabet. Thus, in the Tibetan, the ཞ, ञ, a sound unknown to the Sanskrit, is made by inverting the *j*, ཇ; the cerebral *ṇ*, ཎ, by inverting the dental ན — and the cerebral *ṭ*, *ṭh*, or ཊ, ཋ, by the inversion of the dental *t*, *th*, ཏ, थ.

"The analogy between the ᑕ and ᐱ is not so great in this alphabet as in what we have imagined to be its successor, in which the essential part of the *t* (人) is the ᑕ placed downwards ∩.

"In the same manner the connection of the labials *p* and *b* is more visible in the old Ceylonese, the Canouji and even the Tibetan alphabets; the ᒪ, ◇, being merely the p, ⊔, closed at the top as in square Pâli ⊔ and □.

"Thus, when we come to examine the matter critically, we are insensibly led to the reduction of the written Characters to a comparatively small number of elements as +, ꓷ, ᒪ, ᒧ, ⊥, ᒪ, 𐑀, /, ꝺ and ꝺ, besides the vowels ꓘ, ▷ and ᒪ or perhaps in lieu of this arrangement, it may be preferable to adopt one element as representative of the seven classes of letters. We shall thus come to the very position long ago advanced by Jambulus, the traveller."

It is really astonishing to find such a remarkable coincidence between the facts recorded in Tantric literature regarding the Devanâgarî on the one hand, and the conclusions arrived at on mature considerations of the forms of the alphabet of Aśoka on the other. It may, therefore, be admitted that, with the exception of twenty-two or fifteen (*panchadaśî*) letters, for which the Tantric hieroglyphics have been, as shown above, actually selected, all the Characters of the Brâhmî Alphabet are the results of differentiation of those primary letters or symbols.

It seems more than probable that, with a view to facilitate the retention in memory of the forms of the symbols with the aid of some roundabout process of reasoning, each of the symbols of the alphabet (*bhûtalipi*), thus elaborated, was called by a new name, the initial of which corresponded to the alphabetic sound. While performing *nyâsa*, a process of identifying the several parts of one's own body with one or another of the several goddesses, the **following fifty words are recited by every one of Tantric worshippers.** So far as I make out, the identification is in some cases wrong. These words are:—

I.

अमृता (nectar).
आकर्षिणी (attractive).
इन्द्राणी (wife of Indra).
ईशानी (wife of Śiva).
उमा " "
ऊर्ध्वकेशिनी (possessed of hair standing upright or erect).
ऋद्धिः (prosperity).
ॠषा (?).
ऌता (?).
ॡषा (?) (the long *li* is inappropriate or anamolous).
एकपादिनी (having one leg).
ऐश्वरी (goddess of prosperity).
ओङ्कारिणी (abiding in *om*).
औषधात्मिका (herbose).
अम्बिका (mother).
अक्षरात्मिका (of alphabetic form).

II.

कालरात्री (dark night).
खातीता (beyond the sky).
गायत्री (a *mantra* of that name).
घण्टाधारिणी (possessed of a bell).
ङार्णात्मिका (identical with ṅ sound).
चण्डा (goddess of that name).
छाया (shade).
जया (victory).
झङ्कारिणी (making or abiding in *jham*).
ज्ञानरूपा (having the form of knowledge).
टङ्कहस्ता (having a sickle in her hand).
ठङ्कारिणी (making or abiding in *ṭham*).

III.

डामरी (roaring).	दाक्षायणी (daughter of Daksha).
ढंङ्कारिणी (making or abiding in *ḍham*).	धात्री (protector).
णामिनी (?).	नन्दा (pleasant).
तामसी (dark as night).	पार्वती (daughter of a mountain).
थामिनी (?).	फट्कारिणी (making a noise like *phaṭ*).

IV.

बन्धिनी (binding).	यशस्विनी (famous).
भद्रकाली (auspicious goddess of that name).	रक्ता (red).
महाकाया (possessed of a large body).	लम्बोष्ठी (with projected lip).

V.

वरदा (bestowing gifts).	षण्डा (?).
शशिनी (having the moon).	सरस्वती (goddess of that name).

VI.

हंसवती (having a goose ?).	क्षमावती[43] (merciful).

P. 3, *Purvâshoḍhânyâsa.*[44]

There can, therefore, be nothing to prevent us from accepting as true the idea that is embodied in the following verses :—

अकारादिक्षकारान्तवर्णावयवसुन्दरीम्.

* * * *

Chap. 16, *Dakshinâmûrtisaṁhita* (p. 59).

'(I bow to) that **goddess who is brilliant with her bodily members formed of the letters from a to ksha.**'

पञ्चाशन्निजदेहजाक्षरभवैर्नानाविधैर्धातुभिः
बह्वर्थैः पदवाक्यमानजनकैरर्थाविनाभावितैः
साभिप्रायवदर्थकर्मफलदैः ख्यातैरनन्तैरिदं
विश्वं व्याप्य चिदात्मनाहमहमित्युज्जृम्भसे मातृके ।[45]

Mahinmastotra by Krodhabhaṭṭaraka.

'Having as knowledge pervaded the whole of the Universe with verbal roots which are of various form and meaning, which are **the product of the fifty alphabetic letters born of thy body,** which give birth to words, phrases, and sentences inseparably combined with their senses and which are immensely famous for having given rise to philosophic discussions and texts, dealing with rituals and ceremonial merits, dost thou, **O Picture of the Mother of the World** (alphabet), exhibit thyself as "I and I alone." '

Can we not, then, say *Amen* to the following prayer of the Jainas who, as apostates from Brahmanism, hated almost every thing that was Brahmanic, but still, in appreciation of the benefits conferred on them, as on others, by the invention of the Brâhmî alphabet by Brâhmans, readily bowed to that *Lipi* ? —

णमो बम्भीए लिव्पीए.[46]

'**Salutation to the alphabet which originated from (the hieroglyphics, representative of) Brahmâ.**'

[43] Compare p. 74, *Varivasyârahasya* and *Nyâsa* in *Yoginîdîpika.*

[44] All these words are collected in six groups.

[45] Compare st. 81, ch. I., *Mantramah,* and Part III., *Tripuratâpinî Upanishad.*

[46] Introductory passage, *Bhagavati Sûtra.*

Appendix.

Plate X.

Wrong as are, in the view now put forward, the conclusions arrived at by Professor Bühler regarding the origin of the Devanâgarî Alphabet, still it cannot be denied that there exists a resemblance between the two alphabets, the Semitic and the Indian. More striking, indeed, is the similarity of forms between the Greek and the Sanskrit alphabets. Regarding this similarity, James Prinsep observes as follows[47] : —

"This striking similarity becomes more palpable, the farther we retire into antiquity, the older the monuments we have to decipher; so that even now while we are quite green in the study, we might almost dare to advance (with the fear of M. Raoule De Rochette before us) that the oldest Greek (that written like the Phœnician from right to left) was nothing more than Sanskrit turned topsy-turvy! A striking proposition this for those who have so long implicitly believed in Cadmus and the introduction from Egypt of what, perchance, never existed there. Yet, there is nothing very new nor very unnatural in the hypothesis; since the connection of the Greek with the Phœnician and Samaritan alphabets has been admitted as a strong evidence that the 'use of letters travelled progressively from Chaldea to Phœnicia and thence along the coasts of the Mediterranean,' and the Greek language is now so indisputably proved to be but a branch of the Sanskrit stem, that it is not likely that it should have separated from its parent without carrying away some germs of the art of writing, already perhaps brought to perfection by the followers of Brahmâ. But my arguments are not those of books or learning or even tradition, but solely of graphic similitude and ocular evidence.

"The Greek letters are dressed by a line at the foot, in most cases, as A, Δ, Λ, M, Ω, Υ, &c. The Devanagâri are made even along the upper surface of the letters, and in later ages a straight line has been introduced at the top from which the grammatic elements are suspended. The Greek alphabet is devoided of all system and has had additions made to it at various times. Some of these, as Φ, X, Ψ, Ω, are precisely those which present the least resemblance to the Sanskrit forms. I give my evidence on Plate X. (Plate XXIV., Vol. III., *J. A. S. B.*) taking my Greek types from the well-formed letters on coins and from the *boustrophedon* tablet of Sigeum.

"Of the vowels, A, I, O and Υ present a striking conformity with the vowels अ, इ, and the semi-vowels व and य of the oldest Sanskrit alphabets inverted. The vowel E is not reconcilable and resembles more the short E of the Zend. The long H is a later introduction and appears to be merely the iteration of the short vowel I as ω is of OO.

"In the consonants we find B, Γ, Δ, Z, Θ, K, Λ, M, N, Π, P, E, T, in fact, every one of the letters excepting those of after-invention, are represented with considerable exactness by the ब (or double ब्ब), ग, ध, स, थ, क, ल, म, न, प, र, ज, त, of the oldest Sanskrit Alphabet, although there is hardly a shadow of resemblance between any pair in their modern forms. The same precision cannot be expected in every case. The B, Δ, Θ, Λ, M, N, Π, P, Υ, require, like the vowels, to be viewed in an inverted position. The Γ and E remain unturned. The Z and K require to be partially turned. The Λ and N may be thought a little far-fetched. The B taken from the double *b* and the Δ from the aspirated ध may also be objected to; but taking a comprehensive view of the whole, it seems to me impossible that so constant and so close a conformity of the alphabetical symbols of two distant nations should exist without affording demonstration of a common origin. Whether the priority is to be conceded to the Greeks, the Pelasgians or the Hindus, is a question requiring great research and not less impartiality to determine."

Besides this ocular evidence regarding the relation of the Eastern and Western alphabets, there appears to be some philological evidence also appealing to the ear. The nomenclature of the letters of many of the Western alphabets seem to be fossilised mutilations or corruptions of the Sanskrit words that are contained, as names of alphabetical letters, in

[47] Pp. 390-91, Vol. III., *J. A. S. B.*, 1839.

Plate X.

GREEK. INDIAN.

v.b

dh.

? Zend

s

?

×

×?

R. SHAMASASTRI, DEL.

W. GRIGGS, LITH.

the two stanzas of the *Tripuropanishad*. These two stanzas are believed to be the earliest source of not only the two varieties of the *mantras*, sacred to Śakti, but also of the Devanâgarî Alphabet. The eleventh verse of the *Upanishad* contains the names of the fifteen letters composing the *mantra* chanted by Manu, and the thirteenth those of the *mantra* believed to have been recited by Lopâmuḍrâ, a woman of Puranic fame. The verses run as follows: —

कामो योनिः कमला वज्रपाणि:
गुहा ह सा मातरिश्वाभ्रमिन्द्रः ।
पुनर्गुहा स क ला मायया च
पुरूच्येषा[48] विश्वमाता दिविद्योम्ँ ॥

'(i) *ka* (*kâma*), *e* (*yoni*), *î* (*kamala*), *la* (*vajrapâṇi*), and *hrîm* (*guhâ*); (ii) *ha*, *sa*, *ka* (*mâtariśvâ*), *ha* (*abhram*), *la* (*indra*) and *hrîm* (*guhâ*); (iii) and *sa*, *ka*, *la* and *hrîm*. This first and most ancient *mantra* (*vidya*) is the mother of the world.'

षष्ठं सप्तममथ वह्निसारथि
चास्या मूलत्रिकमावेशयन्त:
कथ्यं कविं कल्पकं काममीशं
तुष्टवांसोऽमृतत्वं भजन्ते· ॥

'Replacing the first three (letters) of the above *mantra* by the sixth (*ha*), the seventh (*sa*) and (*ka*) (*vahnisârathi*, air) and extolling (the god) as Praiseworthy, Poet, Love and Lord of the Universe, some other devotees attain to heavenly bliss.'

Almost all Tantric scholars are unanimous in taking the words *mâtariśvâ* and *abhra* in the above passage to mean *ka* and *ha*. But, as has already been seen, *ya* is the letter sacred to air and *va* to water or clouds. Accordingly, there appears to be some confusion in the interpretation of the stanzas, due, perhaps, to the use of the same or synonymous words, such as *guhâ* (used twice) and *vajrapâṇi* and *indra* to imply different letters. It is perhaps due to the use of such similar or synonymous words that of the fifteen or twenty-two letters of the two *mantras*, all of which might probably have been originally distinct, there are now only seven or eight, including the *anusvâra*, nasal sound, distinct letters or syllables. It is not, however, possible to find out the particular letters which are implied by the several words in the verses. Though I am not free from misgivings that the analogy between the words of the above verses and those of the names of the letters of Western alphabets, as fancied by me, may not only clash with rules of philology of which I possess little knowledge, but also be inconsistent with the history of the Western alphabets, still I risk here comparison as a matter of curiosity :—

Sem.	...	......	ayin	gimel	van zayin cheth
San.	...	kâmah	yonih	kamala	vajra *pâṇih* (hastah)
Greek	...	......	......	gamma	vau zeta eta

Sem.	...	he	tau resh	lamed
San.	...	guhâ	hasâmâtariśva-	bhramindrah
Greek	...	......	sigma tau (rho ?)	lambda

Sem.	...	nun	samekh
San.	...	punrguhâ	sakalâ mâyayâ cha
Greek	...	nu	xi

48 पृथक्कोशा ; पुनः कोशा , पृथक्केशा are other readings. See Commentary on stanzas 17 and 32; *Saundaryalaharî*, M. O. L. Ed.

Sem.	...	pe tsode shin	qoph men theth yod
San.	...	purûchyesh á	viśvamâtâdividyom
Greek	...	pi (rho ?) san	quppa mu theta iota

Sem.	...	cheth	mem he	va zayin
San.	...	shastham	saptamamatha	vahnisârathim
Greek	..	zeta	eta mu he	......

Sem.	...	samekh	ayin
San.	...	châsyâ	mûlatrikamâveśayantah
Greek	...	......	......

Sem.	...	......	quph	kaph	gimel
San.	...	kathyam	kavim	kalpakam	kâmamîśam
Greek	...	......	quppa	kappa	gamma

Sem.	...	tsade samekh	......	Pe shin tau
San.	...	tushṭhuvâmso'	mṛiatvam	bhajante
Greek	...	......	......	......

The words *aleph* and *beth* appear to be the corruptions of *lipi* and *bhûta, bhûṭa-lipi* being the name of the Devanâgarî.

Also there seems to be in the following passages of the *Akshamâlopanishad* (an *Upanishad* treating of the letters from *a* to *ksha*) some historic significance regarding the **westward migration of the Devanâgarî** : —

मन्त्रमातृके अक्षमाले नद्यन्तरं यासि. देशान्तरं
यासि. द्वीपान्तरं यासि. लोकान्तरं यासि. सर्वदा
स्फुरसि. सर्वहृदि वासयसि. नमस्ते.

'O picture of the mother, forming the letters of the *mantras* : O series of the letters from *a* to *ksha*, thou crossest the river, migratest to other countries, travelest to other islands, goest to other worlds, always displayest thyself, and causest us (letters) to abide in the hearts of all ; salutation to thee.'

The river referred to in the passage seems to be the Indus, inasmuch as the formation of the alphabet must have taken place in the plains of the Indus or the Ganges.

Transliteration of Sanskrit Passages.

Âkâśamanḍalam dhûmram vartulam parikîrtitam
Shaṭkoṇamanḍalam vâyoh Kṛishṇashaḍbindulâñchhitam
Sasvastikam trikoṇam tu raktam vahnestu manḍalam
Ardhachandramatisvachchham padmadvayavirâjitam
Âpyamanḍalamâkhyâtam chaturaśram maheśvari
Ashṭavajrayutam pîtam dharâmandalamîśvari
Tattadbîjasamâyuktam manḍalam pûjayetkramât
Tattadvarṇena nirmâya dravyeṇa parameśvari

Padâbhyâm jânuparyantam chaturaśram savajrakam
Jânvorânâbhi chandrardhanibham padmadvayasamâyutam
Nâbhitah kanṭhaparyantam kṛishṇam vâyostu manḍalam
Bhrûmadhyâdbrahmarandhrântam vartulam dhvajalâñchhitam

P. 256

Sthirebhirangaih pururûpa ugrah
Babhuśśukrebhih pipiśe hiraṇyaih

P. 257

Nu manvânâh eshâm devân ascha

P. 257

Brahmâṇḍâdikatâhântâm tâm vande siddhamâtṛikâm ||
Yadekâdaśamâdhâram bîjam koṇatrayâtmakam ||

P. 258

Trikoṇarupâ yonistu . . . .
Śaktirekâdaśasthâne sthitvâ sûte jagattrayam |
Viśvayoniriti khyâtâ sâ vishṇordaśarûpakam |

P. 258

Bindudvayântare daṇḍaśśivarûpo maṇiprabhah

P. 258

Aṇḍadvayamadhyavartinî sîrâ

P. 258

Aṇḍadvayasthânîyau dvau bindû sirâsthânîyâ rekhâ. Śivo mushka-dvaya-madhyavartî nâdîmaṇih padmarâga iti sâmpradâyikî vyâkhyâ

P. 259

Śivaśśaktih kâmah kshitiratha raviśśitakiraṇah
Smaro hamsastadanu cha parâmâraharayah
Amî hṛillekhâbhistisribhiravasâneshu ghaṭitâh
Bhajante varṇâste tava janani nâmâvayavatâm

P. 259

Na vihitamanadâtmâ tântradhîdarśikîrtih
Avinataphalasâttâ vikrameṇa krameṇa

P. 260

Sadârchitaskandarudrârkanetuh
Maheśaprîtaguptah
Satatam sevate mûrtimimâm yaśchâtra bhûpatih
Rudreṇendreṇadya dese sa matah praṇayapaṇyadhîram

P. 260

Śrîsâmkhhyâyanakalpasûtravidhibhih karmâṇi ye kurvate
Yeshâm śâkalasûtramantranichayah kauśitakî Brâhmaṇam
Tairârâdhakamadhyamantravitatih yâ paṭhyate bahvrichaih
Ṛigbhishodaśabhirmahopanishadam vyâchakshmahe tâm vayam

P. 261

Dvâ manḍalâ dvâ stanâ bimbamekam
Mukham châdhastriṇi guhâsadanâni
Kâmîkalâm kâmarûpâm viditvâ
Naro jâyate kâmarûpaścha kâmah

P. 261

Bhagaśśaktirbhagavân kâma îśah
Ubhâ dâtârâviha saubhagânâm
Samapradhânau samasatvau samotayoh
Samaśaktirajarâ viśvayonih

P. 261

Vishṇuryonim kalpayatu
Tvashtâ rûpâṇi pimsatu
Âsinchatu prajâpatih
Dhâtâ garbham dadhâtu te

P. 261

Ashtâ chakrâ navadvârâ devânâm pûrayodhyâ
Tasyâm hiraṇyah kosah svargo jyotishâvritah
Tasmin hiraṇyaye kośe tryare tripratishthite
Tasminyadyekâksham âtmanvaitat tadvai Brahmavido viduh
Puraṃ hiraṇyayîm Brahma âviveśâparâjitâṃ

P. 262

Chaturbhiśśivachakraiścha śaktichakraiścha panchabhih ।
Navachakraiścha samsiddham Śrîchakram Śivayorvapuh ।
Trikoṇamashtakoṇam cha daśakoṇadvayam tathâ ।
Chaturdaśâram chaitâni śaktichakrâṇi pancha cha ।
Binduśchâshtadaḷam padmam padmam shodaśapattrakam ।
Chaturaśram cha chatvâri Śivachakrâṇyânukramât ।

P. 263

Trikoṇe baindavasthâne adhovaktram vichintayet ।
Bindoruparibhâge tu vaktraṃ samchintya Sâdhakah ।
Taduparyeva vakshojadvitayam samsmaredbudhah ।
Taduparyeva yoṇim cha kramaśo bhuvaneśvarim ।

P. 263

Padmam chaturdaśadalam bahirvṛittadvyam tathâ ।
Likhitvâ karṇikâmadhye yoṇim mayodarâm likhet ।
Daleshvapi tathâ śakteśchaturdaśasu samlikhet ।
Bhagamâḷâma madhyaśaktyâmâvâhyâbhyarchayedbudhaḥ

P. 264

Mûlâdhârâdishaṭkamûrdhvâdhassahasradalakamale dve lambikâgramiti navâdhârâh

P. 264

Śrotrachakshurnâsânâm dvayam dvayam jihvâ-guhya-pâyava ekaika iti

P. 264

Pratikṛitimâvalekhinîṃ dârbhûsheṇa Bhangajyena
Kantakaśalyayoḷûkapattrayâ sitâlukâṇḍayâ hṛidaye viddhyati

P. 270

Sapta maryâdâ ityuttarato' gnessapta lekhâ likhati prâchyaḥ

P. 271

Vâchâ baddhâya bhûmi-parilekham

P. 271

Ajaisham tvâ samlikhitamajaishamuta samrudham
Avim vṛiko yathâ mathadevâ mathnâmi te kṛitam

P. 271

Likedrochanayaikânte pratimâmavanîtale ।
Svarûpam Châtra Śṛingâraveshâbharaṇabhûshitâm ।
Tatphâlagalahṛinnâbhijanmamanḍalayojitâm ।
Janmanâma mahâvidyâmankuśântavidarbhitâm ।
Sarvângasandhisamlînamâlikhya madanâksharam ।

P. 271

Likhitvâ vipulam chakram tanmadhye pratimâm yadi ‖
Nâmnâ likhati samyuktâm jvalantîm chintayettatah
Śatayojanamâtrasthâ tvadrisyâpi cha yâ bhavet ‖
Bhayalajjâvinirmuktâ sâpyâyâti vimohitâ ‖

P. 272

Kritvâ sindûrarajasâ chakram tatra vibhâvayet

P. 272

Madhye phâlam bindurûpa ivâbhâti vârtulâkârah ‖
Tadupari tatordhachandro' nvarthah kântyâ tathakrityâ ‖
Atha rodhinî tadûrdhvam trikonarûpâ cha Cha. drikâkântih ‖
Nâdastu Padmarâgavadaṇḍadvayamadhyavartinî sâ ‖
Nâdântassavyasthitabinduyuktalâ galavat ‖
Tiryagbindudvitaye vâmodgachchhatsirakritiśśaktih ‖
Bindûdgachchhattryaśrâkârâtha vyâpikâ proktâ ‖
Ûrdhvâdhobindudvitayayutarekhâkritissamanâh ‖
Saivordhvabindubînonmanâstadûrdhvam mahâbinduh ‖

P. 277

Ghosho medhâ kshamâkhyo vishamatha cha tataśchetanâ Chandrakhaṇḍah
Tryaśram drigvrittasiro' ruṇakiraṇahalassendusîrakrameṇa ‖
Vrittârkastriśikham dvibimbakalitâ rekhâ dvikubjonmananâh
Sâkâram manasâ smarelapi kalâh pratyekamarchyâśśive ‖
Ghoshah 'Sivabîjo hakârah. Medhâ akârah, kshamâ lakârah. Visham makârah, tatah chetanâ binduh

Chandrakhaṇḍo' rdhachandrah. Tryaśrm trikoṇam nirodhi. drigvrittasîrah drigvrittâbhyâm yuktassîrah. Anena nâda uchyate. Aruṇakiraṇahalah aruṇakiraṇah âdityah dakshiṇapârsvabinduh tadyukto halah. Anena nâdântasya grahaṇam. Sendusîrah Vâmapârśvabinduyukta-sîrah. Anena Śaktikalâyâh prastâro darśitah. Vrittârkatrisikham dakshiṇabinduyuktatridaṇḍah triśûlam vâ. Atha dvibindukalitâ dvikubjâ rekhâ dakshiṇavâma-bindudvayayuktâ dvivakrâ rekhâ samanah kalâ. binduvilasadrijurekhâkritirunmanâh kalâ.

P. 278

Śivamekam vijânîyânmantramûrtim param Śivam
Nâdam kirîtamityuktam bindurvaktramudâhritam
Hakâram dehamityuktam dvayau tungau bhujau tathâ
Vâmapâdadvayam vidyât mantramûrtirudâhritâ ‖

P. 279

Hrillekhâyâ-svarûpam tu vyomâgnirvâmalochanam ‖
Bindvardhachandrarodhinyo nâdanadântaśaktayah ‖
Vyâpikâsamanônmanya iti dvâdaśasamhatih
Bindvâdînâm navânâm tu samashtirnâda uchyate

P. 279

Śivamantrânmûrtyuddhârakritih nâgaralipibhiruddhârayitum yujyate. Vyatiriktalipibhiruddhârayitum yujyate.

P. 279

Vastutaśśarîre' pi traya evâvayavâh. 'Sîrshâdikanthântam kanthâdistanântam hridayâdisîvanyantam. Keśapâṇipâdam tattachchhâkhâh.

P. 280

Sriṇyeva sitayâ viśvacharshiṇih
Paśena pratibadhnâtyabhîkân
Ishubhih pañchabhirdhanushâ cha
Viddhyatyâdiśaktiraruṇâ viśvajanyâ ‖

P. 280

Dvidhâ srinirbhavati bhartâ cha hantâ cha

P. 280

Ṛijurekhâmayî viśvasthitau prathitavigrahâ ı
Tatsamhṛitidaśâyâm tu baindavam rûpamâśṛitâ
Pratyâvṛittikrameṇaivam Śṛingâtavapurujjvalâ ı

P. 280

Viśvasisṛikshâvaśatassvârdhâm śaktim vyalokayadbrahmâ
Bindurbhavati tamindum praviśati Śaktistu raktabindutayâ
Etadbindudvitayam visargasamjñam hakârachaitanyam ıı

P. 280

Sphuṭitâdaruṇâdbindornâdabrahmâṅkuro vyaktah
Tasmâdgaganasamîraṇadahanodakabhûmivarṇasambhûtih
Etatpanchakavikritih jagadidamaṇḍaprajâṇḍaparyantam.

P. 281

Yatsamudre abhyakrandat
Parjanyo vidyutâ saha ı
Tato hiraṇyayo binduh
Tato darbho ajâyata ıı

P. 281

Sâdhakasya cha lakshyârtham tasya rûpamidam smṛitam.

P. 282

Âkâravâmśchenniyamâdupâsyah
Na vastvanâkâramupaiti buddhih ı

P. 282

Kasmai devâya | kasmai kâya prajâpataye devâya | Prajâpatirvâ kah | tasmai devaya havish Vidhema |

P. 282

Nirañjano' kâmatvenojjṛimbhate | A-ka-cha-ṭa-ta-pa-ya-śân sṛijate | tasmâdîśvarah kâmo' bhidhîyate tatparibhâshayâ | kâmah kakâram Vyâpnoti | kâma evedam tattaditi kakâro gṛihyate

P. 282

Koṇatrayavadudbhavo lekho yasya tat
Nâgaralipyâm Sâmpradâyikairekârasya trikoṇâkâratayaiva lekhanât.

P. 283

Savitâ prâṇinassûte | Prasûte Śaktih | Sûte tripurâ | Śaktirâdyeyam tripurâ Parameśvarî Mahâkuṇḍilî devî | jâtavedasamaṇḍalam yo' dhîte sarvam Vyâpyate | trikoṇaśaktirekareṇa mahâbhâgena prasûte | tasmâdekâra eva gṛihyate | Vareṇyam śreshṭham bhajanîyamaksharam namaskâryam | tasmâdvareṇyamekâksharam gṛihyate |

P. 283

Tatturîyasvarupam tu bindutrayamitîritam |
Tadâtmatvam tu devyâste Sâdhakena cha yadbhavet |
Tadbhâvanâm sruṇu prâjñe mahodaykarîm śubhâm |
Ûrdhvabindvâtmakam Vaktramadhobindudvayâtmakam |
Kuchadvayam cha tachchheshaiśśeshâṅgâni cha bhâvayet.

P. 283

Pâdâdijânuparyantam chaturaśram savajrakam ı
Bhûbîjam cha svarṇavarṇam smaredavanimaṇḍalam ı
Jânvadyânâbhi Chandrârdha nibham padmadvayâṅkitam ı
Vambîjayuktam Śvetâbhamambhasâm maṇḍalam smaret ı
Nâbherhṛidayaparyantam trikoṇam Svastikânvitam ı
Rambîjena yutam raktam smaretpâvakamaṇḍalam ı
Hṛido bhrûmadhyaparyantam Vṛittam shadbindulâñchhitam ı
Yambîjayuktam dhûmrâbham maruto maṇḍalam smaret ı
Âbrahmarandhram bhrûmadhyât Vṛittam svachchhamanoharam ı
hambîjayuktamâkâsamaṇḍalam pravichintayet.

Pp. 285-286

Vasundharâgato gandhastallipirgandhavâchakah |
Vasundharâyah prithivyâ guṇo gandhah.
tallipih prithivîvâchako varṇo lakârah

P. 286

Vâkâram Vâruṇam hyâpaschaturtham medasi sthitam |
Jalasya yâni nâmâni santi tânyaparâṇi cha |
Vakârasyâpi nâmâni

P. 286

Dîpâgrasthitakajjalalekhâvat

P. 287

Vâyubîjam smaranvâyum sampûryemam viśoshayet |
Svaśarîrayutam mantrî vahnibîjena nirdahet |
Bahirbhasma samutsârya vâyubîjena rechayet

P. 287

Prithivyâdîni bîjâni lavarayahakârakâh

P. 287

Pâśam châpam srakkapâle sriṇîshûn
Śûlam hastairbibhratîm raktavarṇâm
Raktodanvatpotaraktâmbujasthâm
Devîm dhyâyetprâṇaśaktim triṇetrâm |

P. 288

Vakshye' dhunâ manostasyoddhâram dhyâtrisukhâvaham |
Pâsam mâyâm sriṇim prochya yâdînsaptendusamyutân |
Târânvitam nabhassaptavarṇam mantram tato japet |

P. 288

Khadgam Chakragadeshuchâpaparighân śûlam bhuśundîm śirah
Śaṅkham sandadhatîm karaistriṇayanâm sarvâṅgabhûshâvritâm |
Yâmastautsvapite harau kamalajo hantum madhum kaitabham
Nîlâśmadyutimâsyapâdadaśanâm seve mahâkâlikâm
Akshasrakparaśugadeshukuliśam padmam dhanuh kuṇḍikâm
daṇḍam śaktimasim cha charma jalajam ghaṇṭâm surâbhâjanam |
Sûlam pâśasudarśane cha dadhatîm hastaih pravâlaprabhâm
Seve sairibhamardinimiha mahâlakshmîm suraujodbhavâm |

P. 289

Akâram cha ikâram cha ukâram cha rikârakam |
Likâram chaiva ekâram tathaivaukârameva cha |
Ete sapta svarâh proktâh prakritistu samîritâh |
Seshâstu vikritih proktâh teshâmudbhavamuchyate |
Akarâchchodbhavâkâram ikâre tvîsamudbhavah |

P. 311

Dvividhâ hi madhyamâ sâ sûkshma sthûlâkritissthirâ sûkshmâ |

P. 312

Navanâdamayî sthûlâ navavargâtmâ tu bhûtalipyâkhyâ |

P. 312.

Devânâm bîjanâmâni varṇastatra prakalpitâh |
Tasmâdvarṇâni choktani jñâtvâ mantram samuddharet
Tattaddevatânamabhidhanâksharameva tattaddevatânâmangam bhavati.

P. 312

Amritâ, Âkarshiṇî, Indrâṇi, Iśânî, Umâ, Ûrdhvakeśinî, Riddhih, Rishâ, Litâ, Lishâ, Ekapâdinî, Aiśvarî, Omkâriṇî, Aushadhâtmika, Ambikâ, Aksharâtmikâ, Kâlarâtrî, Khâtîtâ, Gâyatrî, Ghaṇṭâdhârini, Narṇâtmikâ, chandâ, chhâya, jayâ, Jhankârîṇi, Jñânarûpâ, Ṭankahastâ, Ṭhankârinî, Ḍîmarî, Ḍhankâriṇî, Ṇaminî,

Pp. 314-315

Tâmasî, Thâminî, Dâkshâyaṇî, Dhâtrî, Nandinî, Pârvatî, Phatkâriṇî Bandhinî, Bhadrakâlî, Mahâkâya, Yaśasvinî, Raktâ, Lambôshṭhî, Varadâ, Śaśinî, Śâradâ, Sarasvatî, Hamsavatî, Kshamâvatî, —

P. 315

Akarâdikshakârântavarṇâvayavasundarîm
Panchâśannijadehajâksharabhavairnanâvidhairdhâtubhih
bahvarthaih padavâkyamânajanakairarthâvinâbhâvinaih |
Sâbhiprâyavadarthakarmaphaladaih khyâtairanantairidam
Viśvam vyâpya chidâtmanâhamahamityujjṛmbhase mâtṛike ||

P. 315

Namo bammîye lippîye

P. 315

Mantramâtṛike Akshamâle nadyantaram yâsi, deśântaram yâsi, dvîpântaram yâsi, lôkântaram yâsi, sarvadâ sphurasi, Sarvahṛidi vasayasi, namaste.

P. 318

NOTES AND QUERIES.

TITLES AMONG RULING FAMILIES IN THE PANJAB HILL STATES: ADDENDUM.

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV. p. 272.)

Chand. — The suffix of the Katôch Râjâs of Lambagrâoṅ and Nâdaun, and of the Kahlûria Râjâ of Bilâspur or Kahlûr is Chand[5], which used also to be the suffix of the Jaswâl Râjâs of Amb in the Hoshiârpur District, until the tenth Sikh Gurû changed it to Singh. The tradition is that the Gurû sought an asylum from Mughal persecution at Nainâ Devî in Bilâspur, and the goddess bade him ask a boon. He prayed that the Sikh power might be established, and, on this prayer being heard, he urged all the neighbouring rulers to accept Sikhism, but they all refused, save Râjâ Mân Chand of Jaswân, who stipulated that he should only take the suffix of Singh on condition that he was not to take the *pahul*, or abandon the sacred thread. Mân Chand was the first Râjâ of Jaswân to be styled Singh.[6]

Dêô. — The suffix **Dêô** was retained by the Râjâs of Jammû until Râjâ Raghbir Dêô was deposed by Mahârâja Ranjit Singh, and the tradition is that Gulâb Singh, grandfather of the present ruler of Jammû, slew Sânche Khân, a noted Afghân free-booter. Ranjît Singh had set a price upon his head, but he ventured to attack Jammû itself and there met his death at Gulâb Singh's hands. In recognition of his bravery Ranjit Singh bestowed on him the state of Jammû with the title of Râjâ, and the family has since borne the suffix of Singh. It is noteworthy that in Jammû all the sons of the Mahârâja are styled Râjâs and *their* sons are Miâns.

In the Mankotia family the suffix Dêô alternates with that of Singh, *e. g.*, Râjâ Bilbir Singh is the son of Râjâ Lakh Dêô. This is said to have been the practice for a long period.

The change of suffix at accession is said to be rare, the heir, when a son of the ruler, being generally named with the same suffix as his father. But if the Râjâ dies sonless, or the heir-apparent dies, the next heir will have to assume the ruler's suffix. Sikh rulers *never* change the suffix of Singh.

Bhâû. — The title **Bhâû** is somewhat common. It is used for the heirs-apparent of all the Rânâs in the smaller States round Simla; and also in Mandî by the heir-presumptive, before he is proclaimed *tikâ* or heir-apparent.

Kaṅwar. — This title is in use in lieu of Miâṅ (not for the heir-apparent) in Sirmûr, Nâlâgaṛh and Gaṛhwâl in the United Provinces; also in the Sikh States of Patiâla and Kapûrthalâ in the Pañjâb plains.

Rai. — The heir-apparent in the Katôch family in Kâṅgṛa is termed Rai. Moreover, when the Râjâ Binne Chand, of Nurpur, in the Hoshiârpur District, ignoring the rule of primogeniture,[7] divided his state among his eight sons, they became each a Rai, and, it is said, were the first to use that title. But in religious ceremonies the Rais still use the old title of Râjâ.

H. A. ROSE.

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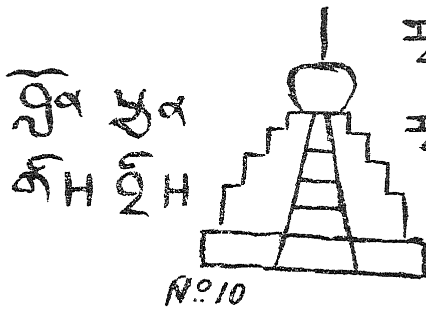
[5] It is also the suffix of the Dadwâl chiefs of Datârpur, an offshoot of the Katôch.

[6] It is as hard for a Râjput as it is for a Khatrî to accept the levelling doctrines of Sikhism, and both these castes contribute few converts to that faith.

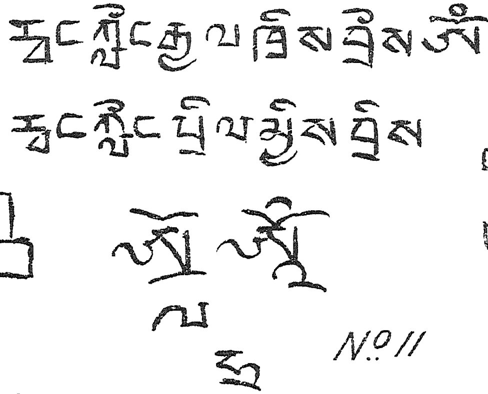
[7] He had promised to grant his wife whatever she wished, and she demanded that all her eight sons should be proclaimed *tikâs*, or heirs, alike. But these families now each retain the rule of primogeniture. — *Hoshiârpur District Gazetteer*, p. 49 (Edn. of 1904).

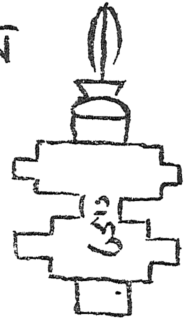
Plate III.

Rock Inscriptions from Alchi-mkhar-gog.

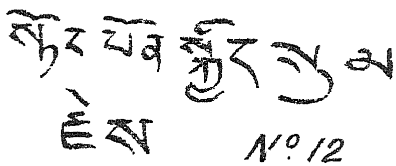


No. 10

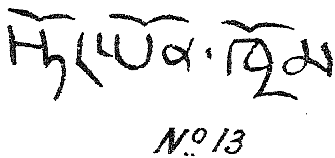




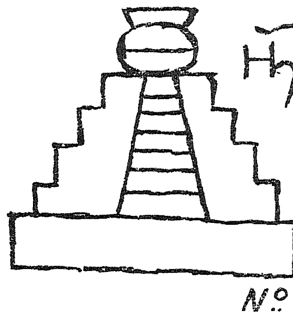
No. 11

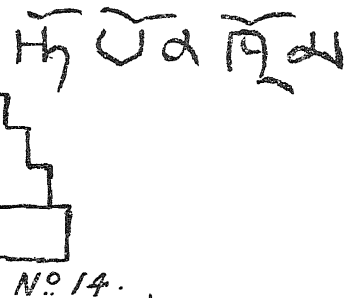


No. 12

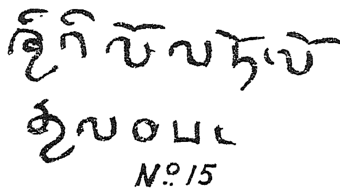


No. 13

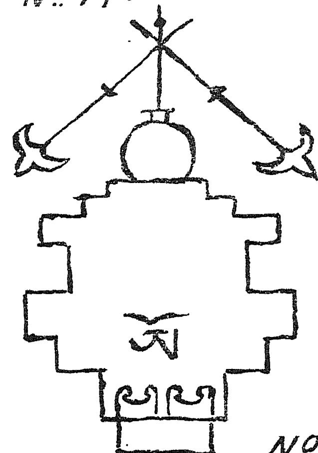




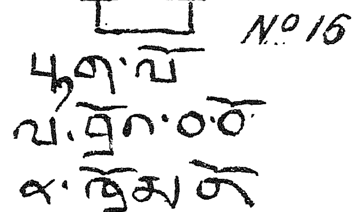
No. 14.

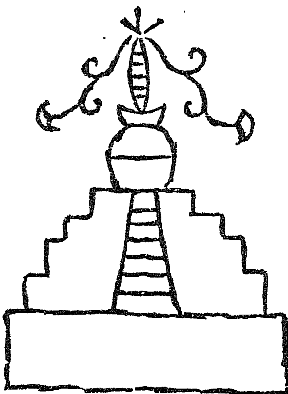


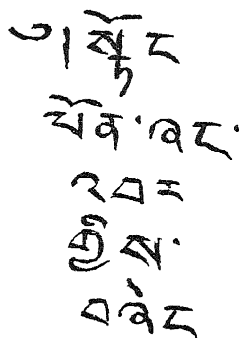
No. 15



No. 16







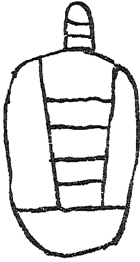
No. 17

A. H. Franke, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho.

Plate II.

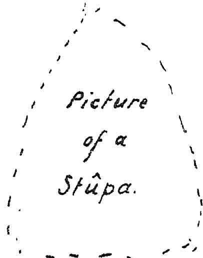
Rock Inscriptions from Alchi-mkhar-gog.



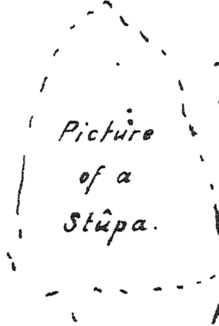
No. 1

Picture of a Stûpa.

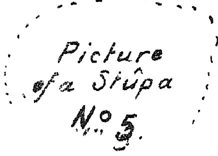
No. 2



No. 3

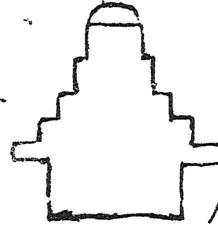


No. 4

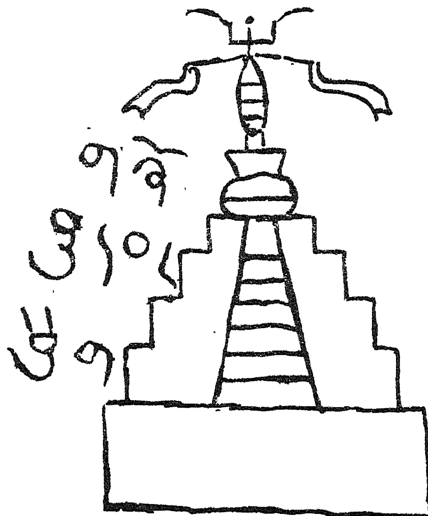


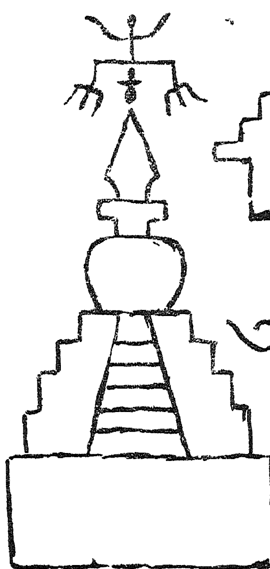
Picture
of a
Stûpa.

No. 6



No. 7.





No. 8

No. 9

A. H. Franke, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL OBJECTS AT SASPOLA.

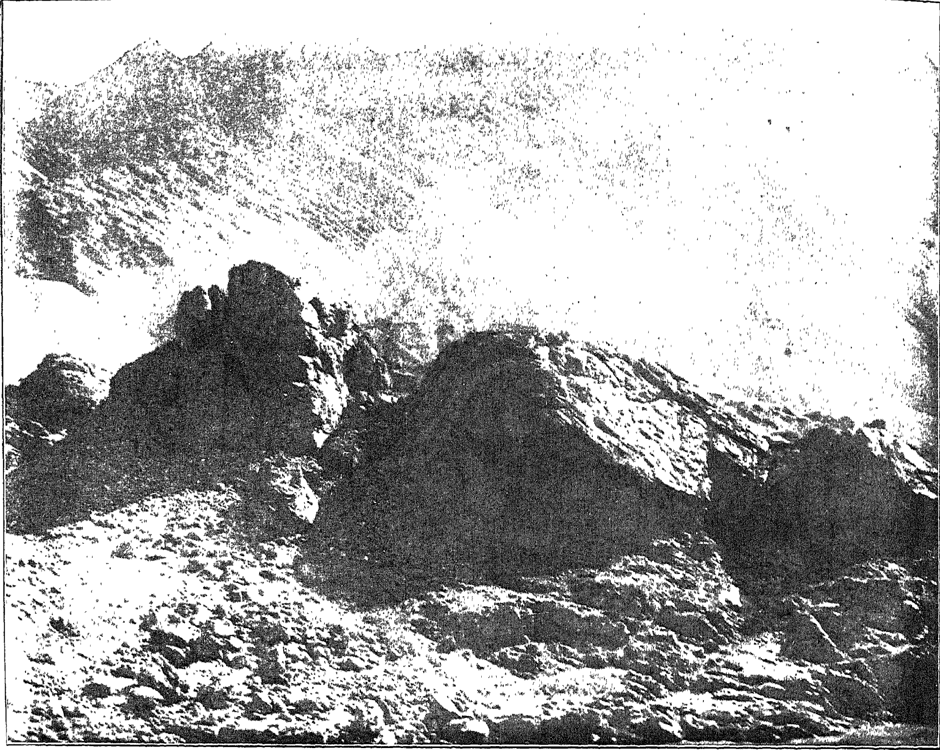


PHOTO. BY REV. H. B. MARX.

Fig. 1. Site of Alchim-khar-gog.

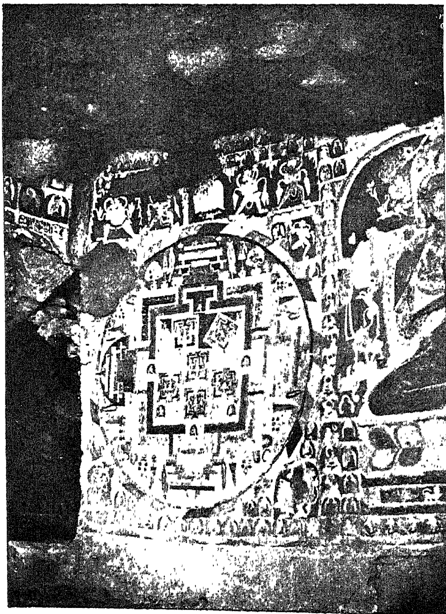




PHOTO. BY DR. T. E SHAWE

Figs. 2, 3. Frescoes in the Nyi-zla-phug Monastery.

W. GRIGGS

ARCHÆOLOGY IN WESTERN TIBET.

KHALATSE.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

(Continued from p. 241.)

II. — INSCRIPTIONS AT SASPOLA.

A. — Alchi-mkhar Gog.

ON approaching Saspola from Khalatse the first object that attracts interest is the **ruined Castle of Alchi-mkhar Gog,** which reminds one of that at Balu-mkhar near the latter place. It was built on one or more low rocks on the left bank of the Indus, evidently to cover an ancient bridge. According to the most acceptable native tradition, the builder was an ancient **king** named **Bandel,** probably of **Dard origin,** of whom, however, no written record has survived: but from the many **stong-pon inscriptions** in the vicinity it would seem to have fallen into the hands of the **Kings of Leh** not long after **1000 A. D.** From these inscriptions also, it is clear that it was not trade but military considerations that caused the castle to be constructed.

Another tradition says that a **king Bahand,** in place of Bandel, was the builder of the castle. One person mentioned king **Nyima-rnam-rgyal** in connection with the castle. This is evidently a mistake for **Nyima-mgon,** the first Tibetan king who conquered the country.

During a short examination of the site (*vide* Plate I.), two shards of ancient pottery decorated with blood-red designs, like those reproduced, *ante*, Vol. XXXIV., p. 203 ff., from Balu-mkhar, were discovered, and also a beautiful stone-mortar. Not much of the masonry is left, but large quantities of loose stones, which formerly formed part of the walls, are to be seen lying about.

The Inscriptions.

The real attraction of the castle for the archæologist lies in the many inscriptions (*vide* Plates II. and III.) on stones and boulders in its vicinity, which contain records of the erection of *stûpas*, or *chaityas*, by its ancient commanders.

No. 1.

Tibetan Text.	Translation.
so blon halpa	**Halpa**, the officer of the spies.

No. 2.

khri sumgyis	By **Khri-sum** [erected].

No. 3.

stong [d]pon rge [= dge]	The commander of a thousand [called] **dGe.**

No. 4.

stong [d]pon rgyalba yesheskyâs	[Erected] by the commander of a thousand, **rGyalba-yeshes.**

No. 5.

khrom	**Khrom** (a name).

No. 6.

stong [d]pon bdung 'ajoms	The commander of a thousand, **bDung-'ajoms.**

No. 7.

stong [d]po[n] | Commander of a thousand.

No. 8.

γzho bru dbang cug | γZho-bru-dbang-cug (a name).

No. 9.

stong [d]pon rgebas bris | Written by the commander of a thousand, **dGeba.**

No. 10.

blon scangis bris | written by **bLon-scan.**

No. 11.

rbang kling rgyal khris bris om | Written by **rGyal-khri** [of] **dBang-gLing;** *om;*

rbang kling pril myis bris o om la hra hum | Written by the orderly (of) dBang-gLing. *o om la hra hum!*

No. 12.

stong [d]pon skyid sumgyis | By the commander of a thousand, **Skyid-γsum.**

No. 13.

stong [d]pon khrom | The commander of a thousand, **Khrom.**

No. 14.

sto[ng] [d]pon khrom | The commander of a thousand, **Khrom.**

No. 15.

Khyii lola[s] to[ng] [d]po[n] rgyalbas | In the dog-year by the commander of a thousand, **rGyalba.**

No. 16.

om staglola brogba bona khromgo | om, in the tiger-year by **the Dard Bona-khromgo.**

No. 17.

stong [d]pon zhang 'abargyis bzheng | Erected by the commander of a thousand, **Zhanga 'bar.**

With these inscriptions may be considered the translations of the two inscriptions from the same site published, *ante*, Vol. XXXII., p. 361 ff. But even then the collection cannot yet be called complete. Every new visit to the site reveals several more inscriptions.

No. 18.

Translation: Erected in the tiger-year by the commander of a thousand, **rGyalba-yeshes.**

No. 19.

Translation: Erected by **Sangto Chakong,** the *mon* (a low-caste man), the thief of sinful behaviour. (The erector of this *stûpa* probably only wrote his name, which does not appear to be a Tibetan name, in the instrumental case; another person, his enemy, may have added the second part of the inscription.)

Notes on the Tibetan Text of the Inscriptions.

No. 1. *so blon* is a compound of *sopa*, spy, and *blonpo*, minister. No such word as *halpa* is to be found in a Tibetan dictionary, but there is a Dard word *halka*, bright, splendid.

No. 2. The name Khri-γsum means 'three thrones.'

No. 3 ff. The title *stong dpon*, commander of a thousand, is invariably spelt in a defective manner in these inscriptions. The Ladâkhîs would have spelt it *stong spon*, if they had invented the title; because now-a-days they still pronounce the word thus, the *s* before the *p* being very distinct. But in some of the inscriptions the spelling is even more defective than is the Ladâkhî form, the *s* before the *t* of *stong* being omitted, and the nasals dropped. I am much inclined to believe that this curiously defective spelling is due to imitation of the Lhasa dialect, which had probably been lately introduced by the then new dynasty of the Kings of Leh, who came from Central Tibet. The name dGe (*rge*) means 'virtue.'

No. 4. The name Gyalba-yeshes means 'the victor, wisdom.'

No. 5. The name Khrom means 'anger.'

No. 6. The name bDung-'ajoms seems to mean 'bow-bender, conqueror.'

No. 8. The first part of the name γZho-bru-dbang-cug is not now intelligible; or is it perhaps *γzhonnu*, youth? The second part means 'rich, power.'

No. 9. The name dGeba means 'virtue.'

No. 10. The name bLon-scan seems to mean 'having wisdom' (*blo can*).

No. 11. The name of the writer γGyal-khri means 'king's throne.' It sounds almost like a royal name. The name of the castle dBang-gLing means 'place of power.' The term *pril myi* is a case of the ancient orthography, and proves that this inscription is particularly old. No such word as *pril* can be found in the dictionaries, and I presume that it is related to the dialectical word *sprelces* which means 'distribute labour,' 'tell a number of labourers what each has to do.' That we find in the inscription an *i* in *pril*, instead of an *e*, may be due to assimilation to the second syllable.

In contrast to the generally Central Tibetan nature of the *stong pon* inscriptions, this inscription shows its distinctive Ladâkhî origin in spelling the word *dbang*, 'power,' as *rbang*. A literate Central Tibetan would have spelt it *dbang*, and an illiterate one *ang*, because the Central Tibetan pronunciation of this word is *ang*. The modern Ladâkhî pronunciation is *wang*. The change of the pronunciation from the archaic *dbang*, through *wang*, to *ang* can be explained thus : — *dbang* can be taken to be *bang* furnished with a *d* prefix, and all such prefixes show an inclination to become either *r* or *s*. In this case the *d* has actually become an *r*, and so the second stage in the pronunciation would be *rbang*, as in the inscription. Then, if a *b* is furnished with an *r* or *s* prefix, the combination tends to become simply *v* or *w*, and thus the third stage in the pronunciation would be *wang*, as it is in modern Ladâkhî. Next *w* and *'a* are occasionally interchangeable, *e.g.*, *wurdo* = *'urdo* ; *woma* = *'oma* ; *wugpa* = *'ugpa* ; and so the fourth stage of pronunciation would be *ang*, as in Central Tibet. Now, while we find the fourth stage of pronunciation in the dialect of Lhassa, and the third stage in the present Ladâkhî dialect, a thousand years ago the Ladâkhî dialect may quite possible have been still at the second stage, and hence the *rbang* of the inscription. The same spelling is found on a boulder near Khalatse Fort, where the words are really *rbang-byed*, not *drang-byed*, as I read them then (see my *Collection of Inscriptions* printed at Leh). The original pronunciation of *db* has been preserved in the classical orthography and perhaps in such forms as **Ptolemy's Dabasae = men of dBus, Central Tibet.**

No. 12. The name Skyid-γsum means 'threefold happiness, the noble one.'

Nos. 13 and 14. The name Khrom means 'anger.'

No. 15. The name rGyalba means 'victor.'

No. 16. The name Bona-khromgo means 'the tall one.' *Bona* is probably the Dard word *bono* ; *khro-mgo* means 'anger-head.'

No. 17. The name Zhanga-bar seems to mean 'uncle fire-blaze' or 'rising fire-blaze.'

Notes on the English Translation.

The **most ancient** of the inscriptions is probably **No. 11.** It may date from the time of independence, before the occupation of the fort by the Kings of Leh. The royal sound of the name **rGyal-khri** may be due to its denoting that of a petty chief ; as the chiefs of Kartse apparently were addressed as "Khri-rgyal."

At the time of the conquest of Western Tibet by the Lhasa dynasty, the castle of Alchi-mkhar Gog passed into the hands of the Kings of Leh, and their commanders had to protect the bridge with a garrison. In those days the time of the garrison seems to have been less occupied with drill than with the erection of *stûpas* and *chaityas* for the spiritual welfare of the soldiers. The names of the commanders are not without interest, for there is a sound of real soldiers' names in them, and they have not as yet been replaced by ordinary Buddhist names. It is also of some importance that among the names we find two which are apparently Dard, and one or two which are Mon.

Palæographical Notes.

Although the inscriptions are not of a great age, as we have to date the *stong pon* examples from about 1000 A. D. to 1400 A. D., they are of much palæographical interest, because the **forms of the characters** (*vide* Plates II. and III. attached) represented in them seem to be survivals of the time of the first shaping of the Tibetan Alphabet. Whilst the 'headed' alphabet of Tibet has remained stationary since c. 700 A. D., the 'unheaded' (*dbumed*) alphabet has undergone great changes since it was employed by the commanders of Alchi-mkhar Gog. **Forms of particular interest** are to be found in the reproductions of the following inscriptions in Plates II. and III.

No. 2. The subjoined *r* under *kh* in the word *khri* has the form of an ordinary *r*, whilst later on it was replaced by a stroke. The subjoined *y* in the syllable *kyis* is interesting on account of its vertical position. In course of time it became horizontal.

No. 5. The subjoined *r* underneath the *kh* in the word *khrom* is attached to the stroke on the left instead of the right half of the letter.

No. 7. The letter *ng* is furnished with a head, but retains the form of the Dbu-med *ng*.

No. 9. Here we find a new form of the *s*, which prepares us for the change from the ancient H-like form, (as we find it, for instance, in No. 2 and No. 6), to the well-known form of the headed *s*, represented in No. 4. The *e* vowel-sign attached to the prefixed *r* of the word *rge* is also worth noting. In all ancient inscriptions I have observed that this vowel-sign is connected directly with the consonant, over which it is placed. Also the full, but perverted, form of the subjoined *r* in the word *bris* is interesting.

No. 10. Here we find the subjoined *r* in its original form. The same can be observed in Nos. 13 and 14.

No. 16. Here the form of the *a* in the syllable *om* seems to be of great age. As I remarked in my article 'On the Similarity of the Tibetan to the Kashgar Brâhmi Alphabet' (*M. A. S. B.*, 1905), the Tibetan *'a* seems to have been developed out of the Tibetan *ya*. The form found in this inscription speaks in favour of that theory. The word *brogba* (Dard) I read at first *broaba*, because the *g* in this word looks exactly like a Tibetan *'a*. I believe, however, that this letter stands for a *g*, which was either not quite completed, or the shape of which was still kept similar to that of the ancient Brâhmi *g*.

B. — The Bridge over Indus at Alchi-mkhar Gog.

About one hundred yards from **Alchi-mkhar Gog** there is a wooden bridge across the Indus, and above it, close to the main road, there is **an inscription** which speaks of the construction of a bridge under king **Sengge-rnam-rgyal, c. 1610—1640 A. D.** This inscription has suffered much, and seems to have been beaten with stones in many places, in order to destroy some of the names. The text now given was copied by the Mission evangelist, Thar-'aphyin-chos-'aphel, and it is accurate in the main, though I feel doubtful about certain words. As I am not likely to have an early opportunity of going to the spot, I now give the inscription in the evangelist's reading.

Text.

Om maṇi padme hum.

Chos rgyal yam mthsan che sengge rnam rgyal stod; emaho; kon mchog rnam rgyal dang thsering phel serpo ldor kris thsering rnamskyis che chung thsangpo skulbas cumpai rgya rdzamla sbyin bdag 'abyungbala nubranas ghara kriskyi ra skye cig ri rdzonggi kacungpai drungnas raskyes cig rgyal ldep[a]i lugu cig gyigu dratsu cig khashalokropa che ngan zus cig bab rtanbai drungnas rdungma cu bzhi dge slong loto dbangpos nas khal phed dang sum . . . dgang byornas nas khal nyis poto 3 sgerapa kungyis khal cig rmebabas zhi stagcigbai mgon khyigu kun dgā bkrashispai chos don bgrub rnamskyi singspo re . . . . ri rnamskyis singsso re dgā lo kros khyil ldor sa phelle dgā thsering cho dgezhing kris.

Translation.

Om maṇi padme hum.

Praise to the wonderfully great religious **King Sengge-rnam-rgyal. Kon-mchog-rnam-rgyal** and **Thsering-phel** [and] **bKrashis-Thsering** of **Serpo-ldor,** these all, having admonished great and small, all of them, there originated alms-giving for the construction of this broad-connecting bridge. In this [alms-giving were presented] from Nubra by smith bKrashis a gelded he-goat; by Kacungpa of Ri-rdzong a gelded he-goat; by rGyal-lde a sheep [and a bag and a box?]; by Khashalokropa some parched grain; by Bab-rtanba fourteen beams; by the hermit Loto-dbangpo 2½ bushels of barley; by dGang-byor two bushels of barley and three cups full; by the people of rGera one bushel; by rMebaba (?) four; by all the mGon-khyigu of sTag[ma]cig and the Chos-don-bgrub of dGa-bkrashis a pot of beer each; by all the . . . . . . ri a pot of beer each; dGa-lokros of Khyil-ldor [and] Sa-phelle [and] dGa-thsering [made? the bridge?]; it being a virtue, happiness [to all]!

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

The text seems to have been prepared by very illiterate people indeed, and I shall not attempt to correct all the words which are spelt wrongly, only selecting the worst instances in order to justify my translation.

Serpo-ldor, seems to be a local name.

kris or *bkris*, are common abbreviations of *bKrashis*.

cumpa, or *bcumpa*, means originally 'contract'; it is used here for 'connect,' because by the bridge the two banks of the river seem to be brought together, contracted.

rgya-rdzam, 'long bridge,' in opposition to the former *lcug-rdzam*, bridge of ropes of twisted willow branches, which is naturally very narrow. About this time the first wooden bridges were probably constructed, for in the year 1685 the Indus was crossed at Khalatse on two wooden bridges.

dra-tsu, is said to be a little box.

che-ngan, is apparently *phye-ngan*, 'bad flour,' the ordinary term for rough parched grain.

zus-shig, perhaps the same as *zas-shig*, a little.

poto, said to mean cup ; there were three cups-full of over two bushels.

stag-cig (or *rtag-cig*) is the official name of the village of Tagmacig.

khyil-ldor, seems to be a local name.

sing-spo, a jar full of beer ; compare *dbug-sing* in the dictionaries.

cho, perhaps *bcos*, 'made.'

Notes on the English Translation.

We know that during the times of the régime of the Ladâkhî kings, there was, properly speaking, no money in the country. The king's treasure consisted of ingots of silver. For this reason taxes were levied in kind, and were partly paid in forced labour. As there was, however, apparently no custom of forced labour for the construction of bridges and as the king did not wish to rouse discontent by making an extraordinary demand on the people, he declared the construction of a bridge an opportunity for accumulating religious merit either by giving labour for the work or by providing food and delicacies to the workmen. In addition he seems to have promised that the names of all who contributed in such a way towards the construction of the bridge would be carved on the rock. The system apparently worked well, for another inscription at **Hunupata** tells us a similar tale with regard to the construction of a bridge under **Thse-dbang-rnam-rgyal I.**, c. 1560—1580.

C. — The Alchi Monastery.

Opposite Saspola across the Indus is situated the village of **Alchi**, famous for its **ancient monastery,** mentioned in the first Tibetan historical records which refer to Ladâkh. These records are found, I am told, in the *Padma-bkâ-btang*, a Tibetan historical work ; and although I have not yet been able to procure it, a trustworthy student of it tells me that the following passage referring to Ladâkh occurs in it : —"At the time when Buddhism declined in Kashmîr, a number of monks resolved to emigrate to Western Tibet. They went to **Zangskar** and founded **the Kanika monastery near Sanid.** When they had finished the wall-paintings, some paint remained, and they resolved to make use of it by founding another **monastery** ; this was **Sumda in Phyiling.** After that they founded **Alchi and the Manggyu monastery.**" All these monasteries can easily be distinguished from the rest of those in Western Tibet. The lintels and architraves of the doors are very thick and richly ornamented with mythological wood carvings, and there used to be wooden galleries in front of the chief entrance. On the walls of the large hall there are often oval medallions raised above the surface of the walls, and on these are painted figures of Buddhist saints. Originally the halls were without images of any kind.

Two more ruined **monasteries,** which show the same peculiarities, were discovered **at Basgo and Chigtan** by Dr. K. Marx, late Medical Missionary of Leh. Dr. F. E. Shawe, of Leh, believes that the ruined monastery above the village of **Gonpa,** near Leh, also belongs to the same class of monasteries. I have visited the **Chigtan Monastery,** where I found, besides the medallions, a number of Lamaist wall-paintings and the remains of a large clay image, probably added when it became Lamaist. A much-effaced **Sanskrit inscription in Śâradâ characters** seems to prove the Kashmîrî origin of this monastery. This inscription may also be used as a clue for fixing the approximate date of the well-known **stone images at Dras,** as Cunningham, who read the inscription carved on one of them in Kashmîrî Śâradâ characters, found in it the word **Maitreyan** among others. But he took the principal figure for that of a female and could not reconcile the inscription with the representation. The figure is, however, not that of a woman, but of an ordinary Maitreya in the eyes of the Ladâkhîs, and so is probably one of the "documents" of the **emigration** of **Kashmîrî Buddhist monks into Ladâkh,** which may have taken place between **600—1000 A. D.**, as the Tibetan name of the most famous of the leaders was **Rinchen-bzangpo,** whose date Schlagintweit gives as **c. 954 A. D.** Compare Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's Note in his *Archæological Progress Report*, 1905-06.

In January, 1906, I was able to pay two hurried visits to **Alchi.** On my first visit I was taken to the principal monastery called **Nampar-nangdzad**, the three stories of the building reminding me of the description of the Tho-gling monastery in the *rGyalrabs*, which is one of Rinchen-bzangpo's creations and is said to have three stories. At Alchi the second story is narrower than the first, and the third narrower than the second. Thus the appearance of the whole building is that of a pyramid with steps. Arriving in front of the building, the conviction took hold of me that I was in **ancient Kashmîr,** and that the Buddhist monasteries there must have looked exactly like this one. At any rate, I have never seen wooden galleries in Ladâkh like those at Alchi. All the woodwork, especially the many columns, were covered with mythological carvings and all the columns, formerly the architraves of the doors, had on the inner sides of their richly-decorated capitals figures of jumping animals, apparently lions stretched forth towards each other. But what reminded me of Kashmîr, most of all, were three trefoiled arches under high-pointed gables, exactly like those of the ancient stone temples of that country. On closer inspection it became evident that only the one in the middle was of perfect shape, and that the two on the right and left were rude imitations of it. The middle one contains a wooden statue of Buddha, the one to the right (of the spectator) the green Târâ, and the one to the left, Vajrasattva (rDorje-semsdpā). I suppose that these two statues were inserted later on in place of two more ancient ones. All the woodwork was painted red, except the arch of the green Târâ, which was blue. I was full of hope to find here some relics of ancient Kashmîrî painting, but I found only pictures which looked as if they had been executed recently. Other certainly modern additions are three high clay-and-wood images of Maitreya.[4]

Besides the large temple, there are two smaller ones in the near neighbourhood. Although they have no galleries, the carving on the wooden doors has an ancient, non-Lamaist look. Inside they showed the traces of recent renovations. One of them contained only a small *mchod rten*, but in the other was an image of sPyan-ras-γzigs (Avalokitêsvara), and an **inscription in modern Tibetan dBu-med characters,** which may be of some historical value, though, in my disappointment, I forgot to read it.

Not very far from the monastery there is a large tree which looks to me like a silver poplar (it had no leaves when I saw it), which popular tradition asserts to have grown out of Rinchen-bzangpo's stick.

I made a second visit to Saspola several days after the first, because I had been told that there were several more temples at Alchi, which I had not been shewn on the previous visit: so I once more crossed the Indus on ice, and my guide took me to some more ecclesiastical buildings called *gonpa* a little further to the west than the principal monastery. Two of the structures attracted my special attention. The first was a **mchod-rten** of pyramidal shape, the ground plan of which had somewhat the form of a star, and it was quite a new thing to me to find that it **contained several rooms,** two of which were still in fair preservation.[5] The walls of these rooms were once covered with frescoes of an apparently pre-Lamaist type, but only a few of the pictures had been preserved. The frieze was particularly well painted. It consisted of a long procession of geese, marching one after the other. Below the frieze, the roof of a large tent or tents could be seen, and occasional figures of Buddhist saints, naked or with grey garments.

Not very far distant was a temple with its door opening towards east as usual. Its walls were covered with frescoes, many of which had suffered badly, and my guide told me that the children of the village were in the habit of throwing stones at them. I was particularly interested in the paintings on the east wall. Above the door there was a very fine picture of Ganêśa, and to the right of it were what appeared to be historical paintings, probably representations of the ancient kings of Alchi, all

[4] If No. V. of the Ladâkhî Songs published *ante*, Vol. XXXI., p. 93, refers to this monastery, it would certainly refer to one of these renovations.

[5] I may note here that Dr. F. E. Shawe has discovered meanwhile a very similar *mchodrten* at Nyoma.

on horseback. As their hats and dress were unusual, I copied specimens of them. To the left were representations of Buddhist saints; and, what is of particular value, all were furnished with **inscriptions**, which by their orthography must date from 900—1200 A. D. They are thus of the greatest historical value. I copied the following: —

Inscription.

Text: — ca 'adra 'abhomyi byai blama de phyag thsalo.

Translation: — Greeting to the lama called **Ca-'adra-'abkomyi**.

This name seems to be a Tibetan transcription of the Sanskrit **Chandra-bhûmi**, as *ca-'adra* can be pronounced *chandra* in Tibetan. *Myi* for *mi* is a sign of the ancient orthography. Two other names which I read were **Shakya** and **Tsapari**.

On the other walls I noticed several pictures arranged in circles, but no raised medallions. The figures of the lamas were either naked or dressed in grey or red, but none in yellow. I gather that Rinchen-bzangpo found on his arrival a Tibetan form of Buddhism, on which he grafted some peculiarities of the Buddhism of Kashmîr, and from the study of this temple I draw the conclusion that in the renovated temples many of the pictures go back to ancient designs.

It is high time that these relics of Kashmîrî Buddhism should be brought to the knowledge of competent scholars.

D. — The Nyi-zla-phug Monastery.

A genuine **cave monastery** on the hillside to the north-west of Saspola is another interesting ruin. The caves, which are in fairly good order, are only approachable with considerable difficulty, but they are worth visiting on account of the wall-paintings (*vide* Plate I.). The style of the pictures is ancient lamaist, and the interest in them arises from the fact that the monastery has been traditionally deserted for about 300 years, as it is said to have been destroyed by the Baltis. Among the walls of the *maṇi* at the foot of the hill, there is an **ancient Buddhist sculpture on stone** in good preservation, which I believe belongs to the times of the pre-Lamaist Buddhism of Western Tibet.

There is a story that the lama who painted the frescoes at **Nyi-zla-phug** had a *liaison* with a woman at Alchi, the wife of a peasant. He used to visit the village almost daily, and the people soon found out the cause of the attraction. The couple were surprised, and the lama received a thorough thrashing. His feeling of shame and humiliation was so keen that he put an end to his life with his own hands in the middle of his art gallery.

E. — Hymn in honor of King Nyima-rnam-rgyal, c. 1700—1730, inscribed on a stone.

This hymn is found on one of the walls of an ancient *maṇi* at Saspola. There are many such in the village, and most of them have votive inscriptions of some historical value, as they contain names of Ladâkhî kings, and can be approximately dated. It is much rarer to find an inscription containing a hymn in praise of a king. The following is a specimen: —

Tibetan Text.

sBasti dKyil 'akhor rnams rimchags dbussu ri dbang hlunpo ni: dpag thsad 'abum phrag bzhii thsaddu brjid; phyi nang gling mchod ribo kunnas bskor; shar lho nub byang gling bzhi gling phran brgyad; rim bzhin zla gam zur ɣsum gru zhi dang; zlum chags rgya khyon thsad kyang go rim bzhin; dpag thsad stong phrag bdun brgya bcu dang dgu; rgyalpoi phobrang sumcu rtsag sum 'adrā; rgyalsa ting sgang rab brtan lha rtse dang thola ɣtsanpa sle chen dpal mkhar rtse; de 'adrai rinchen sergyi khri stengnas; chos rgyal chenpo nyima rnam rgyal stod; emaho; lha sras ɣzhonnuyi 'ong mdzespai rgyan; dpag bsam ljonpa bde skyong rnam rgyalgyi yab yum gongmai srolka 'adzinpar shog.

Translation.

Happiness to you! The spheres [are these] : In the middle of all that grew into order is the mountain Ri-dbang-lhunpo (Sumeru), the measure of whose glory is 400,000 geographical miles. The outlying and close-lying principal continents are surrounded by all the mountains ; the four continents are in the east, south, west [and] north ; and there are the eight islands. According to their order [the continents are] : New moon, Three points, Four corners, Full moon. If their size is measured according to their order, it is 719,000 geographical miles. They are like the thirty-three palaces of the king. The principal palaces are : The capital Ting-sgang, Rab-brtan-lha-rtse (at Basgo), and the dPal-mkhar-rtse [palace] which is firm in the height, at the great [town of] Leh. On such a precious golden throne, the religious king Nyima-rnam-rgyal be praised ! It is like a beautiful ornament that the son of the gods, the youth (the heir-apparent) came here ! It is our evergreen wish that bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal may imitate (*lit.*, seize) the customs of his high father and mother.

Notes.

dkyil 'akhor, which I translated by 'spheres,' seems to be used hereabouts in the sense of 'geography.'

zla gam, *lit.* new moon ; name of the continent in the east, which is supposed to be of the shape of the new moon, and its inhabitants to have faces of the same shape.

zur ɣsum, three points, triangular ; name of the continent in the south (India), the inhabitants of which have triangular faces, as men actually have.

gru bzhi, four corners ; name of the continent in the west, which is believed to be of such shape and the inhabitants to have square faces.

zlum chags, 'circle produced' ; name of the continent in the north, which is supposed to be of circular shape and the inhabitants of which are said to have round faces.

With regard to the distances it looks as if some necessary items in the account had been forgotten, for it does not become plain to what the distances refer. The three castles given here, the most famous of the thirty-three, attributed to the king, occur in many more inscriptions. Only one of them (the castle of Leh) is still in existence, the other two were destroyed by the Dogrâs. The hymn was probably composed on some occasion when the heir-apparent paid a visit to Saspola.

(*To be continued.*)

TWO PANJABI LOVE SONGS IN THE DIALECT OF THE LAHNDA OR WESTERN PANJAB, BY JINDAN.

CONTRIBUTED BY H. A. ROSE.

(*With some Notes by Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E.*)

No. I.

Kâfî.

Text.	Translation.
Kîtum dilbar nâ wal-kârî.[1]	My love made love to me no more.
Rahî jindṛî dukhâṅ mârî.	My life passed away in pain and sorrow.
Gêam râwal wisârî hai.	My lover[2] has forgotten[3] me.
Akhèṅ tôṅ khûṅ jârî hai.	Blood is streaming from my eyes.

[1] *Wal-kârî*, probably one word, a compound noun, = 'doing again,' 'repetition.' *Cf. but-kârî*, 'doing kindness,' *i. e.*, kindness. [G. A. G.]

[2] *Râwal* ; *lit.*, prince, chief, soldier : Platts, *Hind. Dict.* The sense of 'lover' is not given in the dictionaries.

[3] *Wisârî-gêam*, from *wisârnâ*, to forget, = *bhûlgayâ*.

Umar sikkdôṅ guzârî hai.
Milêum sânval na hik wârî.
Kânge de gaḷ kângâṅ pâwâṅ.
Puchhêṅ dilbar dâ wanj nâwâṅ.
Kadê ral sêj gaḷ lâwâṅ.
Thîwâṅ ṣadqah maiṅ lakh wârî.
Ṣabar karke rahêum ṣâbir.
Kitâ dardân bahûṅ lâghir.
Wahâî hai qalam qâdir.
Likhî tôrôṅ awâzârî.
Bâṇṛê ṭhâṇṛêṅ nahîṅ ṭhânde.
Zêwar bêwar khâwan âṇde.
Jindan! jindṛî koṅ nahîṅ bhâṅde.
Rôṇḍeṅ guzrî umar sârî.

My life has passed in patient longing.[4]
My lover[5] has not once visited me.
I will hang letters[6] on the crows' necks.
Let them go and ask my lover's name.
Some day we shall meet and embrace on a couch.[7]
I shall sacrifice myself to him a thousand times.
I remained patient, exercising long-suffering.
My pain made me very weak.
Providence so decreed[8] my fate.
(It) decreed from the beginning[9] our separation.[10]
Fine clothes[11] do not suit[12] me.
Gewgaws and garments[13] devour me.[14]
Jindan! These suit[15] not my life.
In lamentation all my life is passing.

No. II.

Kâfî.

Text.

Wâh! mahbûb, sôhnâ kiûṅ wisâr dittû?
Ḍaske tâṇg sâṅkôṅ intiẓâr ḍittû.
Jâtâ[17] yâr asâṅ, tuṅ na yâr hoiûṅ.
Gulshâu jâtâ asâṅ, tûṅ bhî khâr hoiûṅ.
Sàthî samjhiâ asâṅ, tûṅ bêzâr hoiûṅ.
Thî bêzâr, mâhî, ulṭá bâr ḍittu.
Rahî tâṅg sadâ intiẓâr têdî.
Ṭhagî nâl wapâr hai nit kâr têdî.
Rahsî yâd hamêsha ih, yâr, têdî.

Translation.

Fie! fair lover, why hast thou forgotten?
While telling me to wait,[16] thou did'st delay.
I fancied thee my friend, but not so did'st thou me.
I fancied thee a rose, yet thou proved'st a thorn.
I looked upon thee as a comrade, but thou wert vexed.
Thou wert vexed, my friend,[18] and did'st turn and place a load upon me.
I remained ever in expectation of thee.
To traffic with deceit is ever thy vocation.
This, my friend, will ever remain my remembrance of thee.

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[4] *Sikdêṅ*. The locative of the pres. part. of *sikkaṅ* (Lahnda), to long for, desire. [G. A. G.] *Cf.* Jukes, *Dictionary of Western Panjâbî*, p. 193.

[5] *Sânval*, dark, sallow, swarthy, an epithet of Kṛishṇa: hence said to = 'lover.'

[6] *Kâng*, P., a pen.

[7] *Sej*, Sanskr. *śayyâ*.

[8] *Wahâî*, *wahâuṇâ*, P., cause to move: 'so guided the pen.'

[9] *Tôr*, for *ṭaṛ*, P., end or beginning.

[10] *Awâzârî*, from *awâzâr*, discontented [Lahnda].

[11] *Bâṇṛê*, *ṭhâṇṛê(w)* = *bâṇṭhâṇ* (*bâṇ* = clothes, *cf.* P. *bāṇā*), fine clothes.

[12] *Ṭhânde*, pres. part., masc. plur. of *ṭhâṇnâ*, to fix (in the mind), to set one's heart on. Here probably used in a neuter sense and = *ṭhannâ*, to please, to have one's heart set on. [G. A. G.]

[13] *Bewar*, P., *lit.* a woman's bodice. Probably only a rhyming repetition of *zêwar*, just as *ṭhâṇ* is of *bâṇ* in the preceding line. [G. A. G.]

[14] *Khâwan âṇde*, 'eat me up,' *i. e.*, are uncomfortable. The idea that clothes and ornaments distress the separated beloved one is a commonplace of Indian poetry. [G. A. G.]

[15] *Bhâṅdê*, fr. *bhâwaṇ* (*ṇṛ*), to please (pres. part., masc. pl.). 'Nothing pleases my life.' [G. A. G.]

[16] *Tâṅg*: desire, expectation: Jukes, *Dictionary of Western Panjâbî*, p. 8. Also spelt *tângh*.

[17] *Jâtâ*, perf., *cf.* *jâṇṛaṇṛ*, to think, conceive: Jukes, p. 117. (The *j* is the hard *dj*.)

[18] *Mâhî*, P., a herdsman of buffaloes: Jukes, p. 280, a friend, in Multânî.

Ṣad bâr, hazâr, ih khâr ḍittû.	A hundred, nay a thousand times, hast thou deceived me.
Asâṅ niṅh lâyâ sukh pâwan kîte :	I made thee my friend to secure repose :
Ayâ shiṅh ulṭâ sâḍe khâwan kîte.	But instead a lion came to devour me.
Bhulià hâr saṅgâr gal de pâwan kîte :	I forgot to put on a garland and adornments :[19]
Ghamman jôṛ firâqâṅ dâ hâr ḍittu.	Thou did'st weave me a wreath of separation.
Thì shâhbâz, mâhî, kar shikâr gêûṅ.	Like a falcon, my friend, thou did'st hunt me down.
Karke jôr-o-jabar jânôṅ mâr-gêûṅ.	By thy cruelty, thou did'st destroy my life.
Karke nîm bismil rôk kaṭâr gêûṅ.	After half-killing me thou did'st stay thy dagger.
Abrû têgh dî dhâr na wâr ḍittu.	With thy eye-brow, like a sword's edge, thou did'st inflict a blow.
Châ qatlâm kîto, nâ sar-anjâm.	Thou did'st all but massacre me, yet not utterly.
Châ bad-nâm kito, na kalâm kîto.	Thou did'st give me a bad name, yet said not a word.
Subaḥ tâṅg tanghêndiâṅ dî shâm kîto.	From morn I waited until it became evening.[20]
Kên dî shâm wanjâṅ? Na iqrâr kîto.	To whom shall I go for shelter?[21] Thou hast made me no promise.
'Ashiq yâr sâḍâ, beqarâr sadâ.	My lover and beloved, thou wert ever restless.
Rahe khâr sadâ ; intiẓâr sadâ.	There remained[22] always the thorn of disappointment : always expectation of thee.
Bharke ḥamd, karêndi pukâr sadâ.	Sighing,[23] I continued always, to sound thy praises.
Jindan sikdî rahî, na dîdâr ḍittu.	Jindan remained awaiting, yet thou did'st not show thy face.[24]

BACON'S ALLUSION TO THE OXYDRAKAI.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (Retd.).

The Oxydrakai of Arrian, mentioned by other authors, Greek and Latin, under variant names, clearly were the Kshudrakas of the Mahâbhârata. They are described by Strabo as 'a great nation,' and were the allies of the Malloi, whom Alexander harried with ruthless severity; but, by good luck, they themselves escaped the blows of the 'mailed fist' of the Macedonian. They dwelt, as I have shown, 'along the banks of the Hyphasis (Biâs), in the country now known as the Amritsar, Gurdâspur, Kângṛâ, and Hoshiârpur districts.'—(*J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 700).

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19 *Hâr saṅgâr* or *saṅggâr*, P., adornment, finery: *hâr*, *lit.*, a wreath.

20 *Takêndiân*, v. l.: probably *tanghendiân* is correct. *Takendiân* would be from *takaṇ*, to watch: Jukes, p. 88.

21 *Shâm*: refuge, generally found in *âm shâm*, protection: Jukes, p. 19.

22 *Khâr*, Pers., 'a thorn.'

23 *Bharke*, better, 'repeating' (*cf. bharaṇ*, to repeat the *Kalima*: Jukes, p. 38. A v. l. is *paṛhke*. In either case the translation would be :—'Ever repeating thy praises I ever called upon thee.'

24 *Dîdâr*: form, shape.

In his essay entitled 'Of Vicissitudes of Things,' Bacon has made a curious allusion to the Oxydrakai, which cannot be explained from the writings of the historians of Alexander, and is likely to puzzle most readers. Archbishop Whately makes no attempt to expound it in his verbose notes on the Essays. The passage runs as follows: — 'The changes and vicissitudes in wars are many, but chiefly in three things; in the seats or stages of the war, in the weapons and in the manner of the conduct . . . . . As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation; yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes; for certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxydraces in India, and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic, and it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years.'

Bacon took the reference from the work by Philostratus, commonly cited as the 'Life of Apollonius of Tyana' (τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα 'Απολλώνιον), which is regarded by modern critics as a romance, but was treated as sober history by authors of Bacon's time. Apollonius lived in the reigns of Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian, and his biographer is believed to have been born about 182, and to have died about 250 A. D. Truly or falsely, Apollonius was credited with having travelled in India, where he beheld many marvels, and heard queer stories. Among other places, he was supposed to have visited Taxila, where he was hospitably entertained for three days. The reigning king, Phraotes, is represented as amusing his visitor with an account of the adventures of his youth, and relating that he was educated by his father in the Greek fashion till the age of twelve, when he was sent to the Brâhmans, and treated by them as a son.

' "Apollonius then enquired whether the Sophoi of Alexander and these Brahmans were the same people. The king told him they were not; that Alexander's Sophoi were the Oxydracae, a free and warlike race, but rather dabblers in philosophy than philosophers; that the Brahman country lay between the Hyphasis and the Ganges; and that Alexander never invaded it — not through fear, but dissuaded by the appearance of the sacrificial victims." "And though" said Phraotes, "it is true he might have crossed the Hyphasis and occupied the neighbouring lands, yet the stronghold of the Brahmans he never could have taken — no, not though every man in his army had been an Ajax or an Achilles. For these sacred and God-loving men would have driven him back — not with human weapons, but with thunders and lightnings, and tempests, as they had routed the Egyptian Hercules and Bacchus, who thought with united arms to have stormed their fort." '

It will be observed that Bacon's quotation is not quite accurate, having been made apparently from memory without verification; for the statement of Philostratus about the magic resources of the natives refers to the Brâhmans, and not to the Oxydrakai, who are merely stated to have been a free and warlike people, dabblers in philosophy, and described by the Greeks as Sophoi, or wise men. No historical value can be attached even to these statements.

Philostratus proceeds to narrate marvellous details of the supposed visit of his hero to the stronghold of the Sophoi, a hill which rose sheer up from the plain, and was about as high as the Acropolis of Athens, and so forth. The whole story obviously is fiction, and Mr. Priaulx seems to have been right in believing that Philostratus fabricated his pretended journal 'from books written upon India, and tales current about India, which he easily collected at that great mart for Indian commodities, and resort for Indian merchants — Alexandria.'

My quotations are taken from the reprint of the article by Mr. Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx entitled 'The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana,' which was read before the Royal Asiatic Society on the 19th February, 1859. It was subsequently issued with, I think, some additions, in a scarce separate volume, published by Quaritch, which I have not at hand at present.

THE CHUHRAS.

BY THE REV. J. W. YOUNGSON, D.D., CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION; SIALKOT.

(Continued from p. 310.)

Burial Song.

Maut puchhêndi âî, haif jawânî dâ,	Death comes seeking, alas, for youth.
Baithî pâvâ mal.	Seated he grasps the foot of the bed.
Laiṅ na dendî sâh.	He does not let you breathe.
Karn na dindî gal.	He does not let you speak.
Kî hôyâ, kî hôyâ, haif jawânî dâ.	Alas, alas, for youth.
Kî hôyâ hairân, kikûn akhîân ḍuliyân?	Alas, why are the eyes upturned?
Kikar dittâ ji?	How did he die?
Apê akhîân ḍôliyâṅ, dâḍhê lêyâ jî.	(God) upturned the eyes, He took the life.
Mah siyâḷa âyâ.	The cold season has come.
Tê chhêjâṅ pakharîân.	Beds are spread.
Hôrnîṅ chhêjîṅ chânaṅ.	Other beds are light.
Têrî chhêj hanêr.	Your bed is dark.
Khâ mar, hanḍâ mar.	Eating and clothed, you should have died.
Mâṅ marîṅ chhêj.	You should have enjoyed pleasure (first).
Pâṅî garm karâṅjêô,	Preparing warm water,
Shirtâṅ nâḷ nuhâîyô.	Wash according to rule.
Khapphan mangwâeô jarîdâ.	Get a shroud of fine cloth.
Lâṛê nû pahinâêô.	Clothe the fine young man.
Chaûṅh janêân ral chukkêô,	Four men lift him,
Tê manjalô manjal chalêô.	And carry him by stages.
Jangal âî rât.	Night has fallen in the forest.
Ôs hanḍêri na jâiyêô.	Go not into that darkness.
Phir nahîṅ âṅâ hôg.	There will be no returning.

Variant of the song.

Maut puchhêndi âî vê, sardâr sâêṅ lâṛêâ.	Death come seeking thee, O chief and bridegroom.
Baiṭhî pâvâ mal vê, sardâr sâêṅ lâṛêâ.	He sat holding the foot of the bed, O chief and bridegroom.
Laiṅ na dêndi sâh vê, sardâr sâêṅ lâṛêâ.	He would not let thee breathe, O chief and bridegroom.
Karṅ na dendî gal vê, sardâr sâêṅ lâṛêâ.	He would not let thee talk with us, O chief and bridegroom.

Siâpâ or Dirge.

For a man.

Jê marnâ tô sach hai, Mirza mâriyâ.	Death is certain, even Mirza died.
Sêvar tâb karê vê, Mirza mâriyâ.	It cannot be avoided by penance, even Mirza died.
Nâṅ ê âûnâ nâṅ ê jâunâ, Mirza Mârîyâ.	There is no more coming and going, even Mirza died.
Ikkô angaṅ maut dâ, Mirza mâriyâ.	Death comes but once, even Mirza died.
Tainnû gayâṅ, na awaṅ hôwê, Mirza mâriyâ.	Now thou art gone, thou canst not return, even Mirza died.
Ôttlôṅ kôî nahîṅ aundâ, Mirza mâriyâ.	No one comes from thence, even Mirza died.
Itthôṅ lakh karôṛ, Mirza mâriyâ.	From hence millions go, even Mirza died.
Tainnû tê phupphî rôndî pêî, Mirza mâriyâ.	Thine aunt weeps for thee, even Mirza died.
Tainnû bêṛê vich malâh, Mirza mâriyâ.	The boatmen weep for thee, even Mirza died.
Bhôî vê, suṅ ḍhôliyâ, Mirza mâriyâ.	They say, 'Friend drummer, listen, even Mirza died.

Tûṅ ghar â, ḍhôl vajâ vê, Mirza mâriyâ.	Come to the house and beat the drum,' even Mirza died.
Ôhâ dhur Dargâh vê, Mirza mâriyâ.	He has gone far into the Presence, even Mirza died.
Tûṅ pai gayeôṅ lamṛê râh, Mirza mâriyâ.	Thou hast gone a long journey, even Mirza died.
Têrê sirôṅ madâsa jhaṛiyâ, Mirza mâriyâ.	The turban has fallen from thy head, even Mirza died.
Têrî nangî hô gayî jhanḍ, Mirza mâriyâ.	Thou art bare-headed, even Mirza died.
Lâṛê dê viâh dî mainhdî dast râhî, Mirza mâriyâ.	The marriage dye was ready in my hand, even Mirza died.
Lâî masâṅ châh, Mirza mâriyâ.	I prepared it with desire, even Mirza died.
Mêrî rôndêâṅ raiṅ gayî, Mirza mâriyâ.	I passed the night in weeping, even Mirza died.
Sâlû bahhchhaṅ jôṛkê gaî, Mirza mâriyâ.	I sat with scanty clothing, even Mirza died.
Palang dê pâs, Mirza mâriyâ.	Near thy bed, even Mirza died.
Suṭrâ rêhôṅ, na jâgêôṅ, Mirza mâriyâ.	Thou remainest asleep, thou didest not wake, even Mirza died.
Maiṅ pêî dandan dê bhâr, Mirza mâriyâ.	I swooned to the floor, even Mirza died.
Chûṛâ bhan palang dî châh val, Mirza mâriyâ.	Break the marriage bracelet now, even Mirza died.
Lâh sirôṅ jê shauhar na hôwê, Mirza mâriyâ.	Take off the head-ornament, there is no husband now, even Mirza died.
Tûṅ bachchê rôndê chhaḍ gayâ, Mirza mâriyâ.	Thou hast left thy weeping babes, even Mirza died.
Têrê kîkar vigṛê pair ? Mirzâ mâriyâ.	How hast thou gone astray ? even Mirza died.
Ôthê dên ulâmmê têrê Mirza mâriyâ.	They will abuse thee yonder and say, even Mirza died.
Kîkar vigṛê pair, Mirza mâriyâ.	Why didst thou stray ? even Mirza died.
Ammâṅ rôndî chhaḍ gêôṅ, Mirza mâriyâ.	Thou hast left thy weeping mother, even Mirza died.
Têrê bachchêâṅ dâ kî hâl ? Mirza mâriyâ.	What will become of thy children ? even Mirza died.
Haṭh gâuâ, sîr sêhrâ, Mirza mâriyâ.	With marriage band on thine arm, and garland on thy brow ? even Mirza died.
Têrî khaḷî uḍîkê mâṅ, Mîrza mâriyâ.	Thy mother waited for thee, even Mirza died.
Têrî dâṛhî kallîâṅ chhaḍiyâṅ, Mirza mâriyâ.	Thy beard has grown, even Mirza died.
Têrîâṅ muchâṅ âyâ nûr, Mirza mâriyâ.	Thy mustaches are glorious, even Mirza died.
Têrê sirôṅ madâsâ jhaṛiyâ, Mirza mâriyâ.	Thy turban is fallen from thy head, even Mirza died.
Têrî hô gayî nangî jhanḍ, Mirza mâriyâ.	Thy forehead is bare, even Mirza died.
Uttê têrê paô lohî, Mirza mâriyâ.	Let me put a sheet over thee, even Mirza died.
Môtî sûhê kêtî vê, Mirza mâriyâ.	With pearls and rubies decked, even Mirza died.
Jis diṭṭhioṅ salâhêoṅ, Mirza mâriyâ.	Who saw thee praised thee, even Mirza died.
Hâê, hâê, kardîâṅ âîyâṅ, Mirza mâriyâ.	Alas! alas! they say weeping, even Mirza died.
Têrîdhan jiṅêṅdî mâṅ vê, Mirza mâriyâ.	Thy mother is strong, even Mirza died.
Palangâṅ hêṭh surâhiâṅ, Mirza mâriyâ.	By thy bed are the drinking water jars, even Mirza died.
Makhmal vêhṛêôṅ mâṅ vê, Mirza mâriyâ.	Velvet is spread in the court, even Mirza died.
Ôthê ḍardâ kôî na chaṛhê, Mirza mâriyâ.	No one approaches for fear, even Mirza died.
Bhan gayâ janjûḷ, Mirza mâriyâ.	It is all over now with the world, even Mirza died.
Uṭh khalô phir mat khwâ hô jâ, Mirza mâriyâ.	Rise, (said to the widow) lest you go mad with grief, even Mirza died.
Na kahô vôhṭî mîâṅ, Mirzâ mâriyâ.	Talk no more of wife or husband, even Mirza died.
Aggê mûlê hath na pâ, Mirza mâriyâ.	Let us mourn no more, even Mirza died.

Another Dirge.

For a man.

Chorus.

Nâm mêrê Allah dâ lêiyê	Let us take the name of God.
Allah har har thâṅ kahdîdâ.	God's name is worshipped everywhere.

Bullê dê nâlôṅ chullah jê changêrâ,
Jêhdê uttê ta'm pakâîdâ.
Bandê nâḷôṅ gadhâ changêrâ,
Sâḍhê tin man bhâr uṭhâîdâ.
Vêhî âê nê ḍâhdê Rabb dê,
Banda duniyâ tôṅ pakaṛ mangâîdâ.
Pâṅî lêâvîyô ṭhanḍ vanîdâ,
Banda gâfil jhôḷ nahwâîdâ.
Khapphaṅ lêâvîyô qîmatî,
Bandê dê ang lagâîdâ.
Châûṅ jaṅêâṅ tainûṅ chukiyâ, yârâ.
Majilo majil pahuchâîdâ.
Pahlî majil adhkaṛê adhvâṭṭê.
Dujjî sâmî pâs takâîdâ.
Sir dâ band khôlô bandê dâ.
Unnûṅ apṅâ ghar vikhâîdâ.
Ôh ghar têrâ jhûṭh dâ, bandêâ:
Ih sachê ghar biṭhâîdâ.
Nikkîâṅ nikkîâṅ ḍhîmâṅ chuṅkê,
Unnûṅ pardê hêṭh karâîdâ.
Upar têrê haḷ vagangê.
Tê gâwâṅ ghâ charâîdâ.

The hearth is better than Bulla,
For food is cooked on it.
An ass is better than a man,
It carries a load of 3½ maunds.
God's angel of death comes,
And man is called away from the world.
Bring cold water,
The sleeping man must be washed clean.
Bring a rich shroud,
His body is wrapped in it.
Four youths have lifted you, friend.
You are being carried to the grave stage by stage.
The first stage is half-way.
In the second you are placed by the grave.
Loose his head-band.
He is shown his own house.
That house was not your real one, my friend:
This is your real one where you are now put.
Choosing small clods of earth,
We cover him with covering.
The plough will pass over you.
And the cows will graze above you.

A Dirge.

For a woman.

Jô marnâ tô sach hai, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	Death is certain, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Sêvar tâp karê khair, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	Death is inevitable, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Hath kaṭôrâ dahîṅ ḍâ, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	With a dish of whey in her hand, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Nahann gayî talâ, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	She has gone to wash her hair in the tank, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Tâṅ pahlê ḍôlê ḍiṭṭhioṅ, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	I saw thee first in the marriage palanquin, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Ṭur ghar, â val, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	Go home now, thy time has come, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Vâḷ sanjhâtê tainâṅ (taiṅ na), vôhṭi chûṛêwâḷî.	Thou knowest (thou didst not know) thy time, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Têrî bâṅhîṅ chûṛâ lâl, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	Thou hast the red bracelet on thine arm, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Nahâ âhô ghar âî, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	Washing thou hast returned home, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Sattâṅ sahêhâṅ nâḷ, vohṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	With seven bride's-maids, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Dâh pîhṛa bahô sâmhê, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	Set chairs, sit down, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Vêhṛê dâ singâr sêpâṅ, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	The glory of the courtyard is the lady, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Piṛ vich rahîâṅ pûṅîâṅ, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	The cotton skeins are left in thy basket, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Têrî tanḍ charkhrê nâl, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	Thy cotton is forsaken beside the spinning wheel, wife of the marriage bracelet.

Killî killî ḍôḍnê, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	Thy clothes are hung on the peg, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Pîhṛî pîhṛî singár, vôhṭî chûṛêwâlî.	Thy jewels are placed on the stool, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Sâlû bhôchhan jôṛkê, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	In scanty dress, wife of the marriage bracelet.
Tûṅ gaiyôṅ nikaḷ bâhar, vôhṭî chûṛêwâḷî.	Thou hast gone outside, wife of the marriage bracelet.

Purification Rites.

After child-birth a woman is unclean for 21 days. In the period of menstruation she does not go to a well, and after it she washes her clothes and bathes.

After a funeral all bathe who may have touched the dead body or the grave.

Many Chuhṛas reverence *sanghar*,[13] in order that *sanghat* or trouble may be averted.

Sanghar ká vart. — They have a special favour for Vaishnu Dêvî. They put *mehndî* on girls' hands, and tie a *mauḷî*, or cotton bracelet, round their wrists, feeding the girls also in the *dêvî's* name, that the children may be preserved.

Dêvî dâ vart. — On Thursday night they have *darûd*,[14] praying for the dead. They pour water into a cup, and take bread in their hands. They eat a little, drink a little, and give the remainder to a child. They have no special days.

III. — RELIGION.

a. The Dedication of a Temple to Bâlâ Shâh.

I understand that the principal dêvis of the Hindus, *e. g.*, Kâḷî Dêvî, are low caste. This is especially noteworthy.

When a shrine is made to Bâlâ, the Chuhṛas make a mound of earth in which they bury a gold knife, a silver knife, a copper knife, the head of a goat, and a cocoanut, all bound in 1¼ yards of red cloth. Having levelled the mound, or rather dressed it and made it neat and tidy, they raise on it a sort of altar of mud, in which they make three niches for lamps. Having put oil in the lamps and lighted them they place them in the niches. Goat's flesh is cooked, of which part is eaten and part distributed to the poor. A *chêla* performs the sacrifice, after which they all eat together.

The order of religious ceremony is as follows:—A basket (*changêrá*) is placed near the mud altar, which resembles a raised grave more than anything else, and in the basket there is *chûrmâṅ*, made of flour, butter and sugar. In front of the altar the *chêla* burns *ghî* with spices, such as camphor. He sprinkles the assembled company with *lassî* (butter milk or rather whey) for cooling purposes. Five pice are put in the *ghî*, which become the *chêla's*, as a fee. Silver or gold is put in a cup of water and the water is sprinkled on the people. This is *chandá.*

The *chêla* stands before the altar, the people standing behind him. He recites[15]: —

The Dedicatory Litany.

Bî Khudâ, bî Khudâ!	O God, O God!
Khudâ kî baṛî razâ.	God's great will be done.
Hath ká diyâ ṭaḷê baḷá.	May the gift of the hand avert evil.
Sab pê Khudâ rahm razâ.	May God have mercy on all.
Ik Nâm sach paun ḍhanî:	There is one true Name:
Shâh mahâṅ Balî.	The great Shâh Bâlâ.
Têrê dar kôî nahîṅ kamî.	There is no want with thee.
Pahilê jug kî vartyá!	What did they use in the first age?
Sônê kâ alán,	Standards of gold,
Sônê kâ pilân,	Cushions of gold,

[13] *Sanghar* is the pod of the *jand* tree, which is used as a vegetable by the poorer classes, especially in times of scarcity.

[14] *Darûd fâtia* = obsequies.

[15] With the passage which follows may be compared the variant in *The Legends of the Panjab*, III. pp. 536, 540.

Sônê kâ ghôṛâ,
Sônê kâ jôṛâ,
Sônê kâ haṭṭ,
Sônê kâ maṭṭ.
Jêh chaṛhê âvê
Sachâ Swâmî Mihrbân.
Ânô kunjîâṅ khôlô darbâr.
Vêkhô sachê Swâmî dâ mukh didâr.
Jab lag sirkâr gat mêṅ nâ âvê,
Tad gat suchchî nahîṅ hundi, môminô.
Bôlô, môminô, sarb gatî.

Horses of gold,
Clothes of gold,
Shops of gold,
Vessels of gold.
When there came mounted
The true Lord Bountiful.
Bring the keys and open the door of the temple,
See the face of the true Master.
Until God has come in the offering,
The sacrifice is not consecrated, O believers.
Say, believers, all are saved.

The congregation say, *Âmîn.*

Dujjê jug kî vartyâ!
Chândî kâ alân,
Chândî kâ pilân,
Chândî kâ ghôṛâ,
Chândî kâ jôṛâ,
Chândî kâ haṭṭ,
Chândî kâ maṭṭ,
Jeh chaṛhê âvê
Sachâ swâmî mihrbân.
Anô kunjîâṅ khôlô darbâr.

What did they use in the second age?
Standards of silver,
Cushions of silver,
Horses of silver,
Clothes of silver,
Shops of silver,
Vessels of silver.
When there came mounted
The true Lord Bountiful.
Bring the keys and open the door of the temple.

Trîjê jug kyâ vartyâ ?
Trâmê kâ alnâ,
Trâmê kâ piḷân,
Trâmê kâ ghôṛâ,
Trâmê kâ jôṛâ,
Trâmê kâ haṭṭ,
Trâmê kâ mâṭṭ.
Jêh chaṛhê âvê
Sachâ swâmî mihrbân.
Anô kunjîâṅ khôlô darbâr.

What did they use in the third age?
Standards of copper,
Cushions of copper,
Horses of copper,
Clothes of copper,
Shops of copper,
Vessels of copper.
When there came mounted
The true Lord Bountiful.
Bring the keys and open the door of the temple.

Chauthê jug kyâ vartyâ ?
Miṭṭî kâ alân,
Miṭṭî kâ piḷân,
Miṭṭî kâ ghôṛâ,
Miṭṭî kâ jôṛâ,
Miṭṭî kâ haṭṭ,
Miṭṭî kâ mâṭṭ,
Jêh chaṛhê âvê
Sachâ swâmî mihrbân.
Anô kunjîâṅ khôlô darbâr.

What did they use in the fourth age?
Standards of earth,
Cushions of earth,
Horses of earth,
Clothes of earth,
Shops of earth,
Vessels of earth.
When there came mounted
The true Lord Bountiful.
Bring the keys and open the door of the temple.

The congregation say, *Âmîn.*

The Litany of Bâlâ Shâh.[16]

Awwal sifat suṅâ Khudâ dî
Jin hai âlam kîtâ.
Sabnâṅ rûhâṅ nâḷ hukm dê,
Nûr piyâlâ pîtâ.
Dujjî sifat Shâh Bâlâ dî,
Paṛhnâ augan hârâ,
Jugâṅ chauṅ vich rôshan hôyâ,
Têrâ vajjiâ dîn nigârâ.
Allâh pâk hajûrôṅ kîtâ

Sing first the praise of God who made the world.
At whose command the cup of light was held
To lips of men: then sing, O sinful one,
The praise of Bala Shah with roll of drum.
They worshipped thee throughout the ages four
The holy God Himself created thee.

16 The translation here is metrical, giving the general sense and spirit of the original. It is not literal.

Pîr nûrî Shâh Bâlâ,
Tainû jubbâ shân mubârak miliyâ
Tâj buland dôshâla,
Shâh Bâlâ pîr hamaish dhêâvâṅ,
Har dam paṛhâṅ jabânî.
Awwal âkhir jâhir bâtin
Têrâ nahîṅ kôî sânî.
Nûrî nâm hajûrôṅ têrâ,
Baṛâ murâtib âlî
Sôhṇâ shân banâyâ têrâ,
Pâk sachê Rabb wâlî.
Na asmân na âlam âhâ,
Tad hai sî ḍal pâṇî
Vich jal bimb hai sî êk baiza
Ôh dî qudrat khêl rubbâṇî
Us baizê vich nûr Bâlê dâ,
Yâr Rabb mâlik pôyâ
Ôh dî sippâ vângaṅ shakl banî
Pâṇî vich tarâyâ.
Andh gubâr hai sî ut vêlê,
Baizê thîṅ chamkârâ.
Na asmân zamîn na sûraj
Chand na hargiz târâ.
Na tad hûr firishtê paidâ
Na Âdam âhâ kôî.
Bâlâ Shâh hôyâ ut vêlê.
Samajh sahîh kar hôî.
Shâh Bâlâ haî pîr shâhêâṅ dâ
Kull khilqat dê aggê,
Jô kôî nâl sidaq dê mannê,
Har shâkhê phal laggê,
Vich jal bimb sî sail karêndâ,
Nûr Ilâhî sôhṇâ,
Us rôshan nûr jahânaṅ uttê,
Nâl fazl dê hôṇâ,
Chhattî jug rahâ vich tardâ
Khabar Ilâhî lêsî
Tê tad nûṅ nûr Bâlê dâ rôshan,
Bandagî dê vich haî sî
Ôhî êk khudâ dâ zikr hamêsha,
Us baizê thîṅ âvê,
Qudrat nâl awâzâ hôyâ
Allah yih farmâwê.
Baizâ pak hôyâ rang sôhṇâ,
Kîtâ Bê-parwâhâ
Shâh Hazrat Bâlê pîr nûrî dâ,
Ûs baizê vich rûh âhâ.
Tê tad nûn nûr Bâlê dâ rôshan.
Bandagî dê vich âhâ.
Qudrat nâl âwâzâ hôyâ,
Châr hôyâ bhajj khannê.
Tad nûṅ nûr Bâlê dâ rôshan
Âyâ sî phir bannê.
Harêr gubâr hôî rôshnâî
Samajh sahîh kar nûrôṅ
Bâlâ Shâh hôyâ us vêlê,

A priest from heaven, to thee, O Bâlâ Shâh,
A vesture woven of glory, blessed of God,
A lofty crown and royal robes were given.
Let me remember, Bâlâ Shâh — repeat
This name aloud by day, by night; for thou
Art first and last, unseen and seen. Thou hast
No peer. He made thy name of heaven's light
And power; thy rank exalted; gifted thee
With glory beautiful—the holiness
Of God. There was no heaven, nor earth—a waste
Of waters stretched in space unbounded, deep,
When, floating lightly like a shell, an egg,
A wonder of Almighty power, appeared.
God placed the light of Bala in the egg,
Which, shell-like, floated on the deep. Around,

Thick darkness brooded over all, when light
Shone out in sudden splendour from the egg.
No heaven was then, nor earth, nor sun, nor star,
There were no sprites, nor angels then, nor men.—
There were not yet created; understand
Great Bâlâ's glory only was revealed.

Shâh Bâlâ is the teacher of the Shâhs,
Before creation born. Who this believes
With motive right, shall find his branches all
Droop richly laden with most precious fruit.
This light divine, most beautiful, began
To move upon the deep. It gave the world
Celestial grace. It floated for the space
Of six and thirty ages, kept of God,
For He it was who watched it, while the light
Of Bâlâ burned, and glowed, and worshipped Him.
Within adoring mention of the Name
Of God was heard, when lo! at His command
The egg in radiant hues burst into four,
And Bâlâ, glorious teacher of mankind,
Whose soul had been within, emerged to stand

Qudrat nâḷ hajûrôṅ
Aiḍ akhârê Bâlê kîtê
Suṅiya juml jahânâṅ
Augaṅhârâ siftân parhnâ
Khair Janâbôṅ pânâ.
Âjij bandagî kardâ têrî,
Khair Janâbôṅ pânâ.

Upon the verge. Such wonders Bâlâ did!
His fame resounded over all the world.
Unworthy I repeat his attributes;
May God be gracious — hear me when I call
And bountifully give the poor an alms.
Hear Bâlâ's history with faith; revere,
And worship Him, for he alone is true.

b. **Shâh Bâle dâ Kursînâma.**

The Genealogy of Shâh Bâlâ.

Suniyô nâḷ îmâna,
Suṅdêâṅ gâôndêâṅ dî gat,
Bâlâ Shâh Nûrî,
Achantpûrî têrâ vâsâ,
Manj Gôbindrâ têrâ bâp hai.
Mâî Trigisti dâ tû pût hai.
Mâî Kundaḷâṇ têrî aurat hai
Bâl Bambrik dâ tû bâp hai.
Jât dâ Swarn hai,
Sadkâ Bâl Bambrik dâ
Kâlî samiyâ tê mihr karîṅ. Âmîn.
Jôṅ Hindû Gangâ nû parsann.
Jôṅ Makka Mussalmânâṅ.
Shâhî nâm têrê nû nûṅ mannaṅ,
Piṇḍ piṇḍ thâṅ banâvâṅ.
Battî têl chirâgî pâwaṅ.
Têrî jôt jagâwaṅ.
Nikkê vaḍḍê hôṅ jamâtâṅ
Aô sîs nuâwaṅ.
Jêhṛê nâm têrê nû mannaṅ.
Hargiz khauf na khâwan
Dâhḍê nâm têrê nûṅ mannaṅ.
Chuṅ chuṅ sôhlê gâwaṅ
Vajjaṅ têrê tabal shahânê.
Khâsh angîṭhî lâwaṅ.
Aggê têrê Bhairô chaṛhiyâ
Bhairô nâm sadâwê
Jit wal hukm karô tussî us nû,
Hargiz dêr na lâwê
Khûṭâṅ chauṅ dî khabar lêâwê,
Vâô têj suâyâ.
Chaun kûṭâṅ dâ daurâ karkê,
Pal vich hâjir âyâ.
Lîlâ tâjî tainû milê hajûrôṅ
Upar jîn pilâṅâ
Arshôṅ tainû môjê mil gaê,
Sîtê sugṛ sujâṅâ.
Arshôṅ tamak milia taina
Chille charhi kamânâ
Arshôṅ tamak miḷia tainû
Jap yih nâm shahâna,
Arshôṅ langrî miḷ gaî tainû
Vich bihishtî khâṅa.
Lîlê tazê dê aswârâ
Kar shâhâṅ tê phêrâ

Hear with faith.
Salvation to those that hear and obey.
O Bâlâ Shâh Nûrî,
Thy home was Achantpuri,
Thy father Manj Gobindra,
Thy mother Mâî Trigistî,
Thy wife Mâî Kundalâṅ,
Thy son Bâl Bambrik.
By caste thou art Swarn.
For the sake of thy son Bâl Bambrik,
Have pity on the black race. Amen.
The Ganges Hindus fear, and Muslims make
Their weary pilgrimage to Mecca far,
But thee the Shâhîs love and build to thee
Unnumbered shrines o'er all the crowded land.
Thy lamps they light, while great and small bow down
In lowly reverence to worship thee
They that believe in thy name need never fear.
Let them that beat the sounding drum and sing
Sweet songs, believe! To thee may drums resound,
And hearths to heat the drum unending burn.
Before thee Bhairô goes, and at thy word.
Brings swifter than the swiftest wind that blows
From earth's four corners news of joy. See, round
The world in the twinkling of an eye he goes!
Thy horse is grey, from heaven, and on his back
Resplendent rests a saddle. Shoes all sewed
By heavenly workmen come to earth for thee.
For thee, besides, a quiver and a bow
Are ready drawn — a drum and dish of food
Celestial. Rider of the horse of grey,
Be pleased to visit us, the Shâhs. Be here,

Ethê ôthê dûiṅ jahânâṅ *Baur Bâlêyâ shêrâ* *Mérâ kar kasmâṅâ* *Vich bihishtî jhaṇḍâ têrâ,* *Jhuldâ lâl nishâṅa* *Ethê ôthê dôeṅ jahânâṅ* *Rakhîṅ nâḷ imânâ.*	O Bâlâ brave, and there, in both the worlds For us. Thy flag flies high in heaven. 'Tis red! Behold! It waves triumphantly on high Mid both the worlds. Let us keep this with Faith.

The congregation then say, *Âmîn.*

Another genealogy.

Bâlâ Shâh Santôkh Rikh dâ,	Bâlâ Shah is the son of Santôkh Rikh,
Santôkh Rikh Sharap Dit Rikh dâ,	Santôkh Rikh is the son of Sharap Dit Rikh,
Sharap Dit Rikh Ainak dâ,	Sharap Dit Rikh is the son of Ainak,
Ainak Rikhî dâ,	Ainak is the son of Rikhî,
Rikhî Bikhî dâ,	Rikhî is the son of Bikhî,
Bikhî Mahadev dâ,	Bikhî is the son of Mahadêv,
Mahadêv Bhagwân Aut Khandê dâ,	Mahadêv or Shiv is the son of Aut Khanda,
Aut Khanda Alakh Purkh dâ,	Aut Khanda is the son of the Holy Person,
Alakh Purkh Sakt dâ,	The Holy Person is the son of the Almighty Power,
Sakat Agam dâ.	The Almighty Power is the son of the Unknowable.[17]

All now seat themselves, and then the *ghî* having been burnt and *hom* thus offered, the *chûrmâṅ*, made of flour, sugar and *ghî*, is distributed to the worshippers. The *changera*, or basket, is carried round. Some of the *chûrmâṅ* is given to the dogs, some to the crows, some to the cows, some to the old women, and then the people eat, beginning with the most wealthy and respectable. The wrestler for Shâh Eli gets a share. The remainder is given to friends in the neighbourhood who are absent. A collection of money is also taken.

While they are seated, two stools are placed by the altar, and near them four cakes of dried cowdung are lighted, so that the drummer may dry his *rabbâna* (tambourine) when it becomes limp. It being evening the two *chelas* sing to the *rabbâna* (tambourine) and the *dotâra* (fiddle). The drum is heated until it gives a ringing sound when beaten, the *dotâra* goes (as one of the men expressed it) *bin, bin, bin, bin,* the *rabbâna, gham, gham, gham, gham,* and all are ready. Bulanda comes and says, "Pir Bashk is here and so is Nânak, but where is the lame man? He is lying in the house, is he? What will he be able to tell to-morrow morning?" The farmers gather round and ask them what they are singing. They answer; "Let us sing the five attributes of God, and then we shall have leisure to speak to you."

c. The Attributes of God.

Alif Allah nûṅ yâd kar, *Dhan surjaṅhârâ,* *Tê baiṭhôṅ târî lâkê,* *Jal dhundhûṅ kârâ* *But Âdam dâ sâjjiâ* *Khâk miṭṭî gârâ* *Tê rûh dhôyâ vich but dé,* *Var andar vâṛî.* *Darêâ ruh andhêr thîṅ* *Kauṅ karê guzâra.* *Tainû itthôṅ kaḍhsâṅ* *Nâl qaul qarârâ* *Nichh âî jad but nûṅ,* *Kull rachiyâ sârâ.* *Utthôṅ vadhiyâ prîthwî* *Kull âlam sârâ.*	Praise God the Original, who sat On waters dark, contemplative. He first Of yielding clay, with care and wondrous art As sculptor wise began to mould the face And features, form and limbs of Adam. There The image lay all lifeless still, without Or sense or motion, when to the entrance door Of this new mansion God led up the soul. The voice of God said, "Enter." "Nay, I will Not enter there," the soul cried fearfully, "In house so dark I will not, cannot live." He said, "a promise I do make — a day Will come when I will set thee free, and take Thee to myself again." Thus urged the soul Obedient entered: Adam sneezed and woke. Pervading soul now quickened every part,

[17] *Cf.* the genealogy given in *Legends of the Panjab*, Vol. III. p. 530.

Hindû Mussalmân dâ,
Kîtâ râh niyârâ.
Hindû paṛhdê pôthîâṅ
Mussalmân Kurânâ
Tê Hindû maṛîâṅ sâṛdê
Mussalmân gôr jaṛaunâṅ

And Adam stood the father designate
Of all the race. Hindus and Muslims say
He made man diverse, but they err because
They read the Shâstars or Qurân, nor does
In this alone their doctrine vary, but
The dead Hindus are burned on funeral piles,
While Muslims, no less certainly, corrupt
In graves. But whence did caste proceed? 'Twas hence:—

Chugdî chagdî gokharî
Hô pêî murdârâ.
Ihnû kaun chuk sê
Kam mushkil bhârâ.
Sâḍḍê vichôṇ kaun hai,
Rakhîsar bhârâ.
Tê bhârâ hai Gurû Jhaunpaṛâ.
Rakhîshwar bhârâ.
Uhnû sabhnâṅ saddiyâ,
Sânnû dê dîlîrâ.
Tê gau â khân suṭkê,
Man kehâ hamârâ.
Châṛh gôshê gau suṭṭiyâ
Jâ pêî pachhwâṛâ.
Tê suṭkê âyâ gôkharî
Hô bêhâ niârâ.
Chauthê jug rilâvsâṅ,
Ih qaul hamârâ.
Bâbâ mêrâ nindiâ
Kah karô bichârâ
Gaô grâs na kîtâ
Kî hôyâ bigârâ?
Ôh dê pâssê rahâṅgâ.
Jâ karâṅ guzârâ.
Tuhâthôṅ vaḍḍâ ih hai,
Bâbâ hamârâ.
Sab dâ gurû sadâôṅdâ
Rakhîswar bhârâ.

While grazing in the field one summer's day
A cow fell dead. The cry arose, "Alas!
A cow lies dead; who of us has the strength
To carry her away? A task indeed!
Say is there any saint among us? None
But Gurû Jhomprâ. He is strong Oh save
Us, Gurû Jhomprâ: manifest thyself
To us, and bear away the cow!" He came:
With wondrous strength he lifted high the cow
Upon his shoulders—Gurû Jhomprâ threw
Her far above the house, and far beyond
The scattered huts. Then him unclean, defiled
By contact with the dead, they made to sit
Apart. "Four ages long must pass," they said,
"Before you sit with us." He sat despised.
Then out spoke Kâlak Dâs, "Consider well,
And reason good give me that Jhomprâ Gur
My father, thus ye scorn. He did not eat
The cow. What has he done? No wrong—allow.
With him I go, with him I lodge, with him
I live and die. Our father is the best
And greatest of you all, a leader bold,
Named mighty man of God."

Tê aurat Kâḷak Das dî,
Pâ dê kahârâ.
Shâdî kîtî assân sî,
Kôî duniyâ chârâ.
Kidhar jâkê bahâṅgî,
Kihṛâ ihâṅ hamârâ?
Mêrê ḍêrê tûṅ rah,
Man kêhâ hamârâ
Tê bhachhkar is gâô dâ,
Jitnâ pujê sârâ.
Tê qaum hôî ih wakhrî,
Hôyâ nistârâ.

"Woe worth the day!"
The wife of Kâlak Dâs in sorrow cried,
"Why did you marry me? Deserted now
I have no home, no dwelling place." "Nay, wife,"
Cried Kâlak Dâs, "obedience due concede,
And eat the cow: so shall you live with me."
And thus a nation separate arose.

Nám lîyê Ḳhudâ dâ,
Subh dê nâḷ savêḷê,
Kin harhaṭ ghariyâ,
Kaun sinjê têrîân vêlîn.

Kartê harhaṭ ghariyâ,
Kartâ sinjê terîun vêlîn.
Bâg banâyâ Ḳhudâ dâ.
Têhkê phul ravêlî,
Bâg kaḷîân lagîân
Malin garb gahêlî.

Bâl dîvâ dhariyâ
Chânan hôyâ shâh dî havêlî.
Bhaur khêlan âyâ
Jêun gurû aggê chêlî.

Bhaur khêlkê chaliyâ,
Suniyîn rahî havêlî.
Sâhib lêkhâ mangdâ
Jyûn tiḷân thîn têlî.

Kôî sâth nahîn jândâ
Par jândî hai jân akêlî,
Phir rôz-i-qiyâmat
But ruhân nâḷ mêlî.

Itthôn rukhsat hôndî
Pahinkê ṭôpî tê sêlî.

Phir ant miḷâvâ hai,
Rabb sabhnân dâ bêlî.

O worship Him at day dawn[18]
  Who made the herbs and flowers,
Who waters field and greenwood
  With soft refreshing showers.

His garden blooms with roses,
  The gardener's wife is glad;
Around her burst the new buds,
  The bowers with leaves are clad.

Within this pleasant garden
  A royal mansion stands,
The lamp that lights its hall was
  Not placed by human hands:

A soul within appearing
  Begins to sport and play,
As any happy child would
  On summer holiday.

But, see, the house is darkened,
  The soul has taken flight
To God, who takes account of
  The deeds of sense and sight;

Alone, a homeless wanderer,
  She now is doomed to roam,
But at the resurrection
  The Lord will bring her home.

The body clad but sparely
  In garments poor and thin,
Goes forth alike unfriended
  To wait the tomb within:

But that day fast approaches
  When God will souls recall,
There will be glad reunion,
  And He will keep them all.

d. Songs of Bâla Shah.

1.

Nám têrâ chár jug layêgâ,
Mêrêâ sachêâ parwardigârâ!
Shâh kêhṛê désôn uddamiyâ?
Kêhṛê dês lêyâ utârâ?
Arsh munavarôn uddamiyâ;
Pûrab dês lêyâ utârâ.
Phaṛ jhôsêâ Mihr Muqaddam nû,
'Lêâ dastûr, mard, hamârâ.'
Kî mangndên, Bâlêâ Lâl Ḳhân?
Kî dastûr hai, mardâ, tumhârâ?
'Aṭh man chûrmân tê nau man chhattrâ:

Thy name will be known in all ages,[19]
O, my true Lord!
From what country did the Shâh come?
Into what country did he descend?
He took his rise in the resplendent heaven;
He descended in the east country.
He shook Mihr Muqaddam,
(Saying) 'Man, bring us our dues.'
What want you, Bâlâ Lâl Khân?
What is due to you, O man?
'Eight maunds of cake and nine maunds of mutton:

18 The translation is now in rhymed verse.

19 From this point the translation is literal.

Ik rang shâh ká kâḷî.
Assî ḍhaḍhâń chhinjâń mangnêáń.
Tambôrak mangiyâ Shâh ká hâḷá.
Sab kujh wâfir hôyâ nê,
Jo dastûr niyârâ.
Maṭ bharîêṅgê chuk dharîêṅgê.
Gat vich phirdâ sahaj pyârâ.
Phir khâ khâ mômin jândê nê.
Sâhib sabhnâń dâ rakhwâḷâ.
Ḍhaḍḍ vajjî tê parîâń utrîâń.
Lagâ, mardô, mall akhâṛá.
Phir ḍhaḍḍ rahî, phir chhinj pai.
Lagâ aslî ân-i-akhâṛâ.
Mardâń mard vangârangê.
Shâmîń mêrâ zôr dâ satrânâ.
Gaḷ sêlî sir, ṭôpî sohindî nê :

Sôhindâ sêlî nâḷ phumman kâḷâ.
Tharhar tharhar karê dumârâ.
Lak masrû dî kainch sôn dî nê.
Shâh mêrâ lagâ karnê akhâṛâ.
Mâr kainch piṛ vich variyâ nê.
Sab mulk bî vêkhanhârâ.
Phaṛ jhôsêâ Mihr Muqaddam nûń.
Phaṛkê kardâ dûr niyârâ.
Phir jumbish karkê phaṛêô nê.
Wuh tarlâ karê tumhârâ.
Têrâ sânî nahîń kôi, Lâl Khâń
Tûń ustâd hai mard hamârâ.
Jô jô matlab lênâ hai,
Sab likhkê karê niyârâ.
Ôthê ghôṛâ jôṛâ miḷiâ nê,
Ḍêrâ vidiyâ hôyâ tumhârâ.

Arshâń thîń lathâ Bâlâ
Dín dê châh.
Har har jagah ikaṭṭhê hôkê,
Karn salâmâń jâ.
Narme dî ṭôpî Shâh dî,
Phullâń dî hawâ.
Hêṭh Shâh dê lîlâ tâzî,
Paun dî hawâ.
Chaṛhkê Shâh lîlâ tâzî,
Khwâjê sidhâ jâ.
Ik lakh chaurâsî chhêṛâń
Magrôń milâń jâ.
Rukhân Rôṛâńwâḷe pattan
Laṅgâ pâṇâ jâ.
Sukhâ Balôch laṅgan nahîń dendâ.
Sukhê Balôch nûń kôi zâhirâ partû lâ.

The mutton should be of black sheep only.
We want driving and wrestling grounds,
He asked a bell as tribute for the Shâh.
All was given in abundance,
According to the distinctive custom.
We will fill the vessels and place them.
In the assembly our beloved walks about.
Then the believers eat and go.
God protects them all.
The drums beat, and fairies descended.
The crowd gathered, my friends.
The drum stopped, the wrestling began.
A real wrestling match began,
The brave will challenge the brave.
My lord is very powerful.
A necklace round his neck, a gold cap on his head :
A plume of black silk on it.
The bystanders quiver with excitement.
On his loins is a gold cloth.
My Shâh began to wrestle.
With tight breeches he came forward.
All the world looked on.
He held Mihr Muqaddam and shook him.
He seized and threw him.
Again clo ing on him, he seized him.
But he entreated you.
You have no second, Lâl Khân.
You are our master, brave man.
Whatever you wish,
Write all and we will give it.
There he received a horse and suit,
And then his party took their departure.

2.

Bâlâ came from heaven
For the sake of rel gion.
They gathered in every place,
And began to salute him.
The Shâh's cap is of fine cotton,
Light as flowers.
Under the Shâh is a grey horse,
Swift as the wind.
Riding his grey horse the Shâh,
Goes stra ght to the Khwâja.
A *lákh* and eighty-four thousand servants
Go behind him.
The ferry of Rukhan Rôṛâuwâle
He fords.
Sukhâ Baloch will not let him pass.
He shows Sukhâ Baloch a miracle.

'Sukhê Balôch di ûṭhnî marjâ.'
Te rôndî hai muhûnî, Rabbâ.
Bauhṛîṅ âp Khudâ.
Bâlê hukm kîtâ Dâdû chêlê tâîṅ:
'Is ûṭhnî jâkê panjê chhaṭṭîâṅ lâ:
Ûṭhnî uthêgî Rabb dê nâm aṛâ.'
Pânjê chhaṭṭîaṅ Dâdû chêlê lâîyâṅ
Ûṭhnî uṭhî pêî aṛâ,
Lahndê charhdê ûṭhnî dâkâṅ dêndî phirdî.
Phir gallê Balôch dê raliyâ jâ.
'Chhattrê dênnâṅ bakrê dênnâṅ:
Jô mangê sô pâ.'
Hukm kîtâ Dâdû chêlê tâîṅ:
'Bhairô chhaṛîâ nûṅ jaldî ân bulâ.'
Jaldî jaldî Bhairô chhaṛiyâ âyâ.
Hâjir kharâ â.
'Jô kujh hukm âpkâ hôuê,
Maiṅ nûṅ âkh sunâ.'
Hukm kîtâ pîr Bhairô chhaṛiyâ tâîṅ:
'Kachchê kagaṭâṅ dê bêṛê râs karâ.'
Langkê chhêṛâṅ urâr pâr hôiyâṅ,
Rattê Rudiyâḷê latthiôṅ jâ.
Kusangê chhattrê pakkangê maṅḍê.
Khâṅgê mômin Shâh dê sir nû dêṅ duâ.
Chhatû bambîṅ ṭâlî hêṭh dittâ thâṅ banâ.

Panjê divê panjâṅ pîrâṅ dê baḷdê,
Chhêvâṅ dîvâ Bhairô chhaṛiyâ dâ jagâ
Aisê ai-ê muqizê Shâh Bâlê Lâlkhân kîtê.
Duniyâ vich pharkê ditté vê dikhâ.
Ik nâm sach pauṅ dhanî.
Têrê dar kôî nahîṅ kamî

'Die, camel of Sukha Baloch.'
'O God,' the wife cries.
'May God himself come to me.'
Bâlâ ordered Dídû his disc ple:
'Strike the camel five times;
The camel will rise in the name of God.'
Dídû struck her five times.
The camel rose, grunting,
And ran hither and thither baying,
Then she rejoined the herd of the Baloch.
'I give sheep and goats,
And whatever you ask.'
He ordered Dâdû the disciple
To call Bhairô, the porter, quickly.
Bhairô, the porter, came as quickly as he could,
And stood expectant,
'Whatever your order is,
Let me know.'
He ordered Bhairô, the porter,
To make vessels of paper.
They all crossed over,
And landed at Rattê Rudiyâlê.
Sheep were killed and bread was prepared.
Eating they blessed the Shâh.
They made their resting place under a branching *shîsham* tree.
Five they lights burned to five priests,
And a sixth for Bhairô, the porter.
Such miracles Shah Bâlâ did,
And showed them to the world.
The name of one great omnipresent lord is true.
At his door is nothing wanting.

3

Aṭh dânû, nau firishtê,
Shâh kâ ant lên nûṅ âê.
Shâh dûrôṅ vêkhkê âundê,
Lamṛê qadam ṭakdê
Ghar ann na sûjhê na pâṅîyê,
Shâh bhôjan kithôṅ khôwâê.
Ghar ikkô aṭṭî sûtar dî
Sîlawantî gahnê pâê.
Tuâ sawâ sêr dâ dânâ sî,
Kâṭ kâṭ piswâê.

Dô Uḍnak Puḍnak bâlakṛê,
Wuh khêḍî lê mangwâê.
Kâbê sâmhnê kar rakhê nê,
Nâm Rabb dê kard chalâê.
Jad ôh unhâṅ jaba karâyâ,

Eight evil spirits and nine angels
Came to try the Shâh.
The Shâh saw them in the distance,
And walked with long strides home.
He had neither bread nor water in the house,
Whence could he feed them.
He had only one ball of thread in the house,
Which his wife Sîlavantî took and pawned.
There was a *sêr* and a quarter of corn,
Which she had cut and ground.

Two boys, Udnak and Puḍnak,
Were called from their play.
Placing their faces towards the west,
He sacrificed them in the name of God.
When he had sacrificed them,

Tê kîmia kar pakâê.
Chullê dêgâṅ charhiâṅ nê,
Dê dê dandîâṅ musk raḷâê.
Pakâkê dêgâṅ lâîyâṅ nê.
Bêṭh channaṅ rukh jalâê.
Safâ karkê bartan rakhêô nê,
Phir bartanâṅ vich pâê.
'Tussî bhôjan khâô, dânûô,
Rabb kaṅkâ lêkhê lâê.'
'Assî tadôṅ bhôjaṅ khâvâṅgê,
Jê dônôṅ bâl biṭhâê.'
Shâh bâhar nikaḷ gharôṅ gayâ:
Mangê bâhar duâê
Hath jhâṛû monḍhê chhajhâṅ,

Dôêṅ nâm Rabb dâ japdê âê.
Phir Uḍnak dhôndâ saiṅâkîâṅ,
Tê Puḍnak dast ô dast dhulâê.
Oh hâzir ân khalôtê nê.
Phir wêkhkê firishtê khush hôê.
Shâh tad vî shukr karâê.
Phir bhôjaṅ dânûâṅ khâliyâ.
Rabb pardê râs karâê.
Ôh êk nâm sach pauṅ dhanî.
Têrê ghar kôi nahîṅ kamî.

He hashed them up and began to cook them.
He put the pots on the fire,
And put spices in them with ladles.
They took off the pots when the food was ready.
They burnt sandalwood.
Placing clean plates before them,
He put the food into them.
'Eat food, O devils,
May God reckon this to me in some degree.'
'We will eat food only then,
When you seat the boys with us.'
He went outside the house,
And prayed a prayer.
With brooms in their hands and baskets on the shoulders,
The boys came repeating the name of God.
Then Uḍnak washed the plates,
And Puḍnak gave them water to wash their hands.
They came and stood in their presence.
The angels were glad on seeing them.
The Shâh offered thanks.
Then the spirits ate the food.
God blessed it in abundance.
He is the one true name omnipresent.
In thy house is no want.

4.

Nâmôṅ ghus gayâ Bâlmîk,
Jihṛâ phirdâ vich ujâṛ.
Bhalê burê nûṅ nahîṅ jâṅdâ.
Phaṛkê dêndâ mâr utâr.

Bâbâ Nânak tê Bhâî Mardânâ
Unnûṅ mil paê vich ujâr.
Ôh dôâṅ dhirâṅ nûṅ vêkhkê,
Khich kharâ hathiyâr.
Ūnnûṅ Bâbê nasîhatâṅ kîtîâṅ:
Tû kar lê qaul qarâr
'Tû aiḍêkion pâp kamaunâêṅ:
Kôî nibehgâ dam dê nâḷ.
Sânnû aithê banh jâ.
Jâkê pûchh â gharôṅ bâhar.'
Tê jaldî ghar nûṅ pahuchiyâ.
Sab lêndâ jî uthâḷ aiḍâ kapaṭ.
'Maiṅ aiḍê kâ pâp kamaunâṅ,
Vich jakê jangaḷ bâr.
Kôi aukhê vêḷê baṅêgâ,
Mêrâ dil dâ yâr?'
Uhnâṅ âkhiyâ:—'tû lêâvêṅgâ
Tê asîṅ khâ lâṅgê.

Bâlmîk forgot the Name,
When he wandered in the jungle.
He distinguished not between good and evil.
He caught (travellers) and beat them and stripped them.
Bâbâ Nânak and Bhâî Mardânâ
Met him in the wilderness.
Looking at both of them,
He drew his sword.
Bâbâ Nânak gave him good counsel,
And exacted a confession from him.
'You commit great sins:
None will help you at the last.
Bind us here.
Ask your family if they will suffer for you.'
He went quickly home.
He called all in the house.
'I do so much evil,
Going out to the desert.
In the time of trouble
Will some one befriend me?'
They said:—'What you bring
We will eat.

Sâḍḍâ khân dê nâḷ qarâr.
Phir ih gallâṅ nûṅ samajhkê.'
Ayâ Bâbâ pâs.
'Kôi nahîṅ jî mântâ.
Mainû rakhô apnê sâth.
Aggê pâp maiṅ nâ karâṅgâ.
Maiṅ karnâṅ qaul qarâr.'
'Apnâ âp sambhâḷ lê.
Kuchh sôch karûṅ bichâr.
Rabb Rabb tû jap lê.
Bâjh nahîṅ Rabb kôi yâr.'
Phir Bâbê nasîhatâṅ dittîâṅ,
Tê suṭ chhaḍḍiyâ hathiyâr
Oh êk nâm sach pauṅ dhanî
Térê ghar nahîṅ kôi kamî.

We can do nothing beyond eating.
Understand this.'
He came to the Bâbâ.
'No one owns me.
Keep me beside yourself.
I will not sin any more.
This I promise.'
'Look to yourself.
Take thought.
Take the name of God.
Besides God there is no friend.'
Then the Bâbâ advised him,
And he threw away his sword.
The one Name Omnipresent is true.
In thy house is no want.

5.

Pahilê jug Brahmâ
Liyâ autârâ.
Bêṭê sân Brahmê dê,
Pûrê chârâ.
Mathê ṭîkâ dharm dâ,
Gal janiyûṅ mâḷâ.
Chaunkê mar gaî gôkhaṛî,
Hô gaî murdârâ.
Gâô dê uttê jâkê,
Chârê kardê aṛîâṅ:—
'Asîṅ Brahman âd dê:
Gal janiyûn taṅîâṅ:
Kappṛa pahiṅê qîmatî,
Rêsham dîâṅ sarîâṅ
Rabbâ, sâḍḍâ bhâ dîâṅ?
Hun kêhîâṅ banîâṅ.'
Allah aggê Jhaumpṛâ
Kardâ arjôî:—
'Sanêhê ghalnâêṅ dûr dê?
Hô khân muṅh darôî'
Gâô dê uttê âkê,
Allah masland lagâî
Chiṭṭhî likhkê hath
Bâlê pîr dê phaṛâî.
'Tû ihnûṅ suṭṅâ.
Ih tainûṅ âî.
Ihnûṅ kauṅ harâm âkhdâ?
Maiṅ takbîr chalâî.
Bhêḍ paikambar khângê,
Jihṛê phirêgî khâî.
Rôz Qiyâmat waqt dê
Tainûṅ milêgî vaḍiâî.
Mainûṅ Hindû na nêṛê aun dêngê.
Mussalmân na paṛhngê janâzâ.

In the first age Brahmâ
Became incarnate.
Brahmâ had sons,
Four children.
They had the sacred mark on the forehead,
The sacred thread and rosary on the neck.
A cow died in the kitchen.
It was rotting.
Going near the cow,
The four began to argue:—
'We are original Brahmans;
We wear the sacred thread:
Our clothes are costly,
Made of silk.
Lord, what shall we do now?
This is a difficult business.'
Before God Jhaumprâ
Made a petition.
'Why dost thou send messages?
Come before me.'
Coming near the cow,
The Lord sat on his throne.
He wrote a letter and gave it
Into the hands of the priest Bâlâ,
'You must throw her away.
It is your portion.
Who calls it unclean
When I killed it?
The prophets will eat sheep
That wander in filth pits.
On the Resurrection day
You will be called blessed.
The Hindus will not allow me to approach them.
The Muslims will not read my burial service.

Mêrî kaun shifa'at bharêgâ?
Tû sun Khudâ râja.
Maiṅ ummat rakhnâ châhunâṅ.
Jâman dêô Pîr Ḳhwâja.
Râm tê Rahîm kiâṅ
Chhap chhap jâṅâ.
Ṣavâ nêzê tê din âvêgâ,

Hâôê dôzakh pâṅâ.
Pâr bihisht baṅâkê,
Sâmhṅê vikhâṅâ.
Ummat têrî bhajjke,
Bihishtî vaṛ jâṅâ.'
Kah Ḳhwâja Jhaumpṛê nûṅ:—
'Mêrâ man farmâṅâ.
Rôz qiyâmat waqt dê
Tû pachôtâṅâ.
Shâhî ta'm pakângê.
Ṣânnû vich bahâṅâ.
Chamak lagê chanḍôê dâ
Muṅh pâṅî lâṅâ.
Wôh bihishtî jâṅdâ
Shâhîâṅ nûṅ farmâṅâ.
Na maiṅ vartôṅ Ashṭmî,
Na tur Makkê jâṅâ.
Allah Alif samân dâ
Sabbhô ih biyân.'
Jhaumpṛâ gâô val tur piyâ,
Shâhî baṅkê jâhirâ.
Têṛôṅ dhôtî lâhkê,
Sabbhô vast sambhâḷâ.
Sabhnâṅ dâ hôwêgâ
Ihô vartârâ.
Gâô suṭṭê Jhaumpṛê
Dihâṛê gujrê châr.
Bhâî rasôî jêundê
Chauṅkê dê vichkâr.
Bhâîâṅ nûṅ puchhê Jhaumpṛê:—
'Maiṅ nû kadôṅ raḷâvgê nâḷ?'
'Jug chauthê raḷâêṅgê:
Sâḍḍâ pakka iqrâr.'
Gôshê ghat kamândê
Paggâṅ leîâṅ utâr
'Na maiṅ gâô khâdhî hai,
Na kîtâ gâô girâs.
Hath na lâyâ us nûṅ.
Mêrî kîkar nikḷî zât?'
'Tû na khadâ usnû.
Uhnû munh nâḷ khâ.
Têrâ nahîṅ paiṅdâ

Who will save me?
Hear, O Lord God.
I wish to make a nation of my own.
Let Pir Ḳhwâja be surety.
The followers of Râm and Rahîm
Will hide themselves then.
When the height of the sun comes down to a spear and a quarter,
I will send them to hell.
Making paradise beyond,
I will show it you.
Your followers running
Will enter heaven.'
The Ḳhwâja said to Jhaumpra:—
'Take my advice.
Or on the last day
You will be sorry.
The Shâhîs will prepare dinner.
Invite me to partake.
When the brass goblet glitters
Give the sacred water to all.
This is the way of salvation
For the Shâhîs.
I will not observe Ashṭamî,
Nor will I go to Mecca.
Allah, who is like Alif,
Permitted this.'
Jhaumprâ went to the cow,
Assuming the form of a Shâhî.
He removed his clothes
And all the sacred marks.
All his followers
Will do like this.
Four days after Jhaumprâ
Had thrown away the cow,
His brothers were dining
In a sacred place.
Jhaumprâ asked his brothers:—
'When will you admit me?'
'We will admit you in the fourth age,
We promise faithfully.'
With his bow he
Knocked off their turbans.
'I have not eaten the cow,
Not a morsel of her,
I have not touched her,
Why do you excommunicate me?'
'You have not eaten her,
Eat her now,
We do not find

Sâṅnû zarra vi vasâ.'
Gussa Kâḷak Dâs nû.
Chaṛhiyâ azgâ hâ.
Kâlak Dâs bhajkê,
Gâôḍê kôḷ khalôtâ jâ.
Gâô dê kôḷ jâkê,
Ûs takbîr chalâî.
Bân chalâyâ us nû
Uhdê sînê lâî.
Ihô sharâ tê takbîr
Shâhîâṅ nûṅ âî.

Any belief in you at all.'
Kâlak Dâs became angry.
Terrible anger arose.
Kâlak Dâs ran
And stood near the dead cow.
Standing near her,
He cut her open.
He pierced her with an arrow
Near the heart.
This is the rite
For killing among the Shâhîs.

6.

Pichhê Kâḷak Das dê
Sîlavantî nâr
Mâhêpunnê âṅkê,
Nit karê vichâr.
Dil vich pêî chitârdî :—
'Duniyâ ajab bahâr.'
Tê dâîâṅ dê kôḷ jâkê,
Kardî ôh vichârâ.
'Mêrê mâhêpunnê ânkê,
Mahînê guzrê gyârâṅ
Tuhânnû sârî ḥhabar hai.
Pêṭ bhanḍârâṅ.
Mainû jâêô daskê
Sârê anwârâ.'
Dâîâṅ nê kôḷ bahâkê,
Uhnûṅ gallîṅ lâyâ.
'Kihṛê chand nihâtiôṅ ?
Tainû fahm na âyâ.
Bâl bahêṅgî jamkê,
Tâṅ tû sukh pâyâ.'
Ghar dê andar jâkê,
Adhî rât vêhânî.
'Rabbâ, mêrê pêṭ vich
Kî khêl rabbânî ?
Na sâṅ main kuchh jâṅdî.
Main hâṅ aniyâṅî.
Qudrat têrî Qâdirâ
Tûêṅ jâṅîṅ.'
Karê razôî dil nâḷ :—
'Duniyâ ajab hai mêḷâ.'
Phir panḍhârôṅ bôliyâ
Alifâ Chêlâ.
'Mâtâ dîn mannîṅ mêrê gurû dâ
Hath nahîṅ auṅâ vêlâ.
Phir mâ putr dâ sahjî
Hôsî mêḷâ.

In the house of Kâlak Dâs
His wife Sîlavantî
Was nearing her confinement,
And was thoughtful.
In her heart she said :—
'This is a wonderful world.'
She went to the nurses,
And consulted them.
'My regular months have passed
It is the eleventh month.[20]
You know all about
The chambers of the womb.
Tell me all
The approaching signs.'
The midwives sat beside her,
And began to talk.
'When did you bathe ?
Perhaps you miscalculated.
But you will soon have a child
And be happy.'
She went home.
It was midnight.
'O Lord, in my womb
What strange thing is happening ?
I know nothing.
I have no experience.
Thou Mighty One
Knowest all.'
She began to comfort herself.
'The world is strange.'
From the chambers of the womb spake
Alif Chêlâ.
'Mother embrace my leader's faith
Or you will be sorry.
If you do this
You and I will quickly meet.'

[20] Protracted gestation appears to be common in cases of miraculous birth. We shall find it again in a version of the *Legend of Gûgâ* current among the Chuhṛâs. [It also occurs in stories of Gûgâ in the *Legends of the Panjab*. — Ed.]

'Bachchâ, kêhṛâ têrâ gurû hai?
Main nûn âkh sunâîn.
Kêhṛâ ôhdâ piṇḍ hai?
Kêhṛî rahndâ jâîn?
Bhalkê tur parângî
Paikê lambe râhîn.'
'Jhaumpṛâ mêrâ gurû hai
Nâḷ imân.
Us duniyâ uttê âuṅâ
Daswân autâr.
Aggê ôhdê japnâ assân
Sahib dâ nân.'

'Child, who is your leader?
Tell me.
What is his village?
Where does he live?
I will go in the morning
And do the long journey.'
'Jhaumprâ is my leader,
I believe in him.
He will come to the world
The tenth incarnation.
Then only we will
Worship the name of the Master.'

e. Prayers.

A Prayer to God.

Têrê Nâm dâ adhâr mainûn,
Jôn bâlak dê muhh mammân.
Na, Kartêâ, kisî gôd khaḍâêôn,
Na chungiâ bâlak mammân.
Têrâ na bahin na bhâî,
Na kôî bâbul na ammân.
Wahî âêngê ḍâhḍê Rabb dê,
Têrâ gurj nâḷ khôpar bhannâ.
Likhîân tainûn vahî kalâmân.
Kikar sî bâbul ammân?
Mûsâ jêhâ chal gayâ,
Jinhân Rabb nâḷ kîtiân gallân.
Dainsar jêhê chal gaê,
Gaṭh Lankâ jiskâ jammân.
Yûsuf jêhâ chal gayâ.
Damôdrî jihîân rannân.
Pîr paikambar sabh chal jândê.
Mautê kisî na pâyâ bannâ.
Ik Nâm Allah dâ sach paundhanî.
Têrê ghar kôî nahîn kamî.

I depend on thy Name
As a child on the teat.
Creator, none dandled Thee,
Nor hast Thou been nursed.
Thou hast neither sister nor brother,
Nor father nor mother.
The angels of God will come,
And break man's skull with a hammer.
The future has been written for thee.
What can father or mother do?
Men like Moses have passed away,
Who spoke with God.
Such as Dainsur also have gone,
Who was born in Ceylon fort.
Such as Joseph have gone.
And women like Damôdrî.
All the priests and prophets go.
None has escaped death.
But the one Name of God is true, monipresent.
In Thy house is no want.

A Prayer for Salvation.

Suṅdêâṅ giṅdêân dî gat mukt hôwê.

May salvation be given to the hearers and the doers of these things.

Bâlâ Shâh Nûrî,
Achantpurî têrâ vâsâ.
Mauj Gobindrâ têrâ bâp hai.
Mâî Trigistî dâ tû pût hai.
Mâî Kundaḷân têrî aurat hai.
Bâl Bambrîk dâ tû bâp hai.
Jât dâ Swarn hai.
Sadkâ Bâl Bambrîk dâ.
Kâḷî samiya tê mihr karîn. Âmîn.

O Bâlâ Shâh Nûrî,
Thou didst live in Achantpuri[21]
Mauj Gobindrâ is thy father.
Thou art son of Mother Trigishtî.
Mother Kundhan is thy wife.
Thou art father of Bal Bambrîk.
Thy caste is Swarn (Golden).
For thy son Bal Bambrîk.
Have mercy on the dark race. Amen.

[21] The City of Peace.

The *chêlas* get their fees and go. Every year after the crop is gathered in Hâr, they go through this service, with the exception of the making of the shrine, the *butti* on the *tharâ* (the altar on the platform).

IV. — RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

a. Priests.

With respect to their priests, whose names are Bâlâ Shâh, Mârkhaṇḍe, Mîâṅ Sûrâ, Lâl Beg, Bâlmîk, Jhaumpṛâ, Pîr Jhoṭâ, Gungar Beg, Ail Malûk, they look on them as *autârs* (incarnations) of the one Bâlâ. Jhaumprâ in one of these traditions is called by Alif Chêla, the tenth incarnation.

The priests are called *pîr*, and do duty at marriages and funerals. At marriages the *mirâsî* (bard) places a *dîvâ*, lamp of *âṭâ* (dough), in a clean place and the people bow before it, while he says that the *jôt*, or light of their ancestors, is being burnt.

Their *faqîrs* or *sâdhûs* are Shâh Madârî, Naushâhiyâ, Nangeshâhiya, Yatîmshâhiya, Bairâgî. The Shâh Madârîya has a *liṭ*, or *bodî*, and a rosary. The Nangeshâhiya have long hair plaited with *boṛ kâ dudh*, the milk of the banyan tree, and washed with earth. They bind it round the head with a cord of wool, and wear over it a turban of yellow cloth. They wear a large bead over the forehead. They go naked for twelve years, having the person smeared with ashes.

The Bairâgî is dressed much like the Nangeshâhiya, but he carries a *bairâgan*, or prop, on which he sits.

The Naushâhiya has the hair untied. He wears a rosary, and on the wrist an ornament called a *gajrâ*. His clothes are yellow — whatever he has of clothes.

The Yatîmshâhiya is like the Bairâgî.

The *faqîrs*' work is to expel evil spirits with their *mantras* (incantations).

b. Articles of faith.

The tenets of their religion are especially—

1. Sin is a reality.
2. There is one God.
3. Bâlâ is a mediator.

Sâḍḍî kûk têrê aggê,	Our cry is to thee;
Têrî kûk dhur Dargâê. — Âmîn.	Thy cry reaches the Presence of God.

4. They sacrifice an animal, and also present offerings of corn, *guṛ, ghî*. It is cooked and placed on the shrine. It is called *kaṛâhî*.

The *gyânî*, *chêla* or priest, stands in front, the congregation behind him. When the *gyânî* (knowing one) says, '*Bolo, momino, sarbgatî,*' they say, '*Amîn, sarbgatî,*' *i.e.*, 'let all have salvation.' The victim sacrificed is a fowl or a goat according to their means. It is called *Allâh dâ Nâm*, 'God's Name.' The food is distributed and eaten, and the *panj sifateṅ*, five attributes, are sung.

5. The spirit returns to God.
6. There will be a resurrection of the body.
7. There will be judgment.
8. There are angels.

c. Shrines.

The shrine in a village always faces the east. Its shape is a dome, or, as they say, *gâô dum kî shakal,* like a cow's tail, upright. There are only lamps in it, no idols. The name of the shrine is Bâlâ Shâh.

d. Rites.

They have no secret rites. Their shrine is worshipped on Thursdays, sacrifices are offered, and also *chûrmâñ* (a sweetmeat made of bread crumbs mixed with butter and sugar), and the *gyânî* prays. It is only at the consecration of a new shrine that the head of the animal sacrificed and knives are buried under the shrine. The shrine is built on the sacrifice and sacrificial weapons, as a foundation.

There is no ceremony for admission among the Chuhṛas, except participating in the *kaṛâhî.*

e. Sacrifices.

The animal sacrificed is a fowl, a goat, and perhaps a cow.

The *gyânî,* or a Muhammadan *mulla,* offers the sacrifice.

The sacrifice is offered not near the shrine but at a little distance from it. It is cooked and eaten. They also burn *ghî, râḷ* or scented resin,[22] and *guggaḷ* (a gum, used as incense). This is called *hôm.*

When a child is born, he is brought on the twenty-first day and offered or consecrated to Bâlmîk, and called Bâlmîk *kâ bôr.* He is a *nazar,* or offering.

f. Fetishism.

Belief in spirits is general. A spirit may attach itself to a roof and break it, or to a well and throw a man in, or to animals and they will attack and injure man. A *bad rûh* (an evil-spirit) may meditate mischief and God sends a warning. This is called *sabhâwak* (of good intent).

Good spirits attach themselves to wood and other things, especially cooking vessels. They bring blessings.

Fields are haunted and may accordingly be barren.

g. Ancestor worship.

The Chuhṛas fear the spirit of a woman who dies in childbirth, because she has become a *chuṛêl,* a witch that is to be dreaded. *Faqîrs* have power over spirits and receive information from them of the designs of the spirit world.

Bad dreams come from the *dabâî* (the pressure) of an evil spirit. To drive the evil spirits away Bâlmîk's name is taken. Sickness is caused by *bad rûh kâ sâyâ,* the shadow of an evil spirit. *Faqîrs* and *pîrs* drive away spirits with *jhâṛâ*[23] *karauṇâ, jhâṛ phûnk,*[24] conjuring.

Ghosts of the dead haunt houses, burial grounds, &c. They come as little boys with white hair. Not long since in this neighbourhood two children strayed from home in the grey

[22] *Râḷ,* resin of the *Shorea robusta.*

[23] *Lit.* 'sweep away.'

[24] *Lit.* 'blow away.'

dawn and were seen by some of the villagers, who, not recognising them as children of the village, were terrified at the sight of them, believing them to be ghosts. I understand that the children ran some risk of being treated harshly, if not killed, as evil-intentioned ghosts.

Churêls have their feet pointing backwards. They have long paps which they throw over their shoulders. Their hair is long, and face beautiful. A dyer was returning home one day, when he met a *churêl*, who accompanied him to his house. She was very attractive, for she concealed the marks by which he would have recognised her. But at night, when it was time to put out the light, she did it with her hand, which she stretched to such a distance that the dyer in terror found he had a *churêl* by his side. He would have given the alarm, but she threatened him and gave him a rupee. The *faqîr* found her out, however, being set to do it by the dyer's friends. *Us nê usê qâbû kar liyâ*, 'he caught her.' She then asked for her rupee and disappeared.

If a woman dies before giving birth to her child, she certainly becomes an evil-spirit. When they bury her, they put a nail though her hands and her feet, and put red pepper on her eyes. They place a chain round her ankles and so bury her. On the way home they sow *setî sarôṅ*, white mustard, that it may blind her. They have *tûnâ* for her, *i.e.*, charms, otherwise she would come and hurt every one in the house. "This is a fact," said my informant emphatically!

At a certain stage of the incantations the *chêlâ* says, "Are you going?" The spirit says, "Yes, but I want a fowl, a goat, a piece of cloth, &c." This is given, and the bad spirit goes.

There are several kinds of spirits, *churêl, bhût, khavîs, jinn, dêô, parî*. The *churêl* we have described. The *parîs* are *churêls* when they come in companies. A *faqîr*, who dies within his twelve years of *faqîrî*, becomes a *bhût*, or a *khavîs*, or a *jinn*, or a *dêô*. If he dies in his forty days of fasting, when he comes to eat one grain a day, he becomes a *khavîs*, or a *jinn*, or a *dêô*.

Totems.

Lauṅg, clove,[25] is the name of one of the ancestors in the clan of Goriyê. It is especially revered.

Among the Gils, the *baingyaṅ*,[26] egg plant, is particularly noticed. The chief's name was Parth, so they do not eat the *part*, rind, of the *baingyaṅ*.

Women never take the name of their *zât*, caste, on their lips.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CHRISTIAN TOMB USED FOR MUHAMMADAN WORSHIP.

AT Smyrna, on his way from the low-lying town to Mt. Pagus, the traveller is taken by the local guides to see the Tomb of St. Polycarp, who was martyred in the Stadium in A. D. 155. This so-called "tomb" is nowadays an ordinary Muhammadan grave, made of mud and plaster, painted a bluish grey and surmounted by a green turban, thus turning this early Christian Bishop into a Muhammadan Saint. In the niche in the gravestone (without inscription) lamps are burnt on Thursdays as usual. The "tomb" is in a Muhammadan graveyard still in use and on to it looks the window of a small building used by women as a place of worship on Fridays. The "tomb" is in charge of a woman, who is entitled to a small fee for showing it.

All this shows that worship at Christian tombs by Musalmans (and Hindus, too, for that matter) is not confined to India.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[25] Also a nose-stud or ornament.

[26] *Part* is the form given in Maya Singh's *Panjâbî Dictionary*, p. 877.

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"tudhra. A. 28, 420, 421."

Should come after "tunhīa" in Part CDXXXVI., Vol. XXXIV., December, 1905, Part I.

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